

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF
CHARITIES AND CORRECTION
AT THE
THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL SESSION, HELD IN BOSTON, MASS.
JUNE 7-14, 1911

EDITED BY
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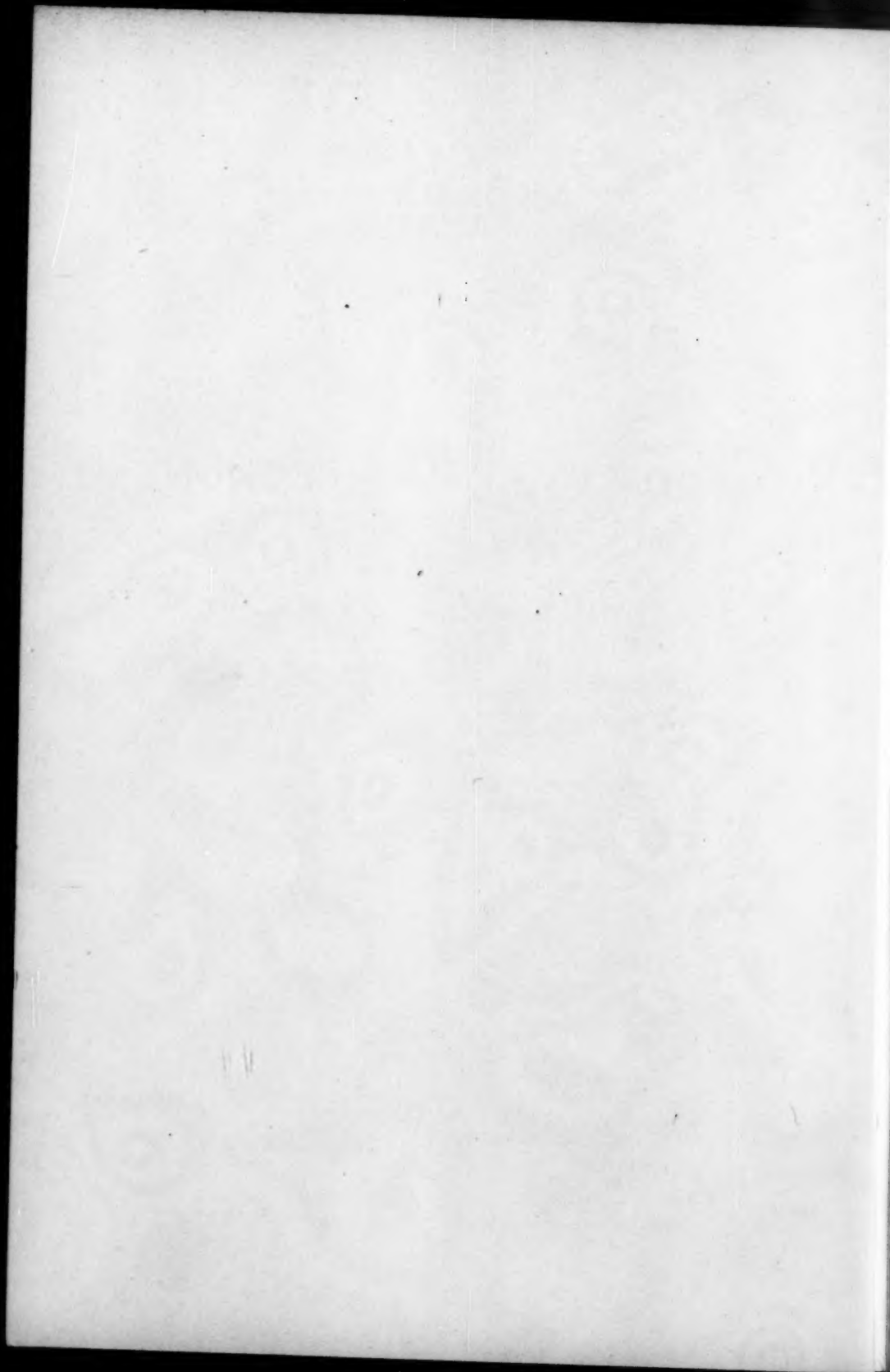


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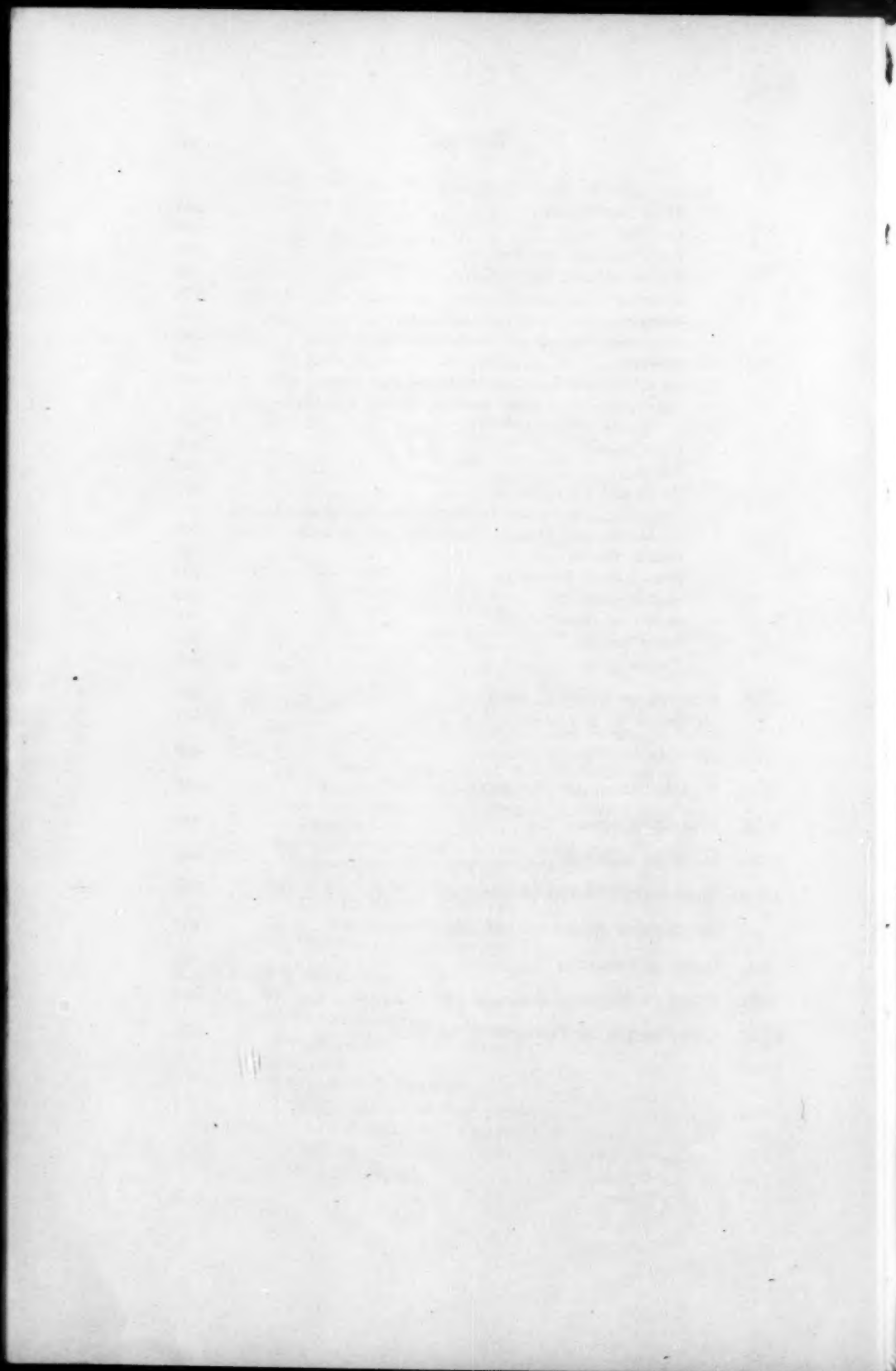
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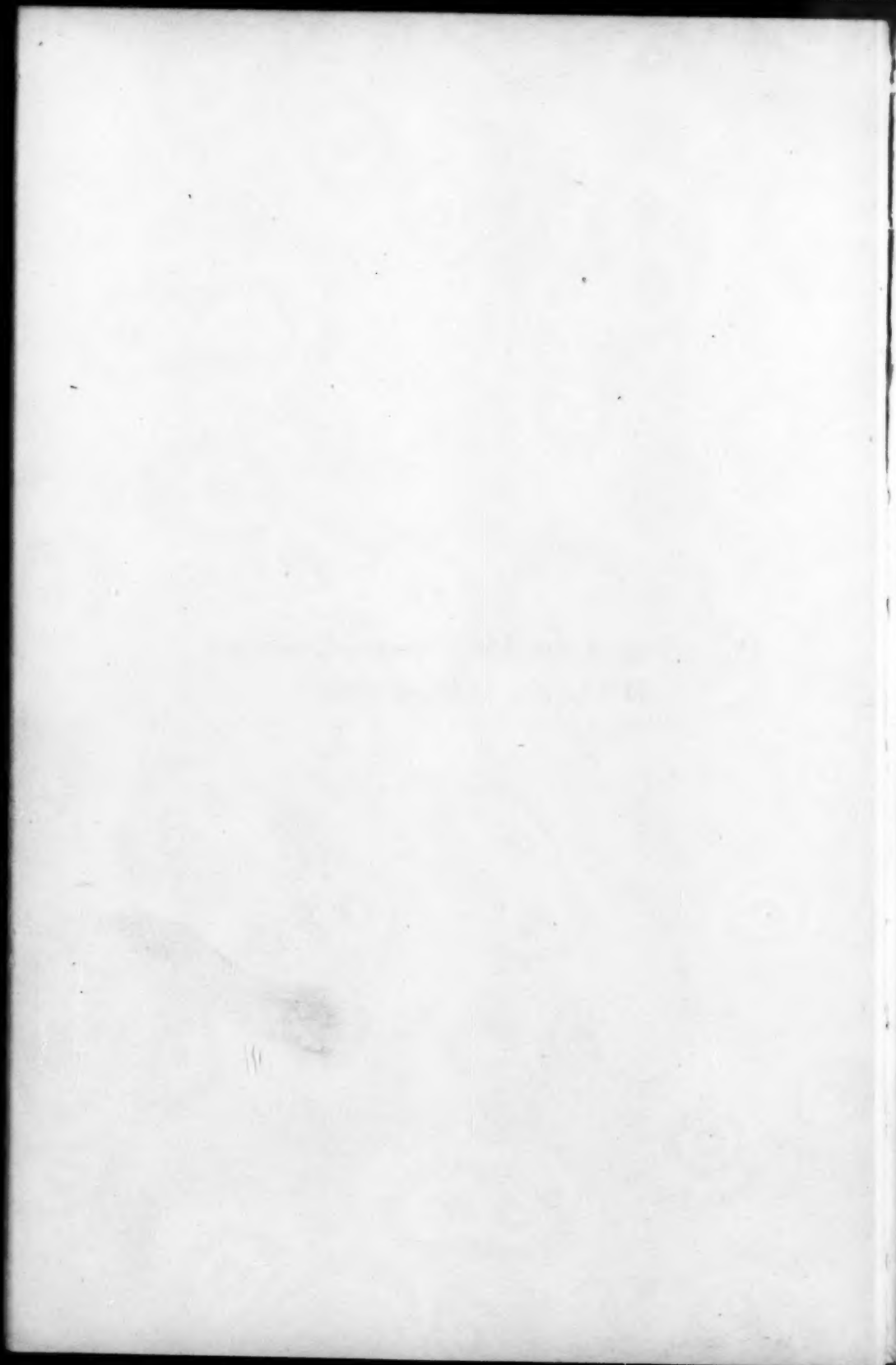
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Proceedings of the 38th National Conference
of Charities and Correction



PREFACE

This year The National Conference of Charities and Correction went for the second time, after an interval of thirty years, to the City of Boston. The President of the Eighth Conference which met in Boston in 1880, Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, was present this year and reported that he had found only three delegates, besides himself, who were present on the former occasion.

The Thirty-eighth Conference was the most largely attended of any that have been held. As will be seen on page 486, the attendance from the Atlantic States was excellent, as well as that from Massachusetts. In spite, however, of more thorough advertising than has ever been done before this year, the number of people from the New England States, excepting Massachusetts and Connecticut, was disappointing.

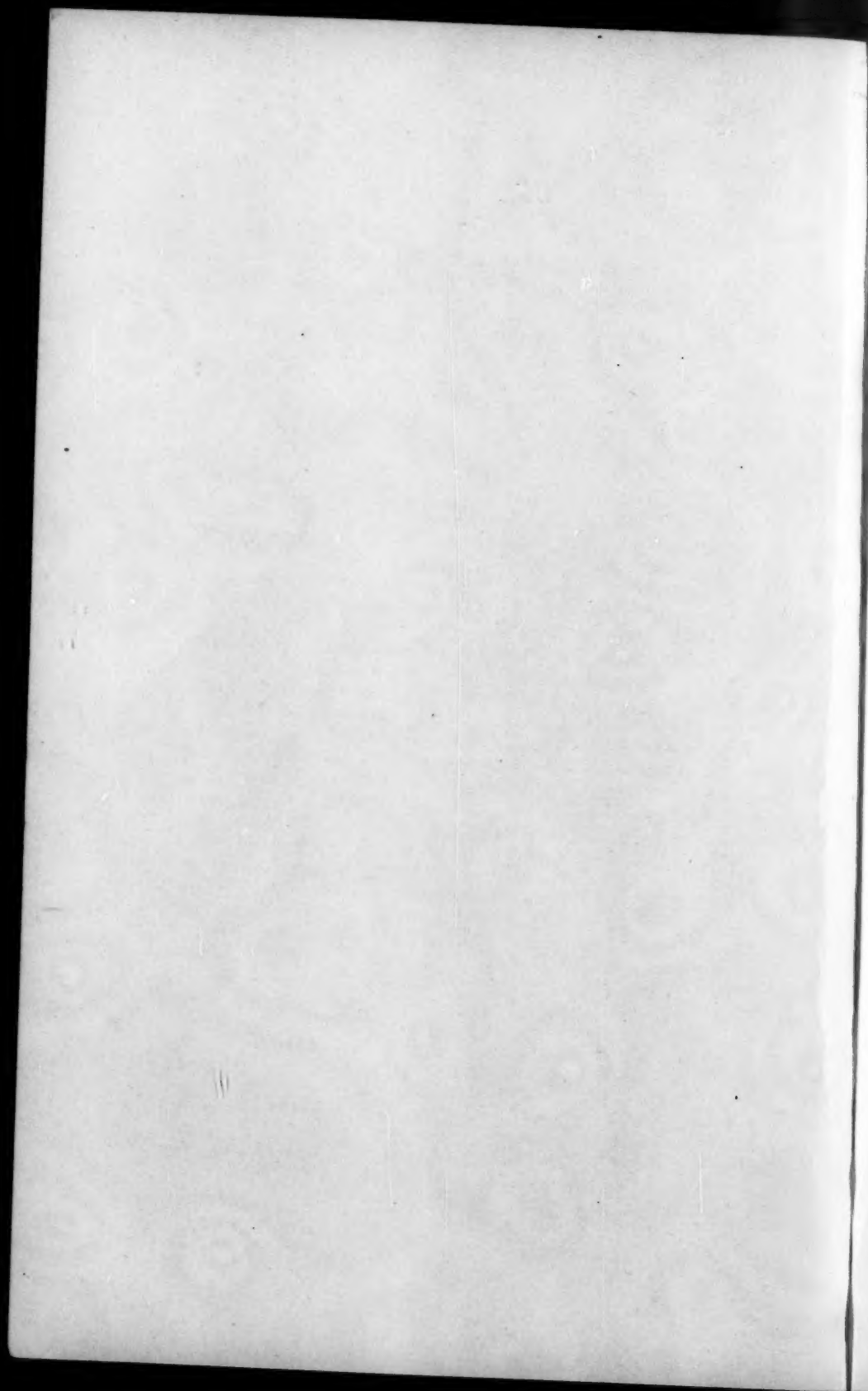
Although the subjects they treat have often been considered, two committees appear on the list for the first time, viz: that on The Church and Social Work; and that on Drunkenness.

Other Social Problems which have hitherto had but little attention, appeared in the program; with the result that, for 1912, two other new Committees will appear, viz: one on The Relation of Medical to Social Work; and one on Sex Hygiene.

The Thirty-ninth Conference will meet in Cleveland, O., June 12th, 1912. The President is Hon. Julian W. Mack.

Angola, Ind., Dec. 1st, 1911.

A. J.



The President's Address

THE RATE OF PROGRESS.

By Homer Folks, of New York, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association.

Increasing diversity of interest is the most evident fact in the history of the National Conference of Charities and Correction since its previous meeting in Boston thirty years ago. Of the six standing committees of the conference of 1881, five dealt with institutions or relief, the sixth with immigration. Of the nine standing committees of this conference, four deal with institutions or relief, while five, having to do with the improvement of living conditions, have been added.

By common consent these latter additions are pushing farther and farther back into the causes or conditions which tend to produce those misfortunes with which institutions and relief have to do. I emphasize "by common consent," for I am aware of no differences of opinion as to the wisdom and necessity of this extension, both of the range of discussion at our annual meetings, and of the range of our labors during the year.

There does seem to be, however, a difference of opinion as to whether, in our social program generally, we are going too rapidly, or too slowly. It is not difficult to find among our numbers those who are increasingly concerned lest by excess of taxation for social purposes, and of regulation of industry for social ends, we may defeat our own purposes. At the other extreme we find an increasing impatience at what seems to others a pitifully inadequate rate of progress. In the middle ground, a third group—those happy souls to whom the pace is just right; the existing the best of all possible worlds; whatever is right and to whom the interesting evils and misfortunes of society are happily receiving adequate attention. Are we, perchance, speeding ahead at thirty, forty or fifty miles an hour, with not too sure a control of the brake, the power, and the steering gear; or are we, as it were, using a model of, say, 1900, and jogging along in the dust and confusion of the rear of the procession? May it not be well to ask how fast we are actually getting ahead in our varied lines of work? What is the actual accomplishment, as recorded not in the discussions of this and similar bodies but in the statute books of states and nation, in the acts of administrative officials and in the work of charitable agencies? In so wide a field we can select but a few points at which to make the test, but these, it is hoped, are chosen impartially.

The primary institutions of civilized society include, besides the church and the school, the poorhouse and the jail. How are we coming on in making these two agencies humane and efficient?

The poorhouse has been improved chiefly by the process of amputation. We have removed from it the insane, or most of them; the children, or most of them; and a few of the feeble-minded. As to what remains, some progress surely has been made in these thirty years; yet no careful statement of existing almshouse conditions in any state, presented at this conference at any time, has failed to reveal many of the most serious evils reported in the '50s by Dorothy Dix. I think one could find today in some of the almshouses in New York, except as to the insane, many of the worst conditions which she pictured, and which have withstood for many decades, both voluntary visitation and official inspection. As to poorhouse reform, at least, none of us may feel any alarm as to an excessive development of the humanities.

As to the jail, I need but mention the word. Here and there a jail has been constructed on better plans, or some minor reform assured; but in its gross aggregate of evils, injustices and indecencies, it still stands without a rival.

As to public outdoor relief, are we not as far as ever from the choice between reform and abolition set before us by Mr. Seth Low thirty years ago? We had a very valuable statement of the situation in Mr. Almy's paper in 1900. But have we even devised a method by which we keep reasonably well informed as to how public outdoor relief is administered? Indiana has made a notable contribution in this direction, but what other state has followed her example or even troubled itself to examine carefully Indiana's experience? I am quite sure that in the cities of New York State we could provide illustrations of all the different possibilities of outdoor relief. We have localities in which it is given lavishly, skimpingly, wisely, and withheld altogether. But if the situation as a whole is notably different from that in 1881, I haven't observed any mechanism by which the change has been registered.

As to the care of the feeble-minded: it is a little more than sixty years since the first state institution for the feeble-minded was established in Massachusetts, and just sixty years since the New York institution was established. The latest estimate of the number of feeble-minded in the United States, made by the careful workers at Vineland, New Jersey, places the number at 307,185, one in 300 of the population, a considerably lower ratio than that adopted by the recent English Commission for Great Britain and Ireland. Of this number, the Vineland authorities state that 23,856 are in institutional care, 7 1-2 per cent. of the total. If in sixty years of effort we have accomplished the segregation of 7 1-2 per cent. of the feeble-minded, within what period of time shall we achieve our aim of complete segregation? I am

unable to plot the curve by any mathematics that I can recall. President Johnson in 1897, and President Butler in 1907, thought segregation so important as to make their opening addresses pleas for its more rapid accomplishment. Professor Charles B. Davenport, of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, says that if we would provide custodial care for all of the undoubtedly feeble-minded for a period of thirty years, we could then close and sell nearly all the institutions. Dr. David Starr Jordan, in a remarkable paper in the "*Eugenics Review*," states that in the valley of Aosta, Italy, where formerly a special type of the feeble-minded was found in great numbers, they have now disappeared. Institutional segregation has been demonstrated to mean kindly elimination. There appears to be, however, little prospect that Professor Davenport's bold prophecy will be put to the test in any state in this country. Although the actual loss occasioned by the feeble-minded in the community can probably be demonstrated to be greater than the cost of their suitable care, and although states and municipalities are embarking on many enterprises involving far greater expenditure, there seems little evidence that any state will actually, within any measurable period of time, segregate its feeble-minded.

As to the insane, a more satisfactory account may be given. The almshouses in the country as a whole are by no means free from the insane, and state hospitals are sometimes overcrowded, and sometimes the spoils of politics, but we have come nearer to discharging with reasonable efficiency the social duty of caring for the insane, than to the adequate performance of any other social duty of equal magnitude.

As to destitute children, our practice is much less in accord with our preaching. We have in the course of sixty years substantially achieved one great reform in their behalf,—their removal from almshouses. We have developed a wide range of public and private agencies and institutions for the care of children. It is when we apply the test of the application of these principles to which we all subscribe that our shortcomings are painfully apparent. At the National Conference in 1899, Mr. Thomas M. Mulry outlined a platform on which practically all the members of this conference were able to unite. Ten years later, in January, 1909, the White House Conference on Dependent Children adopted a series of declarations agreeing substantially with the positions taken by Mr. Mulry, favoring family care for needy children and favoring the cottage system in such institutions as are retained. In 1911, however, we are, in our actual practice, far, very far, behind the platform of 1899, or that of 1909. Few now question the merits of the cottage system as compared with the congregate system; yet not only do scores of thousands of children remain in congregate institutions, but in new construction the evils of the congregate system are too frequently perpetuated. Early in the history of this conference, the unwisdom of the separation of the infant

from its mother was pointed out. No one in this conference, I think, would defend the habitual separation of illegitimate children from their mothers, in the vain hope of saving the reputation of the mothers and the feelings of the grandparents. Yet, what is our practice? In New York and in most of our large cities, except perhaps Boston, we still afford to the hard-pressed mother the ready opportunity to abandon her infant to the care of charitable agencies. Each year something over 1,000 mothers in New York City accept this opportunity, with a resulting mortality of at least 50 per cent. among the babies so abandoned. A large proportion of the much-discussed infant mortality in great cities is due to this mistaken charity. At this conference we are in substantial agreement as to the best methods of caring for those children who must be removed from their homes. Yet the actual application of the principles on which we have agreed, would work a revolution in child-caring agencies in any state east of the Mississippi River. The rate of progress in harmonizing and modernizing the care of needy children should cause us alarm only by its slowness.

In the care of wayward children, we have shown far greater flexibility than in the care of destitute children. The juvenile reformatories have made much more rapid progress in the cottage system and in modern educational methods, than the orphan asylums. We have also developed, chiefly in the last decade, a new agency working side by side with the reformatory,—the probation system. The maps showing the states authorizing the use of probation in 1878, in 1900, and in 1910, prepared by Mr. Towne of the New York State Probation Commission and published in its report, are a most encouraging, if not extraordinary, record of progress. In fact, the glaring inadequacy of the provision for carrying into effect many of these laws, and the scandals that here and there develop in the administration of the probation system, suggest that possibly in this direction our legislation and the popular acceptance of the idea, may have advanced more rapidly than we have been able to go in devising adequate and effective machinery for its application. I am not sure that probation might not have been further ahead ten years hence if it had not gone quite so far during the past ten years. Still the wide-spread adoption of the juvenile court has been a most encouraging instance of the rapid extension of a new and useful social agency.

In contrast with the rapid growth of the juvenile court and the probation system must be placed our substantially uniform failure, with a few notable exceptions, to provide the machinery for making effective the system of conditional release on good behavior, whether from juvenile reformatories, adult reformatories, or prisons. A large factor in the hesitation on the part of foreign penologists to accept the indeterminate sentence, was due to their distrust of their ability, and ours as well, to establish an effective agency for carrying the

parole system into practice, so that the actual conduct of those conditionally released would be known, and misconduct dealt with. Who of us can say that this distrust in the main was not justified?

As to prison labor, after all our experiments and all our legislation, how much nearer are we to a consensus of opinion, not to say to an actual application of such a consensus of opinion, than we were thirty years ago?

Let us turn to some of the newer lines of preventive work. In 1903 and 1904 two extremely important events occurred; the organization of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, and the organization of the National Child Labor Committee. These were a new type of social agency, making a national, continuous, all-the-year-round effort. There is a substantial difference, sometimes overlooked, between working for an object all the year, and talking for it once a year. Each of these agencies has been favored with public confidence and a substantial measure of public support, and has addressed itself to a definite and measurable program of work. Each has achieved results of exceptional value, and justified its existence many times over. It is interesting to ask just how far six years of continuous and efficient work have carried us. The National Child Labor Committee, in its leaflet No. 35, December, 1910, records legislation secured during the previous six years, and the remaining serious defects in child labor laws. It is to be noted, for instance, that in eighteen states night work by children under sixteen years of age, in certain occupations, has been prohibited; but in thirty-three states children under sixteen may still work at night. Proof of age requirement has been secured in seventeen states, but no proof of age is required in twenty-three states. In canning industries and home industries children are substantially without protection, and in street trades, except in Boston, Cincinnati and Milwaukee. It would seem to be a fair inference, comparing work accomplished with work remaining to be done, in legislation and in securing means of enforcement, that at the present rate of progress something like a quarter of a century will have elapsed before we shall have achieved anything like a reasonably effective series of child labor laws, fairly enforced, throughout the United States.

The National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, in its bulletin of May 11th, 1911, gives the following exceedingly interesting comparison of anti-tuberculosis agencies in 1905 and in 1911.

Agencies.	1905	1911.
Hospitals and Sanatoria	111	421
Dispensaries	18	342
Open-air Schools	68
Anti-tuberculosis associations	18	511

Could figures possibly be more encouraging?

From the same association we learn, however, that the number of indigent consumptives in the United States, for whom hospital care is needed, is in excess of 300,000. The one conclusion which stood out clearly above all others at the International Congress on Tuberculosis, in 1908, is that hospital provision must be our chief reliance in the prevention of the disease. The National Tuberculosis Directory just issued shows the actual number of beds becoming available in hospitals, sanatoria, and day-camps in the United States, during the four years 1907 to 1910, inclusive, to have been 10,881, an average of 2,720 per year, the year 1910 being slightly under the average. Comparing this with the total number of beds needed, 300,000, the annual increment is less than one per cent. of the total need. The total population is increasing rather more than two per cent. per annum. Comparing growth of hospital provision with growth of population, we are apparently still losing ground, the need increasing twice as fast as the supply. However, the death rate from tuberculosis, in civilized countries which have kept vital statistics over any considerable period of time, seems to be cut in half in a period of forty years. Assuming that this will continue in the United States, it is still an open question whether our present rate of progress in providing hospital facilities, is keeping up with the increase of the need. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that even with an active and efficient organization constantly at work, at the present rate of progress, only the dim and uncertain future will see the realization of the most important factors of our working program.

Applying the test in a little different form, no one would dissent from the opinion that among the factors which have contributed in large degree to all the ills with which we have to deal, must be included drunkenness, immigration, political corruption, and industrial hardship. What contributions have we made, as a group of social workers, to the practical treatment of these problems? What have we, who perhaps know most of the effects of drunkenness, said or done about it? Some of us have been given to pointing to the immigrant as the explanation of our difficulties; but what policy in regard to immigration have we formulated and urged? We have deplored the interference of the spoils system in public institutions and public relief; but what movements of political reform have we set on foot? Our section of last year and of this, on Standards of Living and Labor, is indeed a courageous attempt to make our contribution to industrial progress, and social workers certainly have contributed very largely to the present movement for more just workingmen's compensation laws. As we now look at the matter, however, is not the cause for wonder not that we have entered upon this field, but that our entry was so long delayed? Even with the notable recent interest in these subjects, and with many praiseworthy efforts at legislation, are we not still, in labor legislation, in workingmen's insurance, in com-

pensation for accidents, and in kindred lines, far behind other countries supposedly less democratic, less prosperous, less progressive than our own?

Among the reflections to which one seems to be forced in an effort to estimate the rate of progress, are these:

1. That progress has been very uneven, almost erratic. As to juvenile courts, we lead the world; as to jails, the world leads us.

2. That the purposes for which we are working do not involve changes which need to come slowly. Their rapid accomplishment would in no wise endanger social stability or progress. Tuberculosis could be prevented, child labor forbidden, institutions reorganized on the cottage plan, infants' lives saved, jails reformed, and so on, in a short time just as safely as in a long time.

3. That in but few instances, at the present rate of progress, is the actual realization of our constructive program, in a comprehensive way, in sight within a measurable period of time.

4. That the chief reason for the slowness of our progress is the insufficiency of the sums devoted to social purposes, other than institutions or relief. It was a jesting student of the New York School of Philanthropy who defined the new basis of civilization as the Sage Foundation. I think he was right. At least, I know of no more encouraging thing than the manner in which some of the barren and desert places in the field of philanthropy have been made to blossom as the rose, through the kindly consideration of that agency. In passing I venture to express the hope that the Federal Congress will not long delay in granting the act of incorporation through which the proposed Rockefeller Foundation may become a fact. There need be no fear that the sums devoted to social betterment will be too great; nor for one, have I any apprehension that it will ever be necessary to call upon the Supreme Court of the United States to infuse into such a Foundation that reasonableness which it seems to have found lacking in some other enterprises; though, if it became necessary, I do not doubt that the Supreme Court would not hesitate to perform that useful service.

5. That in charitable and correctional work, new methods, new ideas, new principles, however meritorious, find less prompt application than in education or in business.

6. That we need not be concerned as to whether we shall agree as to ultimate forms of industrial or political organization, if there be ultimate forms. The accomplishment of our present objects and purposes will fully tax our utmost strength and resources for an indefinite period.

7. That the definite pieces of work which we have in hand are of such importance to the well-being of the community, are so fitted to conserve human life, to promote the general good, that we may properly call upon those who control the political and the business

affairs of the country to consider them very much more seriously than they ever have done, and to devote to them a larger measure of that energy, foresight and perseverance, which have been applied so efficiently to other purposes.

8. That in all these facts there is no basis for pessimism nor the slightest excuse for any attitude other than one that causes us to redouble our efforts.

9. That the economic and social texture is tough. We may each in our respective lines of social work, without fear of danger from excessive momentum, sound the signal, "Full speed ahead."

State Supervision

Report of the Committee by Rev. Francis H. Gavis, Indianapolis,
Chairman.

The literature on the subject of State Supervision to be found in the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction is so extensive that it is hardly necessary to add to it in a formal report of the committee. I have observed that the former chairmen of this committee, even when they had the additional topic of Administration to deal with, referred to the subject of supervision as a "twice told tale," a "perennial topic," indicating that they too had the feeling that the subject has been quite well discussed. I need only refer to the reports and the papers on the subject in the last three national conferences which are almost exhaustive of the subject. The chairman of the committee, however, feels confident that the gentlemen who have kindly consented to speak on the subject at this Conference will not only interest you but will add to the already large information on this subject.

As the topic of Administration has been eliminated this year we will be spared the discussion of the relative merits of central boards of control and of individual boards of managers of institutions. Between such boards and supervisory boards there ought to be no dispute, as their functions are not identical. The function of the one is administrative, the function of the other is merely supervisory, and the fewer executive powers it possesses the better—indeed it ought not to be charged with any executive functions.

Whatever be the merits of the administration of public charities, whether by centralized boards of control or by local boards there can be no doubt of the need of supervision of their work by an independent body. The public institutions of a state are the property of the people, and the managers of their institutions are answerable to the people. The best corrective of abuses is an enlightened public opinion and this can best be created by an independent supervisory body representing the public. The time is not far distant when in most of the states the official places in public institutions for the care of the insane, prisoners and paupers were considered the lawful spoils of political victors. That there has been an almost universal change in this sentiment in the United States is due to the education of the people to see the difference between a bad and good administration of public

charities, and this education has come through others than the officers of institutions. One of the most encouraging things in this day of what is called "greed and commercialism," is the large number of persons of public spirit to be found in every community; they may be very shrewd and wide-awake to their personal advantage, but they have time to study, think and labor for the public good. These may be, and are, enlisted in the service of public and private charity; they may not have intimate, professional knowledge of the details of institutional management, but they are competent to represent the public and to understand what kindly, humane management of the state's wards means, and to point out defects in administration. They give of their best thought, study and effort to the larger problems of dependency and delinquency, of correction and prevention not only as they apply to the institutions which are supervised but to the general philosophy of philanthropy. A bureau of supervision is therefore of value, not alone to the institutions of the state, but to the whole social body, acting as it does as a medium of education and as an organ of influence.

Dr. Chas. R. Henderson, in his work "Modern Methods of Charity," p. 412, thus summarizes the functions of a Board of State Supervision, from a draft of a bill presented to the Legislature of New Jersey:

"The Governor appoints the members. These members receive only actual expenses of service, and their Secretary and inspectors are paid. It is made the duty of the Board to inspect all the charitable and correctional institutions in the Commonwealth, both general and local which receive public money. The Board is to ascertain whether the laws governing the institution are complied with; whether the objects of those institutions are accomplished; whether their methods are best adapted to the needs of the inmates; whether any persons are improperly confined; and generally, whether the officers are efficient and reliable. The Board is empowered to require the managers to correct abuses, evils or defects. The Governor may require the Board to make special investigations and lay the results before him. This Board is empowered to collect statistics relating to dependents and delinquents and their care, and to prescribe forms of registration and reports. It may request similar information from private establishments. Plans of buildings used for charitable and correctional purposes must be approved by this Board in advance of their adoption. The Legislature may require statements from the supervisory body relating to the appropriations for the support of institutions."

In surveying the field in the United States we find the work of supervision divided as follows:

Twenty States and the District of Columbia have supervisory boards of charities and corrections.

Two states, New Jersey and Oklahoma, have supervision by a single supervisor called the Commissioner of Charities.

Nine states have centralized control of state institutions, all save one, of which attempts to supervise as well as to control its institutions.

Sixteen states have no organization for the supervision of their institutions. Most of these are Southern states. In Georgia there is a Prison Commission. There is, however, a growing sentiment in the South as to the need of independent supervision. Georgia and Texas have expressed themselves as to the need of some bureau of supervision. Virginia and Maine are the latest states to provide boards of state charities to supervise the benevolent and correctional work of the state. Kentucky has adopted the Board of Control which both manages and supervises its insane hospitals and institute for Feeble-Minded. Of this Mr. William B. Buck, writes in the *New York Review of Legislation*:

"It is an attempt to ride the two horses of supervision and management at the same time." And he adds: "In their supervisory capacity the members of the board will visit and inspect the institutions of which they themselves are the managers, and under the circumstances it should not be difficult for them to find their own work as managers deserving of their highest commendation as supervisors."

One of the growing questions of supervision is the extent to which state supervision shall go. Primarily the limitation of state supervision has been to those philanthropic and correctional institutions under the direct control of the Commonwealth, although the more recently instituted bureaus of supervision have oversight of all charitable institutions supported either in whole or in part out of public funds. The organization of state boards of supervision, however, has been such that, with very limited appropriations they have not been able to give the attention to the local institutions that should be given. Several of the state boards have succeeded in securing legal organization of county boards of charity which have been of great assistance both in work of supervision and in securing uniformity of administration, to say nothing of their value in the education of public opinion as to the needs and conduct of charitable institutions. If there be defects in our public charities they are most glaring in the local or county institutions, the Poor Asylums, the Jails and Orphans' Homes. As these are supported by local taxation, their administration is in the hands of local officials who are usually adverse to interference from without. The tendency, now very general, to keep the state institutions free from political influence, has been but little felt in the county institutions, the administration of which is still a perquisite of partisan politics. The condition of the county poor asylums and particularly that of the county jails would demand a more rigid supervision. This could be given by a central state board with great effect without interfering with the principle of local self-government, so vital to our system. Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, K. C. B., the British Commissioner to the International Prison Congress, last October, had words of praise for the condition of the state prisons he saw in the United States, but unmeasured con-

demnation for the system and administration of local jails and the treatment of short-term prisoners. As those detained in them are for the most part, either offenders, or charged with offenses against state law there can be no reason why they should not be under the direct control and supervision of state authority. This was advocated by Prof. Demarchus C. Brown in a paper before the St. Louis National Conference in 1910, prior to the criticism of Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise.

Another question regarding the extent of state supervision is whether it should cover the field of private charity. The opposition to state supervision of private charity, once so decided, is gradually lessening, as the reasons for it are more sanely weighed. As there will be special treatment by others of this phase of state supervision further reference to this subject in this report is unnecessary. That there is a growing sentiment in favor of some supervision is evident from the utterances at state conferences of many persons connected with private institutions of charity. They recognize the reasons for such supervision; the protection of dependents, the safeguarding of the purposes of donors, the protection of the benevolent from imposters, the prevention of abuses to inmates and the encouragement of benevolence by throwing about it the guarantee of public authority that the wishes of the benefactors will be effectually carried out. Several states have authorized the supervision of the state over institutions caring for dependents and defectives.

The success of such supervision of private charities will depend upon the spirit in which it is conducted. But the same may be said of any state supervision of institutions whether public or private. If irritating and mischievous, it will add to the burdens of the administrators and the confusion of the institution; if kindly, tactful and wise, it will help forward the institution and encourage its administrators.

FISCAL CONTROL OF STATE INSTITUTIONS.

By Henry C. Wright, New York.

There has been a discussion, year by year, for more than thirty years, at these conferences, as to the most advisable methods of state supervision or control of state institutions. Nearly every year, a committee which was assigned this subject for investigation, has reported its findings and recommendations. The committee thus reporting at the conference held in 1903, among other things said: "To make a valuable report on this subject would require the constant investigation of one man for an entire year." An investigation has been made by the writer, covering a period of a year and a half, the findings of which

are incorporated in a report to the State Charities Aid Association of New York, published in March last and entitled "Methods of Fiscal Control of State Institutions." The investigation started in New York and was prompted by a desire to learn how the estimate system, which had been in use for sixteen years, was operating. After the New York examination was completed, it seemed desirable to examine the operation of systems unlike that in this state. For this purpose Indiana and Iowa were selected. These states have, respectively, a State Board of Charities and a State Board of Control. This investigation was confined to an examination of the methods of supervision or control. Examination was made of fiscal matters only. The care and treatment of inmates was not inquired into, except to the extent of ascertaining the amount of food furnished them.

In this paper I shall not repeat the findings or the conclusions of the report. These you have before you in pamphlet form.* I shall devote my time to setting forth somewhat more fully, the reasons for adopting the form of supervision printed at the end of the report and reprinted in the pamphlet.

As touching state oversight of institutions, there have been at these conferences, year by year, two groups of advocates. One group has held that the state should exercise control over its institutions, only through boards of trustees or managers connected with each institution, supervised and advised by a central board usually called a Board of State Charities. The other group has held that the central state board should be given powers of control in addition to those of advice. Each of these groups year by year has referred to examples of successful operation of the type advocated by them; each, likewise, seemed to find examples of failure of the type not supported by them. The first of these groups stood for supervision, and the other for control. The line of demarkation between these two types of oversight was clearly set forth by Mr. F. H. Wines at the conference in 1902, in these words:

"Control and supervision are distinct functions, and they require to be sharply differentiated from each other. Control implies executive power, the right to make appointments, to prescribe rules and to pay out money. A supervising board cannot act as a board of control, neither can a board of control act as a supervising board."

I believe the facts brought out by the investigation, lead to the conclusion that these two types of oversight need not, and should not be mutually exclusive. The facts seem to show that boards of control exercise some functions that can be wisely left in the hands of the individual institutions, and at the same time there seem to be problems common to all or many of the institutions of a state that can be properly and efficiently handled only by a central board with power.

The facts of the report seem to call for a readjustment of these

* The pamphlet and report may be had by addressing The State Charities Aid Association, 105 E. 22d Street, New York City.

powers, and such readjustment as has been suggested may well be commented upon by reviewing and expanding the "Suggested Method of Supervising State Institutions," incorporated in the report, a reprint of which is in the pamphlet before you. This suggested method was designed to apply to average political conditions and might well be modified to meet the situation in any particular state.

The scheme is an attempt to devise a plan which retains and enlarges the supervising functions of a State Board of Charities and at the same time reposes in such board some power of regulation which it has not heretofore possessed.

The first suggestion is, that there be a central board which shall have some power of control; the extent of this control is subsequently defined. It suggests that such board have supervision over all state institutions except those furnishing instruction only. In other words, colleges, normal schools, agricultural schools, and all educational institutions wherein the students pay for their own support, should be supervised by some other means than by the board that cares for the welfare of state wards. Inasmuch as there is a general agreement upon this classification the recommendations need no arguments.

It is suggested that large states having twenty or more institutions, might consider the advisability of dividing the institutions into three classes—penal, hospitals for the insane, and charitable institutions, with a separate board over each class. The state institutions in New York are thus divided, and it is generally conceded by those best qualified to speak on the matter, that the supervision is better done in each of these departments than it would or could be done were all of them under the control of one department. The problems of the three classes are so different that it would be exceedingly difficult to constitute and maintain a board competent to handle such a diversity of subjects. The division works satisfactorily in New York.

It is suggested that the members of the supervising board serve without pay. This recommendation is based on the success which has attended the voluntary Board of State Charities to be found in several states and also upon the well known fact that a good salary is a sore temptation to politicians. If the duties of the board were such as to require the full time of the members they could not be expected to serve without compensation. The plan as outlined, however, would require but little more service than is now given by members of a Board of State Charities. It is, however, relatively unimportant whether these members be paid or unpaid. The prime requisite is to secure the services of high-minded, competent men. If the political conditions in any particular state, be such as to guarantee the selection of men of this type, even though a salary be provided, a paid board might well be considered.

This board is given some powers, but only to the extent of (a) sub-dividing appropriations made by the legislature; (b) prescribing all

forms of contracts, accounts, and reports; (c) controlling the development of the physical plant. The facts and considerations which seemed to make it advisable to endow the board with these powers, were as follows: It is seldom that a man can be found for the superintendent of an institution who is competent to care for and treat the inmates and is, at the same time, competent to adequately supervise the farm, the steam plant, the distribution of food and supplies, the accounts, etc. Such abilities and accomplishments are rarely combined in one individual. It is a wise administrative policy to center responsibility. But it is equally unwise to make a superintendent responsible for the performance of duties he is not fitted by training or experience to perform. In most cases he needs expert advice, and but few institutions are large enough to warrant employing experts in each of these separate lines. The average engineer employed at from fifty to seventy-five dollars a month, is competent to keep the steam plant and electrical machines in good repair, but is not competent to deal with the larger problems, such as the economical use of exhaust steam for heating purposes, the relation of the economical combustion of coal to the evaporation of water, the problem of insulation, etc. These and many other problems connected with large plants can be properly handled only by a man educated specifically along those lines. The average farmer farms as did his father. The farm of an institution should be supervised by a man educated in some agricultural school. It is vastly harder to manage a farm where inmate labor must be used than one where paid labor is employed. Many of the farms are not large enough to warrant hiring the type of supervising farmer needed to produce the best results. The state, however, could well afford to employ one expert farmer to give advice as to the management of the farms connected with each of its state institutions. Likewise it would be economical and advantageous to employ an educated and competent engineer to supervise all the steam plants.

The investigation revealed great irregularity, not only in the handling of steam plants and farms, but also in methods of accounting, and in the receiving, handling, and consumption of supplies. By referring to the report, it will be noted that institutions dealing with a similar class of inmates differed as much as 30 grams in the amount of protein furnished daily per capita. Generally speaking, the problem of the receipt, distribution and consumption of supplies and the problem of waste have been little studied. These are large problems which will be properly supervised and handled only by one trained in such matters. Such an expert cannot be employed by each institution, but can be economically employed by the state to supervise matters as connected with all the institutions.

Suppose it to be generally conceded that such experts should be employed by the state, it may be argued by some that they could well be employed by a Board of State Charities empowered to give advice only,

and through this board could give advice to the institutions. Undoubtedly this method could be employed and in some states such a plan might work reasonably satisfactorily. It is my belief, however, that under average political conditions it would be necessary for the central board to have some power in order to make effective the advice of experts.

Let us suppose a Board of State Charities, without power, had in its employ such experts. The expert farm supervisor might test the soil at a certain institution and advise that it needed under-draining and treatment with alkali and thereafter the use of a certain fertilizer. How could such advice be made effective should the local farmer happen to be a self-opinionated man, little inclined to take advice. Suppose the supervising engineer advised a change in the steam plant providing for a different grade of coal which might require more labor in stoking, but would be much more economical. If the local engineer were not inclined to follow this advice, the changes would not be made. Would the state be warranted in employing such experts unless there could be a reasonable assurance that their advice would be followed?

If it be granted that some power be necessary on the part of a central board employing experts, the question then arises, in what form and to what extent shall this power be granted. The power to revise estimates, such as is granted to the central boards in New York or Iowa, would accomplish the purpose, but, as seen by the report, when granted in such completeness, it is likely to be abused, to be used when not needed, and used to an extent that hampers the work of the institutions. The power should be somewhat less than the right to pass upon the quantity, quality, and price of every article purchased by the institutions. Within certain limits, the institutions should have the privilege of selecting and purchasing their own supplies. Were the central board given the power to sub-divide appropriations made by the legislature, but not empowered to pass upon individual articles, it is believed the institutions would have sufficient liberty, and at the same time the expenditure of state funds would be adequately protected. It is believed the advice of experts can be made effective by empowering the central board to sub-divide the appropriations. In general a legislature will make its appropriations in blanket form assigning a prescribed amount to each institution for maintenance. The amount so assigned the central board would sub-divide, designating how much each institution should spend for each class of supplies and equipment. Such sub-division it would make but once a year, subject to incidental readjustment, and would make it on the basis of an estimate submitted by the institutions and under the advice of its experts. The limit to which it is deemed advisable to extend this sub-division is set forth in the plan.

If it be granted that it is wise to empower the central board to sub-divide appropriations made by the legislature, the question then

arises, to what extent should such sub-division be made? Opinions would no doubt vary on this point. Some, no doubt, would grant the central board power merely to designate the total amount that each institution might expend for the main classes of expenditure, such as food, clothing, household furnishings, farm and garden, etc. In the plan submitted, the sub-divisions are somewhat more detailed than this. Food, for instance, is sub-divided into classes representing food qualities. The central board would be empowered to indicate the amount that might be spent for corn, oats and wheat products; for rice, barley and tapioca; for beans and peas; for potatoes; for sugar; for fresh meats, etc. The clothing is divided into four classes, boots and shoes; outer garments; under garments; miscellaneous garments. The farm and gardens have been sub-divided somewhat as follows, live stock; feed; vehicles, etc. The reason for this rather detailed sub-division is this. The investigation seemed to indicate that neither the central departments nor the institutions had made any attempt to determine the amount of the various classes of food that should be served and they had also given little attention to amount of waste necessary in the preparation and serving of the food. The amount of food needed for any particular class of inmates should be a matter of comparatively accurate determination. The amount of necessary waste should not be difficult to ascertain. Such experiments and studies can best be made by a central department which can employ experts and is in a position to gather data from many institutions. In order to make the recommendations of its experts in foods effective, it would probably be necessary to establish the relative proportions of the various foods that could be purchased. These proportions established by expert knowledge would insure the serving of an adequate amount and at the same time would regulate the amount of permissible waste. This restriction placed upon the institutions by the central board, would in no degree limit or regulate the daily dietaries. These could be varied at will according to the judgment of the superintendent. He is restricted only to the total amount of food in each class, which he can serve during the year. No superintendent would find such a restriction burdensome.

This explanation as applicable to food is equally applicable to the sub-divisions of the other supplies. The central board, having power to determine how much shall be expended for boots and shoes, for outer garments, for under garments, and for miscellaneous garments, is in a position to guarantee that the inmates are well and properly clothed. The qualities, kinds and varieties of such garments remain within the power of the superintendent to decide. This gives him sufficient latitude.

Some advocates of the pure form of State Board of Charities plan will undoubtedly raise the objection, that a board cannot supervise its own work. They will hold that if a central board be given the power to sub-divide appropriations, not only will there be nobody to report on

the wisdom of its work but also exercising such powers will weaken its functions as an advisory board to the institutions. To my mind, this is a theoretical objection, which in the past has been an excellent working hypothesis, but only a hypothesis. It is not easy for the upholder of this theory to bring forth concrete examples which will conclusively prove, or even tend to prove, that wherever a State Board of Charities has been given power, its influence has been weakened. I doubt whether the influence of the State Board of Indiana is weakened because of its power to place out children; or the like boards in Massachusetts and Michigan weakened because they respectively have power to pass upon the appropriations and plans for buildings. To this objection, reply will probably be made that such powers do not directly influence or control the administration of the institutions. This is probably true. But it is power, and what facts are there that would tend to show that if a little additional power were given, it would work for harm? Such facts have not been brought forward heretofore in papers or discussions at this conference.

My personal feeling is that it is advisable to give some central authority somewhat more power than has been exercised by State Boards of Charities, and that such power can be given without materially lessening the advisory influence of the board. In fact, this advisory influence may be increased conjointly with an increase of power. In the past these advisory boards have in a very limited degree put themselves in a position to give advice on many of the administrative problems. Experts have not been employed and members of the board and the executive staff have not had the technical knowledge that warranted them in giving advice on some of the problems enumerated above. Were they to employ experts, their advisory influence would be much enlarged.

The second power to be given the central board, as provided in the plan, is the power to prescribe all forms of accounts and reports. I think all will agree that it is wise to confer this power to enforce uniformity in statistical methods and records.

The third power designed to be conferred is control over the development of the physical plant. The central board would have power to plan and locate all buildings and to designate the furnishings. Such matters should be decided according to the very best and latest knowledge. The central board would be in a much better position to secure this knowledge than a superintendent. Moreover, the state should, so far as possible, maintain a continuity of policy with relation to the housing of its wards. It is safer to trust such a policy to a central board than to the individual judgment of the superintendents of the various institutions, regardless of how trustworthy such judgments might be. The best modern wisdom should govern the location of every building, its plan, construction, and furnishings. Such knowledge is likely to be secured only by a central board in a position to review the work of all institutions.

It is not proposed to give to the central board power to contract for supplies and power to regulate prices paid, through the means of estimates. It is impossible for a board located at a state capital to know sufficiently the detail needs of each institution to enable it to pass satisfactory judgment upon such purchases. This power has been greatly abused in New York.

The plan provides for joint purchasing of supplies. The purchasing to be done, not by the central board, but by the superintendents through a committee appointed by themselves. This plan is working successfully in the Charities Department in New York. Joint purchasing is of comparatively little advantage in securing lower prices than could be secured by the separate institutions. Its chief value lies in standardizing supplies and in providing an organization which can guard the deliveries of goods specified. When many institutions are served by one contractor, a system of testing deliveries and of bringing the contractor to account in case of a false delivery can more easily be carried out. These two factors are of distinct advantage. Comparative cost statistics are of little value unless they refer to the same qualities and values. Joint purchasing by standardizing qualities gives a basis for comparable statistics. Where institutions purchase separately, a delivery of supplies, though not meeting the specifications, yet might be of too small value to warrant the institution bringing legal action against the contractor. Such action, however, can be advantageously taken by a joint purchasing committee. There are no arguments of weight against joint purchasing when conducted by the superintendents themselves.

It will be noted that the plan provides that the boards of managers connected with each institution shall contract for all supplies not purchased jointly through the committee of superintendents. The supplies to be purchased by the managers will be the large varieties of things peculiar to each institution, and which cannot well be standardized. They know their individual needs and can purchase such supplies more easily and advantageously than can any central body, whether of superintendents or of a board of control. Moreover, they can secure them at low market prices, as demonstrated by the managers of the Indiana institutions.

Some will argue that boards of managers can not be depended upon to do detailed work, such as contracting for supplies or for buildings. Such opponents of granting power to local boards hold that appointment to such boards is too often likely to be governed by political considerations, or, when this is not the case, that membership is accepted for the honor, without an appreciation of the responsibility involved. Such objectors can find numerous examples to support their arguments. On the other hand, the advocates of local boards with powers can bring forward numerous illustrations of boards of managers which have, through long periods of years, met, satisfactorily, the obligations placed upon them. No system can be devised which will work

automatically. The successful operation of any system is primarily dependent upon the personnel in office. If indifferent boards of managers are put in office, the work assigned to them will be indifferently done. It is, however, quite as possible to appoint good local boards as to appoint a good central board. Local boards are needed to safeguard the work of the institutions in many ways. A centralized system which does not also have local boards is, I believe, an unsafe system. The need for the local boards may not appear until something goes wrong at the central board. Proper publicity cannot be secured except through unpaid agents.

The points made may be summarized somewhat as follows:

1. Institutions are in need of the advice of experts.
2. These experts can be economically employed only by a central board.
3. It is believed some power on the part of the central board is needed to make effective the advice of such experts.
4. All details of administration should be handled at the institutions, thus leaving the central board free to study and advise as to the larger problems common to many or all of the institutions.

Were it necessary to choose between a State Board of Charities and a Board of Control I should unhesitatingly advise a State Board of Charities. I believe, however, we are not reduced to this alternative. To my mind the advantages of both can be combined in a workable plan. This plan I have described.

STATE SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE CHARITIES.

Rev. Dr. William S. Friedman, Denver, Col.

Obviously the state's purpose is to protect and promote the welfare of all of its citizens. In Charity, however, this truism has been contradicted and has met with opposition. Distinctions have been drawn between public and private charity. It has been maintained and insisted upon that the State can busy itself only with public charity, while private charity must be left to the exclusive control of individuals. Since, however, the State is naturally interested in all of its citizens, it has vital concern in these dependents who are maintained by the generosity of private charity as well as those who are supported by public funds.

Private charity is a public benefit and public charity is a private benefaction. Private charity supplements and often complements public charity and relieves the State of responsibilities which, otherwise, it must necessarily assume. Whether funds are drawn from city or county or state, or whether they are contributed by individuals, whether

officers are elected or selected, cannot differentiate between public and private charity. Our obligations towards the unfortunate cannot be decided by the fluctuations of party politics, the uncertainty of public appropriations or even by the fleeting emotionalism of private individuals. Charity springs from ethical considerations and cannot be measured by financial or political expedients. Public and private charity are under the same law, the moral law which impels consideration of the poor, the neglected, the defective, the delinquent. Any other standard is artificial and injurious. The poor in private institutions are molded of like clay with those in public institutions and are entitled to the same supervision and watchful care.

It were a sorry mistake to authorize state supervision of public charities and then permit the vast number of dependents in private organizations to be governed as the competence or incompetence of individuals dictates. Besides, the number of private charities or institutions supported by an individual, or a small group of individuals, is infinitesimal. Almost all private charities appeal to the general public for support. Whether the State by public taxation enforces compulsory support or whether individuals by solicitation and appeal voluntarily contribute, matters little. It is the welfare of the dependent that must be jealously guarded.

Publicity is the demand upon all organizations that ask endorsement or support of the public. If this is true where mere money is at stake, surely the principle cannot be questioned where souls and lives are involved. The public has the right to know how its dependents are cared for. Every private institution honestly conducted should welcome the counsel of a sympathetic friend or the kindly criticism of an interested public official. Expert wisdom applied will supplant ignorance of proper methods, remedy unintentional errors and correct flagrant abuses.

The Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction during the past year visited twenty-five private orphanages, forty-nine private hospitals and thirty-one private sanatoria. Nearly all of these institutions fulfilled the requirements of the State Board. Individuals eager to earn an easy living by starting orphanages and using part of the money collected to maintain themselves and their families, were enjoined to form a reputable board of trustees, submit a financial report or discontinue their operations. Many maternity homes were the refuges of crime, altars for the immolation of innocents and were conducted without suitable equipment by irresponsible, untrained persons. The State Board of Charities and Correction closed up this illegal lying-in business. It stopped the fertile source of supply by urging the newspapers to discontinue the publication of shrewdly worded advertisements, which, if they were not a breach of the letter, certainly violated the spirit of the laws.

The Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction has not only

corrected abuses; it has protected private charities against injustice and possible ruin. A few months ago two of the county visitors preferred charges against the Old Ladies' Home, in which drunkenness, robbing of the dead, and gross mismanagement were alleged. The community was naturally shocked at the arraignment. The State Board immediately proceeded with an investigation, subpoenaed witnesses and administered oaths. The complainants and the defense engaged attorneys. After a trial of three full days in which eleven sessions were held, it was conclusively proven that every charge was wholly groundless. The Old Ladies' Home was again restored to public confidence. The two county visitors who preferred the charges and whose terms recently expired were not reappointed. The county judge requested the State Board to submit names for the post.

The last session of the Colorado Legislature, which adjourned in May, passed several bills of great importance to the entire field of philanthropic effort.

I. The probate judges of the several counties shall appoint six persons who shall constitute a board of county visitors for the inspection of all charitable and correctional institutions supported by such county, who shall serve without compensation. If the probate judges fail to appoint such board, or to fill vacancies occurring in such board, it shall be the duty of the State Board of Charities and Corrections to file a petition asking for the appointment of such visitors. If within thirty days thereafter, any probate judge shall fail to appoint, the State Board of Charities and Corrections may appoint such county board of visitors.

II. The State Board of Charities and Corrections shall have the power to investigate the whole system of public charities and correctional institutions, to examine into the condition and management of all prisons, jails, reformatories, reform and industrial schools, hospitals, infirmaries, orphanages, public and private retreats and asylums for the insane, and any such institutions which derive their support wholly or in part from state, county or municipal appropriations, and the officers of the various institutions named herein shall without unnecessary delay, when so requested, in writing, furnish to the board such information, statistical or otherwise, as may be demanded. Failure to so report or to report in full shall render every person or persons having charge or control of such institution liable to a penalty of five dollars per day for each day in default. Any person or persons operating a private eleemosynary institution after its license or permit has been revoked after a public hearing, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor punishable, upon complaint filed by the secretary of the Board of Charities and Corrections before a justice of the peace, by a fine not to exceed one hundred dollars (\$100.00) or imprisonment for not to exceed ten (10) days, or both.

Fraternal and religious societies and organizations were formerly

excluded. Under the new law they are included as well as all societies or organizations accepting public or private contributions and which advertise or hold themselves out as being ready to receive disabled, incapable or dependent men, women or children for care or treatment.

The penalty clause in the foregoing bill will doubtless preclude public controversy, with its demoralizing influence on all charities.

The Colorado State Board of Charities and Corrections holds semi-annual conferences in which those interested in charities and correction and the general public are invited to participate. The problems of poverty, pauperism, crime and degeneracy, their cause and the remedies are discussed. The public is given information on enlightened methods of philanthropy and its co-operation in charitable matters is enlisted.

State supervision of private charities has justified itself and has proven of inestimable value.

DISCUSSION.

HON. G. S. ROBINSON, of Iowa: With regard to Mr. Wright's paper I venture to say it indicates decided progress, considering the quarter from which it comes. I agree with most that has been said so far as the paper goes. I differ only in that it does not go far enough. Anyone who will study carefully the system of control of state institutions, and the various questions which arise from that control, will be apt to reach the conclusion that there is absolute necessity for central control. The question is as to the extent to which it should be given. I wish to speak on three points:

First. I discover that in the paper, and in the report on which it is based, there is no reference to any plan for making the Boards of Managers and Board of Supervision non-partisan. It seems to me that it is a mistake to create any Board, especially a Central Board of Control, without provision tending to make it strictly non-partisan. It may be claimed that it could be made bi-partisan, but not non-partisan. The law of Iowa in that respect is well worth considering; it provides first that the Board shall not consist of members entirely of one party, but shall consist of members of two parties at least. It provides also that no member or appointee of the Board or officer or employe of any institution under the Board shall attempt to exert any political influence upon any officer or any employe of any state institution, and it provides for removal from office if that law be violated. It forbids soliciting for campaign funds from any officer or employe, forbids them to contribute and provides for removal if those provisions be violated. The effect of those provisions is that the administration of the various state institutions is absolutely non-partisan.

Second. I would say that the report recommends the appointment of a voluntary State Board,—one serving without pay. Mr. Conover this

morning spoke of the duties of the State Board of Wisconsin of which he was a member, in investigating, visiting and supervising various state institutions. He gave us some idea of the great amount of work involved in making thorough and careful inspection. The work of supervising these institutions in a state having so many as fifteen, visiting them once each month, giving two to three days for each visit, and revising estimates, determining what sums shall be used by the different institutions for various purposes, requires much time. It will be difficult, in most cases impossible, to secure a voluntary Board of men or women who can devote half or two-thirds of their time without compensation to this work, and who are of the right class. The duties will be so onerous that it will prevent the giving of any regular attention to other business, and but few Boards would be constituted as they should be to secure the best results. If good men can be found who will give their entire time to that sort of work, and work as hard as it is necessary to secure the right supervision, that would be desirable.

Third. There is no provision anywhere to guard against abuse in the matter of purchases. It is proposed that the managers buy supplies and that the Conference of Superintendents may decide what it will buy, and by that method it might deprive the managers of all power to purchase. That provision would be apt to introduce confusion into the administration of the various institutions. It is possible the business might be so managed as to avoid confusion, but the paper read, does not propose anything to guard against this in the matter of purchases.

MR. GEORGE B. ROBINSON, of New York—There is no question in my mind but that there should be supervision of private charities as well as of public institutions, by the state. The only question is how far this supervision should go. There is a tendency on the part of public officers charged with duties of this kind, which are not thoroughly defined by the laws of the state, to assume authority not intended by the legislation which authorizes supervision. I think in all the states private charities demand the services of many people who receive little or no compensation. In the City of New York there is a rule of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which grants money to institutions, that even expenses of officers of institutions shall not be paid—the reasonable expenses of an official of a private institution when that official may be giving most of his time to its service. There are rules which interfere with the control of institutions by their Boards of Managers. This is an assumption of authority which seems to me entirely uncalled for. It illustrates how far public officials can go in the interpretation of the law, or the rules which are enacted by local boards under the law of the state, for the guidance of private institutions. It is presumed that supervision of this kind by the state will be reasonable. It is presumed that private institutions which have been organized under the general laws of the state are guided by reasonable

judgment in the control of their affairs. Their managers are at least as much interested in the guidance and control of the institutions as the state can possibly be. The state and the city officials should see to it that none of the monies of the state or city are wasted. To ascertain this is not very difficult. For the last eight months our accounts have been subjected to the scrutiny of city auditors. The accounts for the construction of a branch institution costing about \$500,000, to which the city and state have not contributed, have been audited. It is an assumption of authority to criticise the disbursements of money that has been borrowed by the institution for the benefit of children committed to it. We welcome supervision, but do not welcome a corps of officials which remains in our office for eight months at a time, consequently interfering with the conduct of the institution's affairs.

MR. GATES, of California: Would you apply supervision of private charities to institutions that are strictly supported by some religious denomination, and are not public except that they are the work of a particular church or religious denomination?

THE CHAIRMAN: In Indiana the orphanages which are conducted by our Sisters are visited by inspectors from the Board of State Charities. We have not only no objection, but welcome the inspectors. The House of the Good Shepherd, a partly correctional and partly charitable institution, welcomes the advice and inspection of our Board of State Charities.

DR. FRIEDMAN—Yes, we apply supervision to all organizations. It seems to me this distinction in charities is entirely artificial. We are concerned with all the wards of the state. We want them all to be given adequate attention. They all belong to the state. Why should any institution be exempt from supervision, whether it houses children or old people? Those institutions are almost negligible which are supported by the individual; even if the individual by his munificence maintain fifty or a hundred children, it seems to me to be the duty of the State Board of Charities to see that the money he expends for those children, for their education and support and proper training, be wisely spent. There was no trouble about passing the bill, although there was a great deal of rumor. It was said that a certain denomination would object. But that denomination which is very powerful did not only not object, but one of the members of the State Board of Charities belonging to that denomination heartily commended the bill, as did the Catholic Church of Colorado. So we exercise supervision over every institution in our state that receives public or private contributions.

MR. GATES—I had in mind the particular institutions called convents.

DR. FRIEDMAN—We have not entered convents. But they would be included if they were charitable institutions. They are educational institutions, as I understand it.

MR. HERBERT S. LEWIS, of California—I give most hearty endorsement to the remarks of the last speaker touching the question of supervision of private charities by the State Board of Charities and Correction. It has been found that the unguided development of private charities tends to follow lines of division which do not always work out to the best advantage. It seems difficult for people to get together in such a way that they can unite in the support of those things which have been tried and found good. There seems to be a disposition to branch off and start new organizations, without very much regard as to whether such organizations are really needed at that time and in that place. So that there has been in many localities a certain overdoing of charities of the attractive sort, as for instance children's charities, and a corresponding neglect of others which are just as necessary though not so attractive. One of the things that the State Boards of Charities having proper authority might do would be to keep a hand upon the organization of new charities in such a way that there might be due co-ordination; so that the charitable resources of the community might not be wasted in the overdoing of certain classes of work to the neglect of other work equally as important, but less attractive.

Then there are tucked away in quiet corners of our land hundreds of little institutions for children upon which the light shed abroad in such meetings as are being held here, never falls. Their managers are not here to listen to these discussions and to get the fruits of the experiences of those who have had long management of model institutions. They trail along way behind the procession, and unless there is some means of bringing them out, they will never be reached. The right kind of official supervision may be exceedingly valuable to those small charities wherever they may be found. I am sure if that supervision be given in the spirit of kindly, constructive criticism, it will be well received and given due heed.

It is not always a question of knowing what is the right or what is generally held to be the right and proper method of procedure that will work out for the best interests of the inmates of charitable institutions, for occasionally there are found situations in which, because of jealousy or of competition, an institution is led into lines which do not conform to those principles which are regarded as the best practice. It should be the function of the official supervisor to put away abuses wherever found, and to so correlate and harmonize the charities of the state that the whole shall come up to the standard of excellence which will meet the approval of the people of the state, when enlightened by the fruits of experience.

MR. COIL, of Toronto: I have here a list of forty institutions that receive municipal aid from the City of Toronto. The question was asked as to churches. You seem to have a difficulty over here that we have not experienced, and I fear I will go back a very strong opponent

of reciprocity. I have heard very few of your speakers who have not deplored the difficulty that exists in connection with grafts. We hear nothing of grafts. We administer our relief without the shadow of graft. If you can't distribute your relief and regulate your charitable institutions without graft, what under the name of heavens will you do with your lines of trade when you get your reciprocity?

SUPERVISION OF STATE INSTITUTIONS BY A BOARD OF CONTROL.

By Allan D. Conover, Formerly President of the Wisconsin Board of Control.

The Wisconsin Board having been the first of its kind in this country, it may be worth while before describing its methods, to record the circumstances which led to its inception.

Previous to 1880, the institutions of the state were managed by separate boards of trustees with membership varying from five to twelve. There was a State Board of Charities and Reform, whose function, as far as the state institutions went, was purely supervisory, although they exercised considerable authority over county institutions. They had for example established a complete system of care of the chronic insane in county asylums with partial state support and efficient state control. The board also had been active in securing the creation of needed new institutions by the state.

The boards of trustees were unpaid. They gave little time to the state's work. There was no uniform accounting system for the institutions. Financial affairs had been often badly tangled up. In most cases the superintendent ran the institution and the board. There was lack of progress. Purchase of supplies was largely local and at retail prices from favored dealers. Complaints and suspicion led to legislative investigations which failed to clear up one serious case of alleged financial wrong; finally a trustee and treasurer of one of the institutions failed; he was a banker and the institution's funds appeared likely to go with the wrecked bank. The Board of State Charities had repeatedly and courageously criticised the things that were wrong.

These things led to the appointment of a legislative committee in 1880 to sit in the interim and report at the next session.

The men on this committee were of the same sturdy stock, had the same independence of thought and disregard of tradition, which have characterized the Wisconsin legislators of the last decade, who have grappled so successfully with the problems arising from the machine control of caucuses by adopting the first state-wide primary election

law; from the undertaxing of railway corporations by the creation of an able and fearless tax commission with power large enough to secure a uniform taxation of corporate and private wealth; from the corporation lobby control of the legislature by means of effective anti-pass and anti-lobby legislation; and from the discriminations and extortion of the railway and public service corporations by establishing an able, honest and impartial Railway and Public Utilities Commission with large powers whose mission it is to see that neither the people nor the corporations are dealt with unfairly.

The investigating committee seemed to have been influenced little or not at all by political considerations. They reasoned that the care of the state's defective classes was a large responsibility and one sure to grow larger. That in the best sense of the words it was largely a "business proposition." They concluded that the business ought to be carried on by trustees who made a business of it and who devoted their entire powers and efforts to securing the success of that business.

In that young and growing commonwealth there was no class of citizens of leisure or independent means who could, for the honor it brought, afford to give a large portion of their time to such work. The result was the creation of a State Board of Supervision of five members.

The State Board of Charities was not disturbed and for ten years the two boards ran side by side. Then for political reasons, under the excuse of economy, both boards were wiped out, and a new board of six members having the powers and duties of both boards, was created, it again to be succeeded four years later by the State Board of Control of five members. This was undisturbed until 1905 when a law required one member to be a woman, and later legislation directly or indirectly resulted in re-organizations in 1905, 1909 and 1911. Recent changes have merely altered the personnel of the board, its duties have not been changed except as the legislature has from time to time enlarged them.

Generally speaking the work of the board has commanded public confidence. During its entire history from its creation in 1881, its management of the financial side of its work has been upon the whole with a definite and steady improvement in matters of detail. Upon the side of supervision and institution improvement it is fair to characterize its work as tending to be too conservative, good but lacking sufficient spirit of progress. During its regime the seven state institutions have increased to eleven and the number of county asylums for chronic insane from twelve to thirty-three.

The following are the chief duties now devolved by law upon the Board:

It has the entire management of the eleven state institutions. This includes the annual election of the superintendents, the approval or disapproval of appointments to the officer class nominated by superintendents, the authorizing in advance of monthly purchase of supplies,

the making of contracts for all staple supplies. It is its duty to investigate charges of wrong-doing made against superintendents or employees.

It determines the policies of the Institutions within the limits of the law.

It acts as a board of parole for the inmates of the Industrial School for Boys, the Reformatory and for the State Prison, for that purpose meeting quarterly at each of these institutions.

It acts as a commission in lunacy to determine the mental condition of inmates recommended for transfer from one state institution to another, and causes such transfer to be made in any proper case.

It must visit and inspect each state institution once in each month.

It must visit twice each year the State Soldiers Home and report annually to the governor as to the character of its management. This institution is managed by a board elected by the State Grand Army Association.

It grants or refuses to counties desiring to construct and maintain county asylums for the chronic insane, authority for their construction. It passes upon plans and specifications for the construction of such county asylums and upon their fitness when completed.

It must visit and inspect each county asylum at least once every three months, and must examine thoroughly into its sanitary condition, water supply, safety from fire, etc., twice in each year.

It has supervision over county poor houses, but little actual power to remedy conditions except by influencing public sentiment. In a majority of cases, however, the officially expressed suggestion of the Board has much the effect of law. It must visit these institutions yearly.

It must also inspect yearly all county jails and city and village lock-ups. It has power to cause repairs to be made and in proper cases to condemn and have rebuilt improper structures used for these purposes.

It annually makes settlement between the counties and the state on account of aid granted by the state to the counties for maintaining of county asylums for the chronic insane and on account of sums due from the counties to the state for the care of their inmates in the hospitals for the insane, the Home for the Feeble-minded, the Industrial School for Boys and the State Tuberculosis Sanatorium.

It is required to visit and inspect yearly all private charitable institutions incorporated under the state laws, but its responsibilities relative to those institutions are not clearly defined.

There has been lately added a duty—one of the most difficult of all—the organizing and management of a state-wide probation service for first offenders who would otherwise be committed to the state penal institutions.

I think that it will be quite evident to you that the State Board of Control of Wisconsin have their work cut out for them pretty well up

to the limit of their possibilities, and that if there is any laggard among their number either the others must work under too great pressure or the service must suffer in some directions.

As I have already stated there have been many changes in membership in the Board, many reorganizations, a much too small number of reappointments. With a few exceptions these changes have had political advantage as the moving cause. But whatever their cause the frequent changes have made it impossible for the Board to long maintain settled policies as to development and improvements, and very difficult to build up and transmit to its successive members a definite system of supervision. It seems to me that the state, which is responsible for the defects in the system, as well as for its merits, has been better served than it had a right to expect.

For the same reason the Board has not, until of late years, been able to initiate and lead the movements for new institutions and for better methods in the old ones. It was not a real factor in securing the Reformatory, the Home for Feeble-minded, the State School for Dependent Children nor the State Tuberculosis Sanatorium, but was readily and confidently trusted with the control and management of these institutions. For whatever it lacks of prophetic vision, initiative and leadership, it furnishes, sane and creditable supervision and management.

Of late years, however, the Board has taken more advanced ground. It has secured from the legislature, power to place for parole convicts of all classes, including life men. It has managed a very successful employment and parole system, restoring a creditable percentage of felons to good citizenship. It has conducted the paroling of boys from the Industrial School and young men from the Reformatory. It has secured authority for an adult probation system for first offenders both felons and misdemeanants and has organized an excellent probation service for adult felons.

It has also secured more liberal per capita allowances for the hospitals for acute insane and made marked improvements in their equipment and in the character of their staff. It has led in securing a hospital for criminal insane, and an additional home for the feeble-minded and has kept up a vigorous campaign of education for a home for epileptics.

In matters of this kind, which may be regarded as the proper fruitage of good supervision and of careful study of the conditions such supervision reveals, the Board has had many occasions to feel the need of an organ, a means of disseminating information, of stimulating the thoughtful interest of the citizenship of the state.

The work of the board has been done so quietly, these many years, the institutions have been so free of public scandal, and the board has so surely retained the confidence of the state that the people generally fail to realize the problems that press for solution and the legislators

have little knowledge of the character of the work and the needs of the institutions.

It is thought, however, that the State Conference of Charities lately re-organized, may through its meetings and publications, be able to contribute to such an education of the public in matters relative to the work of the board as will arouse public sympathy and interest and create a public sentiment which will be a powerful influence when legislative action is to be invoked.

STATE SUPERVISION BY A BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES.

By Robert W. Kelso, Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Charity.

Whatever may be the variance between Supervision and Centralized Control, it must not be forgotten that they are both means to an end; never is either of them an end in itself. Further, it must be remembered that the end in both cases is the same. We must agree as to the purpose or end in State Supervision, however much we differ upon the means of attaining it.

The civilizing purpose of the community, working itself out through the medium of government, takes the physical form of schools, hospitals, prisons, asylums, and the like. The constant purpose is the advancement of civic life. Viewed from within the walls of these same institutions, that purpose takes the form of rehabilitating broken citizens, protecting the community from infection or from unlawful acts, or, looking ahead, to forestall deteriorating forces by taking young offenders and defectives under special care.

Here, then, are your public institutions, and there is your unchanging purpose in maintaining them. What method of carrying them on will serve best to further the end in view? That is the question here. It is purely a question of means. And in the confusion of means for ends has lain the fallacy of much of the controversy and some of the argument on State Supervision in the past.

In applying any given method in government local conditions are paramount. A practicable plan in one part of the country might be unworkable in another. We find state boards in which is lodged complete control of state institutions yielding excellent results in some states. In others we find supervisory boards operating largely by force of public opinion wisely conducting the charities of the state.

In general, newer conditions in government demand greater centralization of administration. The situation ranges from martial law at the one extreme to democratic town government through selectmen at the other.

We need not be surprised therefore if on inquiry we find that these

methods of conducting state charities are not exclusive of each other, that it is not a case of choose ye the one or the other; but rather a condition of things in which time will gather the advantages of each into a well molded system. That development is even now going on in the United States.

In this view of the case my point is one of exposition, of explanation, rather than of argument. What are the principles of adequate supervision and how far does the method of a supervisory board conform to them.

I wish to offer for consideration three or four of what I think are fundamental requirements in adequate supervision by a state board.

First. Ability to enforce economical administration. Per capita cost should run as low as possible, consistent with efficient care of inmates or patients. It is often said—and the idea has had some support in this conference in the past—that this is about all there is to a state board's business. I don't believe it, and I mention this consideration first because though essential I consider it minor in comparison with points to be raised later. Further, it is said usually that this is the weakest spot in the supervisory method. If this be so, and we add the assertion that this is the sole business of the board, then that might fittingly end this discussion. As a matter of fact, centralized control and the theory of economy in administration, as frequently its practice, do go hand in hand. The supervisory method has always been considered at a disadvantage in that respect. It is only when results are scanned that the emptiness of the contention becomes apparent. In Massachusetts—and I beg your indulgence in frequent reference to this State by way of illustration—the disadvantageous position in theory is gradually working into a positive advantage in practice. Institutions with us are under the immediate control and administration of an individual board of trustees who are subject to the supervision of the State Board of Charity. The superintendent of each institution, under direction of his trustees, does the buying. In order to insure expert knowledge of market conditions, of the nourishing power of food, of the quality of coal, and the like, the State Board has a financial officer who visits all institutions, learns the storeroom conditions, in fact all conditions relating to finances; makes a study of market, of food and fuel tests, and renders frequent reports to each institution head. These reports include price cards, coal schedules and other data, yielding information as to when and what to buy and how to make sure that you get what you bargain for. But that is only preliminary. The Board now undertakes—and our Supervisory State Board of Insanity has had the practice for some time in the past—to assemble institution heads and their trustees at conferences to be held at stated intervals for the discussion of food and fuel values. The latter is only a beginning at present with the State Board of Charity. The result of this policy is that institution heads unite in purchasing supplies. But

the great advantage is not to be measured in dollars. It lies in the quickening of the several officers engaged in administration and supervision to an appreciation each of the position and the purposes of the other, leading each to see the problem of the state from a view-point broader than the walls of his own institution—resulting finally in willing co-operation between managers and supervising authority. The tendency of the supervisory method in this matter of administration is then toward willing co-operation. Volumes of compulsion could not replace that.

Second. A more important requisite in state supervision is that the persons who constitute the supervising authority should possess expert knowledge of methods of relief. They must be students of the history of public and private aid, versed in the principles of government. The moment it is known that your institution head is better informed than his supervisors, that moment does supervision become empty and a matter of form. The Massachusetts Board must know what the world is doing in the care and instruction of bad boys, before it can supervise the schools at Westboro and Shirley. To the State Board more than to anyone else is it given to stand upon the housetop viewing the field of charitable relief in correct perspective. It should of its own knowledge bring ideas to the managers of its institutions, for supervision means vastly more than inspection and a report of findings. It involves leadership.

And it is not to be forgotten that supervision cannot stop logically with a few institutions that have been established by legislative enactment. The field of charity in any community is not divisible and the necessity of a supervising authority capable of looking into conditions and methods, helping with wise suggestions, is as necessary in the field of so-called private charity as among public institutions. Careful attention to what Mr. Wilson has to say upon supervision of private charities will reveal the go-as-you-please methods now in vogue and the vital necessity of a central train of thought which shall unite these many branches like a spinal column. In Massachusetts no charity can become incorporated except the State Board first investigate and report to the Secretary of the Commonwealth, after public hearing, all the facts that can be learned as to the incorporators and their purposes. Every incorporated charity must make an annual financial accounting to the State Board. Every such corporation if it consents or does not refuse, is inspected annually by the Board.

If these considerations are sound I wish to call your attention to the peculiar adaptability of a supervisory board for such functions. Such boards are appointed, draw no salary, and serve a relatively long tenure in office. The temptation to political spoilsmen is slight. For the most part the history of supervisory boards show wise appointments usually at the instigation of that part of the public which has the welfare of the community at heart. Board members are as much at home

in private charity as in a public capacity, and the desire to advance the public welfare is in the main the motive behind service. Such officers inspire the confidence of the agencies they supervise, and such confidence is a prerequisite to successful oversight.

I venture to say that as the American people awake to the necessity of state supervision of private as well as public charitable agencies, in just that measure will the use of the supervisory state board method increase.

Third. A third fundamental, foreshadowed by the question of supervision of the whole field, is the necessity of complete co-operation with private agencies. It is true that a state board is a creature of statute, limited within the terms of its creator, but it is not true that therefore your state authority must sit a silent observer of charitable effort. One has but to follow the fortunes of a broken family to see the oneness of the whole field. Where sickness has been followed by public out-door relief, and poverty has led to neglect and perhaps abuse of children, it is the common occurrence in Massachusetts that private agencies co-operate with the State Board in re-establishing home conditions or otherwise caring for the situation. By such co-operation the State authorities keep themselves informed of the public point of view, and what is still better, they serve as a clearing-house for ideas, bringing private societies into closer relations with each other. I for one do not believe it possible to administer public relief adequately without the co-operation, confidence and approval of the array of workers in the private charity side of the field; for those workers represent the positive opinion of the community; they stand for what the whole people believe to be best both as to aims and as to the means of attaining them. They, more than any other body of citizens, stand for public opinion with reference to relief.

Fourth. Finally—and I distinguish the point from the foregoing merely for emphasis—the authority in charge of state charitable institutions should shape and lead public opinion.

Every community is made up of those who think and those who are in the habit of saying "yes, yes, of course it's so, now that I come to think about it." The thinker is the man who shapes the government. His thoughts are ultimately the standards of public opinion; for "public opinion" is but the collective name for that individual state of mind which says "Yes, I reckon that's right." Government prevails as public opinion favors or frowns. A law is not more than the public think of it, and the positive law providing public relief and correction is especially responsive to the opinion of the public.

If public opinion comes by its ideas mostly second-hand, and if it is public opinion that does the voting and makes the laws; then whatever force would further the interests of the government must be a shaper and leader of public opinion. It must bring about its results by

convincing the people so that they may act voluntarily. It must lead and not drive.

Glance for a moment at the whole case. It is being demonstrated in this and other jurisdictions that reasonable economy in administration is possible without lodging mandatory power in the central authority. In a ponderous way, the American people are coming to see that a private charity is a public trust, amenable to the people in the same sense that the State government in its administration of charity is amenable; and that the State Board is the logical supervisor of both. As charity problems in each State become more complex, the necessity for intelligent, harmonious co-operation between State and private agencies is taking form in the public mind. Finally it is public opinion that makes or unmakes a rule, a custom or a law, and a State Board of Charity is likely to succeed only in so far as it leads the public mind to appreciate the best in methods of relief.

SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE CHARITIES.

From the View-point of an Official Board.

By George S. Wilson, Secretary of the Board of Charities of the District of Columbia.

Definition.

In considering the question of the supervision of private charities, it is necessary to the discussion to explain first what is meant by the term "private charities;" or possibly, to be more explicit, to define what is meant by private institutions as distinguished from public institutions.

Strictly interpreted the term "public institutions" usually means institutions owned and maintained by some branch of the government—city, county, state, etc., while on the other hand, private institutions comprise institutions not owned and maintained directly by the government. According to this definition, institutions under the management of private associations or corporations are classed as private institutions even when such institutions receive appropriations of public funds.

It is necessary for our purpose, however, to distinguish between private institutions in receipt of public funds and those not in receipt of public funds. I make this distinction because the question of whether or not an institution receives public funds is often the criterion that determines whether or not such institutions shall be subject to public supervision; and when private institutions are subject to public supervision, this same question to a large extent determines the degree of such supervision and the methods employed.

Three Classes of Institutions.

In accordance with the above indicated definitions, I suggest for the purposes of this discussion the classification of institutions into three groups:

1. Strictly public institutions.
2. Private institutions in receipt of public funds.
3. Private institutions not in receipt of public funds.

With the first class of institutions, namely, strictly public institutions, this paper is not concerned. With reference to the second and third classes, while both are classed as private institutions, so far as the matter of public supervision is concerned, both in law and in practice, the distinction between these two classes of private institutions appears to be about as marked as that between public and private institutions. The right of public supervision of private institutions in receipt of public funds has long been generally recognized and exercised, while the right of public supervision of private institutions not in receipt of public funds has not been generally recognized or exercised.

While there is no effort in this brief paper to present anything like a complete review of the present state of the law and practice in reference to the public supervision of private charities, I have deemed it wise to make brief inquiry as to the present status and the general trend of affairs in the various states. I have done this rather than venture any opinions based upon my own limited experience. I have received information from thirty-eight different states and from the District of Columbia. In this number are included all the more populous states.

Of these 39 states, (including the D. C. as a state), eighteen have, so far as I can learn, no law whatever in reference to the supervision of private charities. Seven states, namely; Connecticut, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia, have definite provision for the supervision of institutions in receipt of public funds. The following states have partial supervision over certain private charities: Illinois provides for the visitation of children placed in family homes, and provides that on the complaint of two reputable citizens the board of administration may visit any institution appealing to the public or supported by trust funds. The state authorities also pass on the incorporation of charitable organizations. Indiana provides for the supervision of all children's homes that receive public wards; provides for the licensing of maternity and boarding homes and for the approval of articles of incorporation. Iowa has supervision over private institutions that receive insane persons and the home for Friendless Children. Michigan provides for the inspection of all institutions receiving and placing children, and by the law of 1911 for the visitation and inspection of maternity

hospitals. Minnesota provides for the supervision of institutions receiving children from the Juvenile Court. Such institutions must be licensed after inspection by the state board. New Hampshire provides for the supervision of orphanages where public charges are boarded. Ohio provides for the supervision of certain child-caring work under the Juvenile Court act. South Dakota provides for the investigation of private orphans' homes. Wisconsin gives the Board of Control the power of visitation of certain institutions.

The supervision of all private institutions in some degree is recognized in the laws of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and Oklahoma provides for full supervision of all private institutions.

Present Status of Subject.

It may be said in the light of the above facts that the principle of state supervision is generally recognized as applying properly to private institutions in receipt of public funds. Practically all the states that grant public aid to private institutions provide for public supervision. It appears to the writer that the supervision of this class of institutions need not differ materially from that of the purely public institutions. The law usually provides full power of visitation and investigation and authority to require full reports and information as to the conduct of such institutions. As to the method of effecting changes in these institutions, the course of procedure would naturally be very similar to that with public institutions, namely: by way of suggestion to the management, and recommendation to the legislature or other appropriating authority as to the propriety of making appropriations. The appropriating authority has a large control over the operation of state aided institutions by the exercise of the power to grant or withhold public funds. The relation of the supervising authority to the publicly aided private institutions is in a large degree the same as its relation to the purely public institution. In each case it has the power of investigation and recommendation, and in neither case does it have any power of control. When I speak of supervision by a public body I mean a body that has power of supervision only and in no sense power of control.

The consideration and action upon recommendations relative to private institutions by the legislature, however, is likely to be attended with some difficulties and embarrassments of a character somewhat different from those encountered in dealing with public institutions. The granting of public subsidies, particularly lump sum subsidies, not based on any definite measure of service rendered, has everywhere been attended with unfortunate conditions, and frequently the most insidious influences are brought to bear in the effort to obtain appropriations.

In the District of Columbia we have found that the change from

the lump sum subsidy in appropriating to private institutions to the method of providing for payment for a definite service under contract with public authorities has very greatly improved the situation. This is probably due in part to the fact that the money received by these institutions is now paid under contract with the Board of Charities and only for definite services rendered in providing care for persons accepted by that board as appropriate subjects for public aid. This direct power over the disbursement of public money doubtless impresses the institution officials with a clearer understanding of the authority of the board. But it is in another respect that I think the contract system has had its most important influence and that is in bringing the office of the Board of Charities into more immediate and intimate relations with the institutions through its responsibility for the proper care of particular persons in these institutions. Under the lump sum subsidy system there was no direct relation between the beneficiaries in private institutions and the public authorities. Under the contract system all beneficiaries of public appropriations are recognized as public wards and they are admitted to public care through the Board of Charities as the agent of the community. Our office is thus brought into constant and immediate relation with the officials of the various institutions through the admission, care and discharge of beneficiaries, and the beneficiaries themselves being in direct relation with the office of the board, we are in a position to hear many things from their standpoint that we would not be so apt to learn if our relations were confined to inspection of the institutions without regard to any particular individual therein. It is not to be understood that I would favor the contract system with private institutions in preference to having the work done by purely public institutions where that is possible. The conclusion of our board from experience in the District of Columbia is that the best system is to have purely public institutions for the performance of all work supported by public appropriation; but that appropriations to private institutions, if we must have such appropriations, are better made upon the basis of payment for services rendered, under contract or otherwise, than upon the system of granting lump sum appropriations not based on any definite requirements as to service or public control as to the reception of beneficiaries.

I realize that the conditions in the District of Columbia are so anomalous that the methods to be employed in working out any kind of control or supervision must necessarily be applied in a different manner in the various states. The District of Columbia both in area and in population is smaller than several of the large cities. But in it are combined the functions of city, county and state, and our Board of Public Charities is in some aspects of its work practically in the position of a board or commissioner of city charities, while in other aspects its functions are more closely allied to those of a state board of charities.

Supervision of Private Charities Not in Receipt of Public Appropriations.

As indicated, the information collected from various states shows that the principle of the supervision of private charities not in receipt of public funds has been recognized in the law only to a very limited degree, only one state apparently having legal authority for complete and effective supervision. Three other states recognize in the law the principle of the supervision of all charities in some degree; while nine states provide for legal supervision of certain phases of charity work, particularly the care of the insane, the care of minor children and the work of maternity homes. Nearly all of the laws providing for the supervision of private charities not in receipt of public funds are comparatively recent. The right of supervision of charities in receipt of public funds has long been embodied in law, while the right of supervision regardless of the question whether or not institutions are in receipt of public funds is only beginning to find recognition in the statutes. There is much indifference on the part of the public to the supervision of purely private charities, and there is still considerable difference of opinion among those especially interested, such as the members of this conference. I think it may be safely said, however, that the sentiment in favor of the supervision of all charitable work is growing, and that we may expect to see the principle more and more recognized in the statutes of the various states from year to year.

Regardless of whether the state or private organizations can best conduct charitable work, I think it must be recognized that all charity work is a matter of public concern. The state is the only agency representing all the people and the only agency, therefore, that can properly be entrusted with the supervision of work of a public character. The right of the state to supervise private corporations is being recognized more and more in other fields of activity. The great transportation and industrial activities are more and more being brought under the supervision of the public authorities, and I believe that we are going to recognize that the work of charitable institutions, whether supported by public or private funds is essentially a work of public concern, and it is the duty of the state to see that such work is conducted in a manner conducive to the public welfare.

In the limits of this brief paper I cannot attempt to argue at length the principle of public supervision in all its aspects, but I venture to suggest some considerations that it seems to me emphasize the need for such supervision. In the first place, it is the duty of the state to see that all its dependent members are adequately and humanely provided for; and while the state should encourage the aid of private charity in this work, it has no right to permit the work to be done without any means of knowing whether it is properly done. The

state supervises the work of financial institutions to insure the honesty and efficiency of those to whom we intrust our money, and surely the duty of insuring efficiency and honesty on the part of those caring for the helpless and dependent members of the community is no less important. No doubt many of our financial institutions would be honest and efficient without state supervision. So, also, many of our private charities are honest and efficient without supervision. But unfortunately we cannot expect that all are as efficient and honest as they might be. Proper state supervision would not injure any properly conducted charitable institution. It doubtless would and ought to bring about the abolition or radical change of some ill-advised or improperly conducted enterprises. But this is but the negative aspect of the work. Proper public supervision would be a positive constructive force making for the betterment of all charity work.

Another important reason, it seems to me, why private charities should be supervised by the state is the fact that it will never be possible to get exact information as to the extent and character of public dependence until the state insists upon such supervision as will insure uniform and accurate reports and statistics from all institutions. The efforts of the Federal Census Bureau to collect statistics from private charitable institutions emphasizes the difficulty of getting exact information, even from institutions willing to furnish it. The filing of reports by such institutions does not insure accurate information without the aid of some central supervisory authority with power to standardize and unify such reports.

A third consideration, which emphasizes the importance of the proper supervision of private charities is the fact that such a very considerable amount of charity is administered by these agencies. While in the newer states the extent of such work is not yet considerable, it is everywhere of importance, and in many of the older communities the charity maintained by private benevolence constitutes a very considerable part of all charity.

The extent of the work in Massachusetts, for example, is indicated by the fact that the state board last year asked for reports from 753 private charitable corporations. In 1909 the legislature of Pennsylvania appropriated money to 153 private hospitals and 97 homes. In New York State where public supervision of private charities not in receipt of public funds was exercised until defeated by a court decision there were something like 800 private charities reported to the state board. In the state of Michigan there are 34 private institutions engaged in the business of receiving, maintaining, and placing out, children.

One important service that supervision ought to render private institutions is in making them acquainted with improved methods successfully tried in other institutions. It will hardly be denied that many of those in charge of private institutions are not in touch with

the progress of events and are not advised as to many helpful things which have already been tried and found successful. The state supervisory authorities being familiar with the methods employed in all the institutions of the state, and to some extent having knowledge of the work in other states, would be in a position to give to all institutions information that should be exceedingly helpful.

In conclusion let me say that I have not attempted to consider in detail the particular points that should be covered in the inspection of private institutions, because experience in the supervision of such institutions is so limited that such considerations must necessarily be largely academic.

I have felt that it would probably be more helpful at this stage, instead of considering the detail of inspection and supervision in various institutions, to emphasize the importance of supervision as a principle.

It is probably safe to say, however, that largely the same field should be covered in the inspection of private institutions as in public institutions engaged in similar lines of work. No doubt experience will indicate that particular things need to be emphasized more in private institutions and other things need more emphasis in the case of public institutions. But in the absence of experience to the contrary, in discussing private institutions we may assume that largely the same matters will be covered in inspection as is the case in public institutions. The purpose of the inspection is the same, namely: to insure the proper and economical care of the inmates and to provide so far as possible that only persons who are legitimate objects of charity shall be admitted to the various institutions. Such matters as food and clothing, discipline, proper light, heat and ventilation, location and structure of buildings, etc., would be looked into. Questions of the rules governing admission and discharge of inmates, education, recreation, etc., are matters which occur to all of us as proper subjects of inquiry and suggestion.

SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE CHARITIES.

From the Viewpoint of a Private Charity

By Rev. Richard D. Biedermann, Indianapolis, Ind.

We, in Indiana, have State Inspection of Private Charities. The private institutions, which I am connected with, certainly do not suffer from the inspection, nor from the inspectors, all of whom are highly cultured persons, and absolutely fair.

That, however, is not the question. But rather: Is State Inspection of Private Charities right in principle?

Answer, "No"—provided you emphasize the words "Private" and "Charities."

Maternity homes, nurseries, boarding homes for children, children's hospitals, etc., maintained for private gain, certainly should not be classed as charities. They are business enterprises, and should be treated as such. They should be under supervision just as much as other commercial pursuits, where there is a tendency to injure others. (Analogy—our Pure Food Laws. Factory Inspection Laws. Tenement Building Laws, etc.). All legislation should clearly distinguish between above named institutions, as carried on for private gain and similar institutions, purely philanthropic, real charities. It is manifestly unfair to cover both kinds of institutions by one law. For the former, because of their commercial character, strict inspection laws should be passed and enforced. For the true Charity Institution only the mildest inspection is wanted, if any.

"Private" Charities, subsidized by the State are not strictly private institutions. They are half-breeds, as it were. In so far as the state supports them they are public institutions, and the taxpayer may lawfully demand, that the state follow the subsidy by a regular inspection of the institution benefited.

Where a so-called private charity is constantly pleading for and gathering money from the general public by systematic collections, etc., the utterance of a recent speaker might apply, "A private charity is a public trust." In fact, such a charity, supported by the general public, does not fully deserve the title of a private charity. State supervision for this kind of private charity might not be wrong in principle.

But the Charity, which is real and also strictly private, should not be under an *a priori* supervision and inspection on the part of the state; *ex posteriori* the state may inspect and must inspect for instance when a complaint of criminal neglect is entered against a private institution. But not before.

Charities, both real and private, are being carried on at present by individuals, who pay every dollar of the expense connected with their work of philanthropy; by societies, who solicit money from their members only; by lodges that would refuse to accept contributions from an outsider; by churches, that will not ask any one outside their denomination for help, though they would not refuse a gift offered without solicitation. (The institutions with which I happen to be connected are supported entirely by the gifts of our own members, and the regular collections in our German Lutheran Churches).

All such private charities are deserving of their name and they also deserve to be left alone by the State. They are amply able to inspect themselves, as they are capable of supporting themselves. The argument "If all is correct you need not fear inspection, hence we are going to supervise you," is fallacious. On the same plea officers would have a right to enter the privacy of your residence at any time.

Supervision of truly private charities on the part of the state, is paternalistic. It belongs in that category of legislation which is becoming the cardinal mistake in our American civic life. We are prone to throw off responsibilities and cast them on the over-weighted state. The state takes them, carries them at exceedingly greater cost, is over weighted, leaves undone the things it should do, namely to guard all its subjects against aggression, protect each individual against others. Let the state attend to the business enterprises, mentioned above, which masquerade as charities, and have a direct tendency to injure prospective mothers, helpless orphans, etc. But let the state not undertake to do the charitable work, which individuals stand ready to perform, and let the state refrain from supervising these private charities. Do we, who are engaged in true charity, need inspection, supervision by the state? Must we be protected against ourselves? Herbert Spencer's "Essay on Over-Legislation," might profitably be read in this connection.

Supervision of truly private charities is an unnecessary and almost insulting infringement of private, personal liberty. Has it come to this, that the state must presume evil in our institutional home, step in for the prevention of crime, accuse us, as it were, and hold us guilty, until we have proven to the satisfaction of the officers of the state, that we are not committing a crime in our own institutional home? The more I think of it, the greater appears to me the error of principle involved in the supervision of private charities.

Supervision of those private charities, which are carried on, for instance, by a church-body, would in addition be an unwarranted interference with religious liberty, sacredly guaranteed by the Constitution of our dear United States of North America. It is in fact a violation of a principle which you do not find in the organic law of any European country, but you have it in your most excellent constitution, which is binding on all the states—I refer to the principal of absolute separation of church and state. Let the church refrain from attempts to legislate for the state. Let the state keep its hands from meddling with the affairs of the Church, one of which is the charitable work of the Church. If there is any organization, which needs no supervision for its charity, but will take care thereof through its own agencies, it is the Church! The other evening one of the speakers urged the churches to take up more of organized charity work. Do we mean to add "But of course if you take up such work we shall have to supervise you."

This is flag-day in Massachusetts. The flag stands for civic and religious liberty in all the states. "*Principiis obsta!*" Let us not emulate the methods of foreign governments, from which our fore-fathers escaped, and where individuals and churches are to this day being supervised and inspected almost to death.

Law Breakers*

Report of the Committee by O. F. Lewis, Secretary of the New York Prison Association, Chairman.

The Committee on Lawbreakers presents to the National Conference of Charities and Correction a partial survey of needs not yet met in the field of the treatment of the delinquent. In October, 1910, the eighth international prison congress met, for the first time on American soil. Never before had this country been under so comprehensive or so discriminating a scrutiny by foreign criminologists. As one newspaper man put it: "The world's spot-light was turned on American prisons and American treatment of prisoners."

In April, 1911, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, the Chairman of the English prison commission, and president-elect of the next international prison congress of 1915, reported to his government. He commended in general American state prisons and reformatories, but condemned the systems, or lack of systems, in vogue in city and county jails. "Among the jails," he stated, "many features linger such as called forth the wrath of John Howard, the great English philanthropist, noted for his exertions on behalf of prison reform at the end of the 18th century. Promiscuity, unsanitary conditions, absence of supervision, idleness and corruption—these remain features in many places," says the report. "Until the abuses of the jail system are removed, it is impossible," concludes Sir Evelyn, "for the United States to have assigned to her by general consent a place in the vanguard of *la science penitentiaire*."

This is not pleasant reading, yet the question with us to-night is not as to whether this criticism makes us as Americans pride-sore, but as to the truth of this friendly but stinging criticism. On our program this evening we have a distinguished gentleman, son of the eminent American founder of the international prison congress, who will testify that the English comments of Sir Evelyn are mild as compared with the American reality.

Rome was not built in a day. As in Chicago you find still in immediate contact the mansion and the hovel, we have, in our treatment of delinquents, in close juxtaposition the prison and the jail, the reformatory and the workhouse, children's courts and lynch law, probation and short term sentences, the indeterminate sentence and industrial prison idleness, parole and definite sentences, prison hospitals for tuberculosis and jail pens for syphilis-infected tramps. Civic pride in great modern prisons

*For paper read at joint section meeting see later.

exists side by side with civic indifference as to filthy lock-ups or town jails.

At the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century—the century of hoped-for social justice, let us face frankly certain problems yet unsolved in the treatment of delinquents. Far from feeling that we have reached the stage of complacent satisfaction, let us see where our methods still break down.

First, *The Local and County Jails*. Not stopping with the remark of Thomas Holmes at the international prison congress that “every jail I saw on the American trip ought to be wiped off the face of the earth,” and that nowhere in Europe do such conditions exist, we find Professor Charles R. Henderson as chairman of a special committee of the American Prison Association of Chicago in 1907, uttering a scathing arraignment of revolting and demoralizing jail conditions. We find Frederick H. Wiles more recently, in Maryland, arraigning jail conditions in many parts of the country. We find Warren F. Spaulding of Massachusetts, writing in the Sage Foundation volumes on Correction and Prevention about the jail friendships that make of the novice a life-long criminal, of the contamination of women prisoners, the herding of juvenile offenders with adults, the dearth of attention to physical conditions in jails, the deplorable lack of proper ventilation, the ravages of disease among jail inmates and the absence of that rigid vigilance without which the ordinary jail cannot be kept in a sanitary condition; overcrowding, night buckets, monotony, filth, poorly cooked or tainted food, unconvicted prisoners and convicted prisoners in unrestricted communication, the fee system, local inattention to the fundamental principles of penology.

The case against the average jail seems proved. Has not the time come to make a general national campaign against this “school of crime?”

Mr. F. G. Pettigrove of Massachusetts dissents from the above statements regarding jails as follows:

“I do not approve the unqualified general denunciation of jails. Nobody who is familiar with the Massachusetts jails would make such an attack upon them as is implied by the form of the reference to that subject.”

Prison Labor. Prison labor is an unsettled problem; one that we must face; a problem complicated by local and state conditions, and one in which the motives of men and even communities have often been impugned. Scanning the titles of papers read at the national conference of charities and correction during the last decade, we have found only in the committee report by Mr. Whittaker in 1908 and in the paper of Dr. James H. Leonard, Superintendent of the Ohio State Reformatory, definite and extended treatment of the prison labor problem, this fundamental problem of penology.

Has the problem been solved? Are prisoners everywhere earning their maintenance? Has any one system proved satisfactory? Is there general consensus of opinion that the prisoner shall not be utilized for private

gain? Is there no demoralizing idleness in so-called model prisons? Is there no high tension labor in so-called model prisons?

No, prison labor has not yet reached a satisfactory solution when we can still cite a recent article of Dr. A. J. McKelway in Volume II. of "Correction and Prevention" regarding prison labor in the South: "The leasing of convicts whether to corporations or individuals is a system that has been abolished by some of the southern states, but which still prevails in some of the states, accompanied as it always has been with indefensible abuses (p. 72). I make bold to affirm that such abuses as were found to exist in Georgia will be found to exist in a greater or less degree in every state where the leasing system still prevails."

We learn that in Alabama even the wardens and the guards are employed by the contractors. We find that in Ohio, in connection with the discontinuance of contract labor and the development of the State use system, the state penitentiary was plunged into the most deplorable idleness. We find in Pennsylvania an archaic legal compulsion to utilize only hand-power machinery, and but thirty-five per cent. of the prisoners at work at any one time. We find under the present status of the state use system in New York that the state prisoners earn only about one-fourth of the cost of their maintenance, and a nominal sum of not more than 2c a day, which earnings can be radically reduced by fines. We find loud protests in Rhode Island because the state lets the services of able-bodied prisoners to contractors at 30c a day, and we find in Maryland under the contract system a penitentiary which is said to have returned to the state treasury in 1910 a surplus of thirty-five thousand dollars from the earnings of prisoners, while the over-time work earned for the prisoners themselves was \$41,928. We find the Detroit House of Correction, on the state account system, earning a profit in 11 years of \$368,000, paying its prisoners from ten to twenty-five cents a day wages, and planning to distribute to the families of prisoners, through the city poormaster, \$15,000 during the year 1911, in addition to the surplus which it expects to turn over to the city. We find the Minnesota state prison under the state account system making the following report for the last ten years:

Total earnings	\$2,210,880
Total expenses	1,199,248
<hr/>	
Excess of earnings	\$1,011,632

The binder twine plant in the ten years has made a profit of \$1,653,290. of which \$352,553 was paid to the support fund for convict labor. Quoting again from Dr. McKelway we learn that in Texas the convicts are worked on the leasing, contract, public account and public works systems. "But a legislative investigating committee has recently discovered horrible abuses in all these systems. A number of convicts were found who had been literally beaten to death during the last year (1909) and the prisoners

seemed to dread the prison farm as much as work within the prison wall, if not more." We find Warden Gilmour of the Toronto Central prison stating that on the prison farm of that institution the inmates work cheerfully and without guards.

The Committee on Lawbreakers respectfully suggests that the general subject of prison labor, in its various phases, be made the chief subject of this committee at the next national conference. Prison labor is not simply an administrative problem; it is an industrial problem and a health problem, and concerns vitally the training and efficiency of scores of thousands who, leaving prison, are potential subjects for charity of a public or private nature. It is a vital problem for the National Conference of Charities and Correction as well as for the American Prison Association. The problem of the proper utilization of prisoners is a fundamental problem in every American state.

The fact that a separate organization, the National Committee on Prison Labor, has been established to study the prison labor problem, and the further fact that the newspaper and magazine press has manifested much interest in the field which this committee occupies, are evidences of the extent and importance of the field.

Frank L. Randall, General Superintendent of the Minnesota State Reformatory and a member of the Committee on Lawbreakers, makes the following suggestion:

"If the recommendation of the Committee on Lawbreakers be adopted to make the subject of prison labor a feature of the next conference, the leaders of organized labor should be invited to participate. We should ask the labor representatives, if they urge the state use plan, to concede to the prisons the field, so far as the products are paid for with public funds."

The Treatment of Defective Delinquents. There are undoubtedly thousands of feeble-minded persons in correctional institutions. In recent annual reports of Elmira Reformatory, it has been stated that about 35% of its inmates are mentally defective. The presence of the feeble-minded is a detriment to many plans that have been adopted for the instruction and training of prisoners. The complete exclusion from the ordinary prison of persons afflicted with tuberculosis has improved the healthfulness of those prisons and has also supplied a better and more hopeful means of treatment for the unfortunate sufferers. The same treatment—segregation—should be applied to all those to whom special treatment would be a benefit, or whose ailments are of such a nature as to endanger the welfare of others. Dr. Henry E. Goddard of Vineland estimates that 25% of delinquents are mentally defective. "All mental defectives would be delinquents," he states, "in the very nature of the case, did not some one exercise some care over them. The mentally defective must be cared for as we care for irresponsible." Mr. Ernest K. Coulter, for many years clerk of the Children's Court of Manhattan and Bronx, New York City, states his belief that the most important step to be taken by the state in

its slow abandonment of antiquated methods of dealing with child offenders and victims of bad environment and neglect must be the establishment of institutions for the special treatment of the mental defectives of this class. In the great state of New York, there is no special custodial institution to which the criminal feeble-minded can be committed and transferred. So important is this matter, that it has been made the subject of one of the section meetings of this Committee on Lawbreakers.

Parole. The principle of parole is a fundamental complement to the principle of the indeterminate sentence. Its successful application requires an efficient merit system within the prison, a competent parole board and adequate supervision of the post-prison parole period, the co-operation of the employment-giving public, and the persistent following up, recapture and re-imprisonment of wilful violators of parole.

Only in a most general way do we yet know the results of the administration of parole systems in this country. We find a general belief, based on long experience and some careful study of prison statistics, that about 75% of paroled persons from reformatories or prisons "stay straight" during the parole period. We still lack any study of sufficient magnitude to admit of generalization in the case of any state as to the proportion of criminal recidivism *after* the parole period. The New York Prison Association will shortly make public an extended study of the careers of seven hundred inmates of Elmira Reformatory, yet this number, though intensively studied, will be too small for comprehensive generalization but will rather indicate both a statistical method of study of criminal careers and the great inadequacy of present institutional or extra-institutional social facts and social statistics of delinquents.

As regards post-prison treatment and aid of the released or discharged prisoner, we find Amos W. Butler in Volume II of the Sage Foundation series on "Correction and Prevention" reporting that only about 24 organizations exist throughout this country for this purpose, though several of these societies spread their activity through a number of states. We find also varying periods of parole, some of six months as at Elmira, some of seven months, as at Huntington, Pa., nine months, as at the Illinois State Reformatory, or until the expiration of the maximum sentence, as at Concord, Mass., or at Bedford or Albion in New York. We find in Mr. Butler's study, state after state recorded as follows: "State makes no effort to find work or keep in touch with prisoner after his discharge:" "no provision for after-care of either paroled or discharged prisoners:" "no parole officers:" "no parole agents:" "no provision for finding work or visiting prisoners," etc., etc.

A prominent eastern reformatory superintendent recently said: "Why spend nearly two hundred dollars annually to maintain one inmate in a reformatory, and then spend only \$1.50 per inmate during his period of parole to help him *not* to go wrong?" This Committee on Lawbreakers believes that the parole period of an offender is barely second in importance to the period of imprisonment. The poorly supervised parole

period breeds recidivism, contempt for law, the alienation of the sympathy of judges, the irritation and criticism of the public, unintelligent scorn for reformatory methods, and immense ultimate cost to the state in further loss of property or life.

The Probation Movement, long known and developed in Massachusetts, has during this last decade made great national progress. Nevertheless the probation movement faces grave dangers. It is on the defensive. The methodology of probation is still in the experimental stage. More important than the extension of the system is the building up of an effective technique. In too many places probation is still synonymous either with sentimental leniency or with perfunctory police surveillance. The most essential factors in probation work are the educative, reformatory reconstructive work represented by home visitation. The development of right mental habits and the rendering of practical assistance.

The improvement of probation methods depends primarily upon the appointment of interested, faithful and competent probation officers. The tendency is strongly in the direction of increasing the number of public salaried probation officers. Although this tendency is inevitable and desirable, it brings in its trail the gravest danger which the probation system must meet, namely the danger of appointments being made through the influence of partisan politics. Those interested in the probation system should therefore look squarely in the face the question as to how probation officers should be appointed; whether by judges without interference by any outside regulations or authorities; whether through civil service examinations; whether upon the approval of some outside body such as a state probation commission, or whether the appointing power should be vested in authorities other than the judges, as in local non-partisan, non-sectarian committees or commissions.

Ex-Attorney-General Julius M. Mayer dissents from the foregoing paragraph as follows:

"I am opposed to the appointing power being placed in anybody except the judges, which, to my mind, leaves open only the question as to whether examinations should be competitive or non-competitive."

In a further letter Judge Mayer writes:

"There cannot be any discussion as to who should appoint probation officers. It is absurd to say that any person outside of the judge should appoint. I personally should refuse, if a judge, to place anybody on probation if the probation officers were appointed by any one but the Court or Judge. As a matter of fact I doubt seriously whether in New York State there would be any legal power in any other body to make any such appointment. The suggestions, in this regard, are, to my mind, utterly absurd and unworthy of being dignified by being incorporated in our report."

A problem in administrative efficiency that must be worked out is the co-ordination of probation and parole systems. There seem no valid reasons why in general the same persons cannot do both probation and

parole work in the same localities. At present parole supervision is usually exercised by persons who are not probation officers and often the parole officers are itinerant officers obliged to travel over wide areas. The effective supervision and aid of those on parole requires that those exercising the parole oversight shall confine their efforts to a comparatively limited area. The efficiency of parole service would undoubtedly be greatly strengthened in communities where it is not practicable to have special parole officers, if the parole work were entrusted to the local probation officers. This combination of work, if properly organized, can be carried on with mutual advantage to both systems and without any detriment to either of them.

The Wives and Children of Prisoners. The dependency of these often innocent victims of the delinquency of the breadwinner is closely allied to the problem of prison labor. Any plan is paradoxical that removes a breadwinner to prison idleness and leaves a despairing family to exist by charitable help or by the bounty of impoverished neighbors. The state having the right to protect itself from crime by imprisoning the offender, has also the duty to make work for him, first to pay for his own maintenance, and secondly, to contribute, so far as possible, to the maintenance of his family. No explanations of alleged necessary idleness, of lack of orders for prison goods, of political interference with extension of prison labor systems, or of the need of the payment of prisoners' earnings to a tax-ridden state should prevail against the fact that the state or the political subdivision of a state owes to the stricken family the partial fruits of the toil of the prisoner and must develop such a system of industry as will both make the prisoner self-supporting and bring to his family some return for his labor. Inability to accomplish less than this is a confession of state-inefficiency that should not be tolerated and that invites the fullest scrutiny.

Farm Colonies. The campaign for compulsory farm colonies for habitual tramps and vagrants has gained much impetus since 1907, when the problems of vagrancy were discussed in detail, at the Minneapolis national conference of charities and correction. In a half dozen states farm colony bills were introduced last winter, but none were passed. The press seems almost unanimous in favor of such colonies; public opinion is expressing ever greater annoyance at the so-called "tramp army." Typical of the dissatisfaction with the present expensive and palliative treatment of vagrancy is the reiterated statement of the New York State Board of Charities that vagrancy costs the state of New York about two million dollars a year from public and private charitable funds.

The time certainly seems at hand for a systematic campaign against the vagrancy evil. Drifting methods of alleviation and of passing-on constitute only an aggravation of the situation. Vagrancy and crime are closely akin. The Committee on Lawbreakers raises the question whether the movement partially organized several years ago for a national vagrancy committee should not at this session of the national

conference be organized with the aim of furthering systematic methods for the reduction of vagrancy. A problem in European countries sufficiently serious to be called one of the most fundamental social problems, deserves systematic and adequate attention in the United States where the problem is still in its earlier stages.

Closely allied is the great problem of inebriety and its treatment. The special United States Census of 1904 showed that 54% of all commitments to correctional institutions were due to intoxication, vagrancy and disorderly conduct. A special committee of this national conference of 1911 treats of this national question in a general session and in section meetings. The committee on lawbreakers emphasizes the pressing immediate need of state and national campaigns for the reduction of drunkenness and the rational treatment of the drunkard.

Prisoners' Aid Societies. Organized charitable work of private societies in the correctional field is woefully slight in comparison with the charity organization movement for the spread of the gospel of social service. There are hardly a score of active prisoners' aid societies of fairly wide range in the United States. Yet the great movements for probation and parole, for better prisons and for better prisoners, for the help of released prisoners and for dependent families of prisoners, for the reduction of vagrancy and inebriety, for the better care of the mentally-or-physically defective delinquents, for better laws and greater public information—these great movements need the directing power of strong charitable organizations of the prisoners' aid kind. The field of delinquency needs the same thorough development that in the last generation has been accorded to the field of charity. A national prisoners' aid society was organized at the last meeting of the American Prison Association, to develop greater co-operation between the now existing prisoners' aid societies and to extend the prisoners' aid work. The national association publishes a monthly journal of sixteen pages called the Review.

American Criminology. Tendencies in this country in the problem of the treatment of the criminal have been overwhelmingly administrative rather than analytical and academic. Our foreign guests in 1910 often remarked that we characteristically experimented and did things rather than debated and philosophized on the theories of criminology. The extravagance of sole adhesion to the former method is increasingly obvious, however, and has led, among other things, to the organization of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, a central body for the inculcation of more scientific methods in the treatment of the delinquent as well as for the extension of our knowledge of the criminal. A recent conference in New York City on the reform of the criminal law and procedure indicated the wide-spread belief of the ablest members of the bench and bar that our criminal law and its administration need radical reforms. In the field of criminal statistics, also, we need far more light even if such light shall only indicate clearly that comprehensive and accurate criminal statistics are practically impossible to collate. To the

efforts of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology to advance in accuracy, in dignity, and in usefulness our store of information as to crime and its treatment, the national conference should give full credit and strong encouragement.

THE ABOLITION OF THE COUNTY JAIL.

By Frederick Howard Wines.

Of all the reforms included under the general title of prison reform in the United States, none is so urgent as the overthrow of our existing system of dealing with misdemeanants. We have made substantial progress in the reconstruction of our penitentiary system. But are you aware that in each year the number of commitments to prison for terms not exceeding one year is four times as great as that for any longer period? In other words, even though all our prisons, great and small, were reformatory in their aim and influence, the major prisons would reach and touch only one-fourth of the criminal and quasi-criminal population in custody of the law. Three-fourths of those in custody are in fact held in institutions, the practical effect of which is to train an unascertained percentage of their inmates for the penitentiary.

When, a few months since, that distinguished group of foreign criminologists and experts in prison administration in attendance upon the sessions of the international prison congress in Washington accepted the hospitality of the government, and made a hurried tour of inspection of some of our leading and typical penal institutions, they were good enough to express their admiration of our reformatories, both for children and adults, but they could with difficulty find language at once sufficiently severe and decently diplomatic, with which to voice the amazement and horror awakened in them by a casual glance at the municipal and county prisons of this great republic. And when they spoke to us about it, they seemed to think they were telling us what we did not know.

On the contrary, there is not an habitual visitor to our county jails, official or philanthropic, who is not alive to the evil conditions that prevail in most of them. In any library that makes a specialty of collecting public documents, I could show you scores or hundreds of reports in which attention is called not only to the generally unsatisfactory state of these minor prisons, but to the peculiarly repulsive and dangerous conditions existing in some of them. Certainly, all are not equally bad. It is no part of my purpose to indulge in exaggeration for the sake of exciting a momentary sensation, or to represent as typical

what is really exceptional. But the best jail that was ever built, although the physical treatment accorded to its unfortunate inmates may be perfectly humane and just, fails to subserve any of the ends of a prison except that of confinement. There is in it no organized, intelligent, thorough effort to reclaim the men and women committed to it. Such effort as may be made, in certain prisons, is apt to be sporadic, spasmodic, and it is ordinarily neutralized by the contamination of unrestricted communication and mutual intercourse between prisoners.

The number of what may be called good jails is relatively small. Most of them are unsanitary, owing to their location or to their architectural construction. Many of them are overcrowded, almost to suffocation. They are often horribly filthy. They are centers of tuberculous and syphilitic contagion.

Where one finds filth, one is apt to find disease and immorality. The moral atmosphere of the average county prison is even more foul than the physical odors that often assail the nostrils of the visitor with nauseating effect. The associations, the language, the practices in vogue are vile beyond description. The inmates are corrupted by compulsory association in enforced idleness. The worst of these prisons are cesspools of moral contagion, propagating houses of criminality, factories of crime, feeders for the penitentiary, public nuisances, the disgrace of modern civilization.

And yet all the effort put forth to change these conditions for the better has thus far proved almost wholly unavailing.

Why this indifference, this inertia, this immobility? Doubtless it is partly attributable to ignorance. The county officials do not know what a jail should be, and the people do not know what their jails really are. The evil effects are scattered over an immense territory, and they are subdivided, until the aggregate amount is hidden from sight in an almost endless mass of details. But in plain Anglo-Saxon, the truth is, that wherever there exists local graft and political dishonesty, the county prison is its center and its stronghold. The sheriff or the jailor makes a personal profit from crime by charging a per diem for board for prisoners, and by the receipt of fees for locking and unlocking the jail doors. That profit is a live wire; no local politician, possibly no member of the legislature, or even of the state administration, dares monkey with it.

Instead, therefore, of laying the axe to the root of the tree, would-be reformers resort to compromise measures, and undertake to "improve" the jails, or, as the Illinois Charities commission phrases it, to "standardize" them. Ladies and gentlemen, there can be and will be no material improvement in these establishments, so long as they continue to be regarded as local institutions and remain subject to local control. Strange, is it not, that the smaller communities should be so anxious, as they often are, to unload the burden of their poor, their sick, their insane, their helpless and forlorn, of all ages, upon the shoulders of

the commonwealth, where it does not belong, but fight to retain that of their criminals, which by right the state alone should bear.

This is, in my judgment, the secret of our failure and defeat. We have substantially won the fight for the reformatory prison and the indeterminate sentence, because we concentrated our fire upon a vulnerable point and made every shot tell. We made use of siege guns and loaded them with shell. In attacking the county jail system, we have pursued the opposite policy; we have scattered our fire and placed our reliance upon buckshot. We have addressed our arguments and remonstrances to the county authorities, of whom there are, in round numbers, twenty-five hundred sets, instead of to the legislative bodies, of which there are less than fifty. We have pleaded for new jails, better jails, when we should have insisted upon their replacement by prisons owned and controlled by the state, thus emancipating them from local political control, with its petty and selfish interests.

There was a time when local control was necessary and proper, but that was long ago. To-day the county prison is an anachronism. We imported it, with other British institutions, from England, the mother country. But conservative England has outgrown it, and dates the dawn of her regenerated prison system from the year of its abolition. We still lag behind in the march of modern civilization.

There is no good and sufficient reason why the state which enacts a criminal code, with its definitions of crime, its prohibitions, and its penal sanctions, should assume the custody and care of the man committed to prison for three years, and refuse to recognize its responsibility for the man sentenced for three months, abandoning him to the haphazard mercies of an inferior jurisdiction, which is certainly ignorant, often brutal, and sometimes dishonest. It is not the majesty of the county, but that of the state, which calls for vindication. The county has no criminal code of its own. The suppression of crime, let it take what form it may, is the business of the state. The state should name, and it should have exclusive authority over, the executive agents to whom it entrusts the discharge of this supreme governmental function.

You are aware that, although the county and municipal constabulary act as guardians of the public peace, the authority vested in them is derived from the state. It is the peace of the state which is threatened. If the local officials are unable to preserve it, the higher power of the state is invoked. The state militia may be ordered out, but the expense of quelling the disturbance is charged to the city or county. And, in some states, a sheriff who has failed to discharge his duty can be summarily removed from office, and the governor is authorized to appoint his successor.

The local officials in charge of a city or county prison sustain a somewhat similar relation to the state. The local prison is an indispensable part of the machinery of justice. For reasons of convenience,

the state, which is the fountain-head of justice, makes use of the officers of justice in the minor political divisions of the state, to execute the orders of the court. But they have no original jurisdiction. Their jurisdiction is derivative, and it is revocable at the pleasure of the state. The moment that it becomes apparent to the public, and to their representatives in the legislature, that the exercise of this delegated authority is corrupt, ineffectual, or unsatisfactory, the legislature has power to replace that system by a better. Some of the states now exercise a qualified visitorial power over the county prisons, but the boards in which this power is lodged have not the right to issue and enforce orders which the county authorities must carry out. What is needed is mandatory power vested in a single officer or commission and applicable to all counties and municipalities alike.

The only hope of enlightened progress in dealing with the problem of crime in America is the overthrow of the county jail system. To this end we must direct our energies. With the state once in command, there can be no question but it will find a way to right the wrong and remedy the evils which inhere in the present organization and management of minor prisons. The state has a wider outlook, and a deeper sense of responsibility; it is less directly influenced by purely local considerations, and it possesses the power which the county lacks.

The Washington international prison congress awakened much dormant interest in all phases of the prison question throughout the world, but especially in the United States. We succeeded in the attempt to modify the mental attitude of Europe toward our reformatory system, in its application to felons. Five years from now, we shall meet our European friends in London to renew this great debate. Meanwhile, they point to us with polite scorn, and tell us that, until we change our method of treatment of misdemeanants, we have no right to arrogate to ourselves the position of leaders in the great work of prison reform. The best answer to this taunt is to give heed to it, with ready recognition of the friendly intent of their warning and admonition. "Let the righteous reprove me; it shall be an excellent oil, that will not break my head." We thank them for it, and trust that it may do us good. Is not this the opportune moment for effecting a complete change of base, for the adoption of a new plan of campaign, and for the inauguration of an evolutionary, or, if you please, a revolutionary program?

The relative importance of this burning question rests not alone upon the numerical preponderance of misdemeanants in our prisons, but upon the more favorable prospect of a reduction in the volume of crime, through the wise and skillful application to them of a reformatory prison discipline, than is to be anticipated from the attempt to reform more hardened and daring culprits. Let me give you a modern, sociological version of that hackneyed quotation from Juvenal,

Mazima debetur puero reverentia. "In prison discipline, the mis-demeanor, not the felon, should be our first and chief concern."

Mine is a poor, weak voice; it will not carry very far. This right arm is not the arm of a giant, nor even of an athlete; it will not deliver a smashing blow. For the sake of the human derelicts languishing in merited or unmerited confinement, I could wish that both were stronger. Still more earnestly do I wish it for the sake of our common country and its honor. An old man suffers in many ways that a young man hardly understands. One of my secret griefs is the shame I feel, that my country has so long tolerated, and continues to tolerate, a wrong which disgraces it in the eyes of the world, and which, unless it is redressed, must sooner or later bring down upon it the vengeance of Almighty God.

THE SUPPRESSION OF MORAL DEFECTIVES.

By Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University.

The prevention of crime through the isolation or extirpation of criminals offers many analogies to the prevention of disease by the isolation or death of diseased persons. These analogies are obvious; and are based on observed facts, and not on any theory that all moral defects originate in, or are caused by, physical defects. Opinions might differ widely concerning the bodily origin of drunkenness, inordinate sexual passion, or kleptomania; and yet persons holding different views on this point might agree as to the wisest treatment of such moral delinquents.

It is the purpose of this paper to urge that society should treat the victims of moral disaster just as it has now in some good measure learned to treat the victims of bodily or physical disaster. To develop this thesis we must first consider: How society at its best does nowadays treat the sick and the defective in body or mind. In an ordinary contagious disease of short period, preventive medicine, applying the extraordinary biological discoveries of the last forty years, first prescribes isolation to prevent the diffusion of the contagion, then provides during the progress of the disease the best possible conditions for the play of Nature's remedial forces, and lastly, permits return to ordinary life only when health and vigor have been restored. In treating a slow, chronic, disabling disease like tuberculosis, insanity, or syphilis, preventive medicine prescribes isolation in many cases, a general hygienic mode of life, ample precautions against communicating the disease, and no marriage unless a cure has been clearly effected. This last prescription is of great importance; for it is intended to prevent the transmission of disease or enfeeblement to another generation.

Let us next compare society's treatment of moral defectives with

this best treatment of physical defectives. In the first place, a large proportion of the crimes committed in our country are not treated socially at all, the criminals escaping detection and arrest, or being acquitted when brought to trial through the ingenious use of legal technicalities and delays. This is as if victims of scarlet fever or small-pox should be left quite free to move about in the community so far as their conditions permitted, society manifesting no active interest in their welfare, and taking no precautions whatever against the spread of their disease. Secondly, in cases in which criminals are arrested and convicted the penalties imposed by courts have, as a rule, no remedial and no preventive effect. Drunkards, for example, brought frequently before courts for sentence, are sent over and over again to jails or houses of correction for terms too short for effectual cure, so that they soon relapse into drunkenness when discharged. Or again, a burglar is sentenced to a few years in prison, acquires while confined no better disposition and no new means of earning a livelihood, and so, when freed, naturally returns to his former criminal mode of life. The prisons in this country always contain a considerable proportion of habitual criminals serving terms of moderate length, who when discharged return to the criminal life as a matter of course, their temporary isolation in confinement affording the community no security against the repetition of their offences. This is as sensible as medical practice with the homicidal insane would be, if, as sometimes happens, indeed, it released the insane person before cure, or without any certainty that a cure had been effected,—with the result that fresh homicides occur.

Thirdly, many researches into the history of criminal families have now made it sure that the propensity to crime, be it moral, or physical, or both, is eminently transmissible; so that criminals, like imbeciles and other physical defectives, will surely breed their like, if left free to do so. To leave them free is to perpetuate and multiply by inheritance the evils and losses which criminality inflicts on the race. This is as if the insane, the tuberculous, and the syphilitic were left by medical practitioners and health authorities quite free to propagate their kind.

These comparisons suggest strongly that society needs to revise its methods of dealing with criminals. In this revision, what improvements should be aimed at? (1) Better police protection, especially in the detective department, so that fewer crimes should be committed with impunity. This would correspond with the improving registration and responsible social treatment of disease. (2) A lessened use of fines and an increased use of imprisonment for convicted criminals of all sorts, a fine being an almost useless penalty for crimes against the person, since it has very little improving or instructive quality, is to the well-to-do a matter of indifference, and is often impossible to collect from the poor. (3) The habitual use of longer terms of imprisonment, that is, terms of isolation and temporary exemption from temptation to crime. (4) The conversion of houses of correction, jails, and prisons into places of instruc-

tion and of instructive labor, with incidental confinement, from being places of confinement with incidental labor, which is often unproductive or impossible of utilization by the individual on his return to the outer world. Through this transformation houses of correction and prisons would become agricultural or industrial colonies, in which most prisoners would acquire the habit of productive labor and some skill available towards livelihood when they should again enjoy freedom. To such prisons humane judges could reasonably commit criminals, and especially young criminals. For the good of the prisoners and the relief of honest labor which now pays the high cost of courts and prisons, all labor in prisons should be made as productive as possible, the existing restrictions on the sale of the products being removed. (5) The habitual criminal, who has demonstrated his quality to the public authorities, should be effectively prevented from propagating his kind, this restriction applying to men and women alike. The Indiana law on this subject and the success attained in its application have blazed the trail which all free states must follow, if they would protect themselves from moral degeneracy and from the physical evils and losses which result from criminality. The democratic governments must demonstrate that the free pursuit of happiness which they guarantee to their citizens does not include freedom to commit crime or to propagate degeneracy. (6) The unit-areas of police organization and authority should be made much larger than they now are; and then the various units should be so affiliated that prompt co-operation between different units could always be easily effected. Criminals avail themselves nowadays of the new means of rapid transportation to flit from one police area to another, thus multiplying their chances for immunity in crime. Applied science has, however, furnished in telegraphs, telephones, photographs, card catalogues, the Bertillon system of anthropometrical registration and the system of identification through skin impressions, the means of counteracting the new facilities which criminals enjoy. It remains to secure the prompt co-operation of different police systems and different courts all over the country. Every person, male or female, who has been convicted of crime, should be registered at many points with complete means of identification, and should be kept under supervision for a long period after his discharge; and the new laws needed to secure such continuous supervision, if any, should be promptly adopted in all the states. With such systematic supervision should go assistance in procuring employment. A physical defective, recovering from a serious disease like tuberculosis, insanity, or syphilis, is kept, if he or his friends be wise, under medical supervision for many months, or even years. A moral defective who has been under restraint, protected from the temptations to which his defects render him especially liable, is under our present laws and customs suddenly set free, exposed to all the temptations to which he has previously yielded, but with no protective supervision. There is no sense and no justice in such careless indifference

on the part of the community. (7) For the physical and moral protection of the community, fornicators, adulterers, prostitutes, and procurers or panders, should be included in the class of habitual criminals; and society should wage incessant warfare against disorderly houses and gambling places, and against the keepers of such resorts and the owners of property leased for immoral purposes. To check and suppress the resorts of vice should be a recognized part of the protective supervision which society provides for persons who have been convicted of crime. Such continuous efforts would be strictly analogous to the modern use of the collective forces of society to keep out dangerous contagious diseases like yellow fever and cholera, and to stamp them out quickly whenever they got temporarily established.

The control and slow extinction of moral and mental defectives must then proceed on lines similar to those already laid down for the control and extermination of bodily defectives. In both processes much time will be required for the attainment of any broad results, for much new legislation will be needed, and successful experience in executing the better laws can be attained only by long and patient effort. The community will, however, be sustained during the gradual process of enacting and executing well-devised laws by the conviction that every advance toward the ultimate goal will bring substantial benefits with it, and the taking of every forward step will make it easier to take the next.

MENTAL DEFECTS AND DELINQUENCY.

William Healy, M. D., Director Juvenile Psychopathic Institute, Chicago, Illinois.

The facts of recidivism are startling enough to command attention—whether one's interest in the matter be economic, legal, humanitarian or anthropologic. The terrific cost of crime, the failure of court methods to check criminalism, either in the individual or as a whole, the impotency of ordinary penological efforts and the considerable inadequacy of even the best reformatory type of institution are causes for amazement. By even a superficial glance at the facts we are thrown at once into an inquiry,—what manner of a person is this recidivist, this individual who in spite of admonitory teachings and punishments goes on pursuing a career which leads him into just the situation which he wishes to avoid. Justice Rhodes of England writes an article in a medical journal putting up the matter squarely to the medical profession, asking them what it means when out of 182,000 convictions in a year, 10,000 have been convicted more than twenty times before. "On the face of it," he asks, "doesn't this seem more like a problem for those who have to do with abnormal personalities than merely for the law?"

Even if a statistical survey of crime and recidivism did not point

directly in explanation to the peculiarities of the unit offender, it would in general seem as if the anthropological outlook, applied to the criminal himself, would be easily the best point of vantage in studying the crime situation. Here is a given individual, performing acts inimical to his fellows and retributively painful to himself. What leads him socially to react thus and so? Taking this view, common sense would seem to demand study of the causative factors in every case, and this means, first and foremost, investigation of those mental characteristics which underlie conduct.

Beginning such a study of the causative factors of crime and taking account of deviation from the normal among the criminalistic, we immediately see that mental defect looms very large. Just how extensive this factor is we are unable to say, because thoroughgoing examinations of delinquents have not yet been registered in sufficient numbers. Sutherland, who has had a large experience and has well considered the matter, states in his work on Recidivism (p. 50) that it is not wide of the mark to say that one-third of criminal recidivists are pathological specimens, suffering from physical and mental degeneracy characterized by mental warp, instability and feeble-mindedness," and that of petty offender recidivists it is equally safe to hold that two-thirds are pathological in the same sense. The British Royal Commission for the study of the feeble-minded looked at 2,300 prisoners in cursory fashion and without mental tests decided that they could determine about ten per cent to be feeble-minded. Incomplete work from many sources testifies to considerable proportions of feeble-minded among criminals. We ourselves, in our Chicago Institute, are for several reasons doing fairly intensive work, and I would at once disclaim that our figures have much statistical value. Yet of 620 cases of youthful repeaters carefully studied by us and classified in a scale of mental ability and peculiarity, twenty-six per cent grade distinctly below the class which we call poor in native ability. We found:—

Mentally subnormal (in a class above the ordinary institutional feeble-minded types, but still well below the normal)	51
Dull from physical causes, including epilepsy.....	36
Feeble-minded of the upper or moron group.....	48
Feeble-minded of the imbecile group.....	5
Psychoses (various types of mental disease).....	22

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Scattered for the most part through these classes we found $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total 620 to be definitely epileptic.

What a curious maladjustment it seems that while all this acknowledged social failure is in progress, and while there is this obvious incompetency of legal methods in ascertaining adequate facts for better-

ment of the situation, there should be so very little study of where the trouble lies. In courts for adult offenders there is almost no opportunity for unbiased investigation of the individual criminal. In the juvenile court, with its advantages of intimate relationship established there, how can the judge from his short examination determine even this question of the mental status of the delinquent? Opinion on this subject in court is formed by the questionnaire method, which, from a scientific standpoint, for various reasons, is notoriously unsafe. Not only in court room procedure is there inadequate investigation of the individual, but all through the situation in regard to the handling of delinquents the same is true. Nowadays, when the value of efficiency bureaus is everywhere recognized, it seems strange that this most business-like bit of work should not have been taken up. The outlay is millions and hundreds of millions for repression, but practically nothing for the study of how efficiently to repress.

In the past the legal disposition of offenders with mental peculiarity has very largely hinged on the question of criminal responsibility. Now this question, especially in the case of high-grade mental defectives, involves some pretty fundamental philosophical point and probably this most dangerous class will never have its responsibility completely standardized and determined. We have in sight no likelihood of finding a test or criterion of the power of ethical discernment and control. The best thinkers have finally relegated the whole problem to the common sense of juries. But a much more profitable way of looking at the matter is whether or not the individual is going to do it again, whether he is going to become a recidivist, a menace to society, and whether he is to breed progeny of the same ilk. The self-protection of society is herein involved. Why should we not drop the technical and hardly decidable question of criminal responsibility and the idea of mere punishment, and take up the much more vital problem of how society is to protect itself?

Looked at as a matter wherein the welfare of society is the chief concern, one most difficult point in the problem of mental defect grows more readily soluble. I speak of those cases in which evidence of feeble-mindedness, although distinct, especially if studied by means of tests, is minor in degree as compared with the ethical defect present. These form a class of offenders most difficult to deal with because so frequently, on account of good development of language ability, they pass in the world in general, and in courts in particular, as practically normal individuals. This type has been designated by various terms. Anton has recently published a symposium monograph on the subject showing that the consensus of opinion is that there certainly exists a distinct group in which moral defect is out of proportion to the amount of mental subnormality. The recent report of the Massachusetts commission on the increase of criminals emphasizes this very point. To those who doubt the existence of mental defect in such cases I commend the use of

psychological tests. Better study of the individual will, in any case, give some indication of that most important point for the welfare of society, namely, whether or not the crime will be repeated.

Intelligent study of the problem of recidivism means catching the repeater as early as possible and making a diagnosis and prognosis for his case at once or in the future. The advantages of studying the recidivist when young are many, both from a scientific and a reformatory point of view. It is often also of immense importance to study the adult repeated offender. The disposal of him frequently offers more difficulties than the adjustment of the juvenile case. There is one matter in connection with adult offenders upon which I wish to lay special emphasis. It is in regard to the parole of criminals. It seems clear to me that if the whole matter of adult probation is to be placed upon the most sensible basis, the scientific facts which have bearing upon the situation must be brought into use. I hold that no criminal should be released upon parole until enough of a study has been made of his individuality and the causative factors of his delinquency so that there may be some sort of a guarantee that his offenses will not be continued. As it stands, almost nothing of this sort is being done. It should be the first and main inquiry of any board of parole to know whether or not the individual under consideration is likely to be a recidivist. Several points of view would be connected in such an inquiry, but the point we are concerned with today is one of the greatest value for the decision. The first question to be asked, if the matter is to be sensibly decided, is about the mental status of the individual. This inquiry with its various ramifications will often be found of great significance in answering the vital question:—"Will crime be committed again by this individual?"

Intelligent study of an actual or a potential recidivist means a fairly complete investigation and is worth days of work if this be necessary. It needs a combination of the sociological, medical and psychological standpoints. We ourselves find particularly rich fields for explanation of the case in getting the history of families and of developmental conditions and in psychological examinations. The latter has been much hampered in the past by lack of practical tests, but of late these have been developed. At the present time any intelligent observer can judge something of the mental capacity of an individual by seeing his performance, under proper conditions, on a group of tests which correspond to the normal ability of the child. The well known Binet tests, imperfect though they probably are in some respects, form an epoch making advance in the study of feeble-mindedness. We ourselves have been at much pains in the last two years in developing, with the help of a number of psychologists, a group of tests directed to the estimation of native mental ability in older and higher types of individuals. We may hope for much greater standardization of tests in the future, but, even as it now stands, there can be no doubt that just such a practical mental

classification as the work with delinquents demands can be readily carried out by qualified persons.

If, avoiding *a priori* standpoints, we enter upon a study of the recidivist, we find such a considerable number of causative factors determinable that this at once precludes the idea of crime being anything like a disease entity. Mental defect is to be considered simply as one of the causes of crime, but it is a cause so obvious, so readily determinable in most cases and so certainly irremediable and provocative of recidivism and moral contagion that one of the first steps of reform in dealing with criminals ought to be directed toward this. The mental defective is suitable neither for probation, reformatory education nor punitive measures. Custodial care alone is of service and in the case of the criminally inclined defective the courts should directly commit and the state protect itself by permanent guardianship.

The time is ripe for better methods of handling this class of cases. The study of recidivism shows it as a blot upon our civilization, and demonstrates that many recidivists are mental defectives. The study, on the other hand, of the individual defective criminal demonstrates him to be a source of great financial loss and much moral contagion. Studies in heredity prove that he frequently begets his kind. Developments along medical and psychological lines have given us practical methods for diagnosis of mental defectives—even the border-line cases being easily determinable as such—and give us assurance of the social future of this class of cases. The work of our own Institute proves not only the applicability of common sense study of causative factors in general to court work in this country, but directly demonstrates the overwhelming value of early differentiation of a type of offender, who by the very nature of his mental make-up is bound under ordinary social conditions to become a recidivist.

In order to get a more business-like administration of criminal affairs so that there may be practical application of at least some points which are scientifically demonstrable as imperative for the well-being of society, certain things are necessary. Concerning our immediate point, the needs are:—first, better education of everybody implicated in the criminal situation as to the part that mental defect plays in delinquency. Then in connection with criminal courts, and especially in connection with juvenile courts, where the development of crime can be checked, there should be thoroughgoing study of the recidivist. The court should be acquainted with the practical value of such study and should act on it. No offender should be allowed on parole unless he is known to have the mental make-up which, on the whole, will in his environment tend to prevent his freedom from being inimical to society. Then, not a difficult matter to insure, there must be a better classified institutional treatment. Finally, the court should have the power to adjudicate cases of mental defect in the best interests of society.

THE TREATMENT OF THE MENTAL DEFECTIVE WHO IS ALSO DELINQUENT.

By Dr. Henry H. Goddard, Vineland, New Jersey.

Twenty-five per cent of delinquents are mentally defective. While we have no absolute statistics, there are many indications that this is a safe estimate. All mental defectives would be delinquents in the very nature of the case, did not some one exercise some care over them.

There is only one possible answer to the question, "What is to be done with the feeble-minded person who is delinquent?" He must be cared for, but he must be cared for in a place where we care for irresponsibles. The jail or prison or reformatory, is not for him, neither must he be turned loose on the streets or sent back to the home and environment in which he has already become a delinquent.

In the present state of our laws and customs, delinquency is the one means by which we are able to get hold of a certain type of mental defective and provide for him as he should be provided for. Many of these feeble-minded of the moron type come from homes or have attained to such an age or position that we have no way of getting hold of them until they do some wrong and come under the head of delinquents. But when that has happened and we have them where we can prescribe for them, it is worse than folly for us to let them go and turn them back into their former environments where they must only repeat the offense or even commit a worse one.

We must have enough institutions or colonies for the feeble-minded to care for all the feeble-minded delinquents at least. As it is today, even under the best conditions, many a judge recognizes mental defects in the cases that come before him and would gladly send the child to an institution for the feeble-minded, but there is no room, and so he is compelled to utilize some makeshift which oftentimes is worse than nothing at all.

But the broadest treatment of this topic must go farther back than the question of what to do with these feeble-minded persons who have already become delinquent. We must consider the cause here as we are trying to do everywhere in modern methods, and treat the cause rather than trying to cure. In other words, the feeble-minded person should be taken care of before he becomes a delinquent. Here the first problem is diagnosis. How shall we recognize this feeble-minded child of high type, this moron grade, as we now call them?

Until recently we have been more or less helpless in this matter, but now we may say with perfect assurance that the Binet tests of intelligence are entirely satisfactory and can be relied upon to pick out the mental defective at least up to the age of twelve years. The public schools will be the clearing house for all these cases; they may there be tested and their mental condition found, and they can then be

cared for as condition leads. We have too long attempted to treat all children alike, whether in the public school or before the courts. When we have learned to discriminate and recognize the ability of each child and place upon him such burdens and responsibilities only as he is able to bear, then we shall have largely solved the problem of delinquency.

MENTALLY DEFECTIVE DELINQUENTS.

By Frank Moore, Superintendent New Jersey Reformatory, Rahway, N. J.

In the middle ages the criminal was almost entirely given to the clergy for correction. Later when they were found to have only poorly succeeded, the law breaker was turned over to the lawyer, to be made law abiding by punishment. Then next the politician, who had wielded votes into line, was rewarded by being given the task of keeping in custody the violator, and with little thought or care of his becoming virtuous, he sought if possible to make profit out of him for the State. Now comes the suggestion that the physician is the man who is best fitted for the work; that the problem is one of disease and that the remedy is to be effected by physical cure. How near to the truth this theory is, has still to be proven. As man is a physical, mental and moral being, it may well be questioned whether the specialist in any one thing can be wholly successful. And yet, however that may be, the theory that the physician's science must be called into service is without doubt of great value. At least his method is valuable. We have at last come to the place where we all, with one accord, declare that it is fundamental that the cause of each individual's crime must be discovered. So it is that for the present moment we have singled out feeble-mindedness, which is one of the many causes of misdoing, for our study. It is now one of the most valuable aids to the penologist that he is at last able, with no uncertainty, to scientifically determine the feeble-mindedness of the offender who is sent to him to be made over anew.

The old day of the official of the correctional institution looking hurriedly into the face of the new-comer, made timid often by the strangeness of his surroundings, and then putting him down as dull, deficient or delinquent, if not wholly gone, is fast passing away, and in its stead there is being employed an intelligent mental diagnosis, based upon some well established psychological system. There are several such admirable and practical systems, that have been given to us as the result of long and careful investigations, so that there is no longer any need for anyone making this important subject a matter of guess work. Our own experience has been almost entirely with the Binet system, which we have found to be both easy of application and accurate in results.

Nearly every young man who has entered our institution in the last eighteen months has been tested by this system, and the result has shown that at least 46% were mentally sub-normal.

There were 10% of those who entered who could speak so little English that a satisfactory examination of them could not be given. If they could have been examined no doubt this 46% would have been increased to about 50%.

The physical age at which delinquents may be legally committed to us was 16 to 25 years, but by examination, it was discovered that the mental age for nearly a majority of those examined was below twelve years, while in one case it was less than five. In other words 46% of those received, whom we could examine, had minds which in knowledge and ability were only equal to the minds of the child from five to twelve years old, and by this system, they have been classified in the precise year between these two limitations to which they mentally belong.

There, however, is one point at which the system needs to be taken with a considerable degree of care: of the 46% who according to the test were mentally deficient it was found by a study of the history of these cases that 17½% had received only a year or less of schooling, and when two classes of the same psychological age were formed, one class of those who had received schooling and the other class of those who had not, it was found that there were those in the class which had no schooling who learned twice as fast as any one in the class that had been to school. What, therefore, the minds of those who had not been to school really were could not be truly determined by the psychological test, and it appeared could only be arrived at when they had been given the opportunity of an education. From this data it would seem wise, therefore, to divide the 46% of mentally defectives, according to the test, into the two following classes:

First: The less hopeful defectives, those who had received the advantages of schooling, and yet were apparently as defective as if they had received no schooling, of whom there were 28½%.

Second: The more hopeful defectives, who had received no advantages, and therefore, might possibly be capable of development, with proper training, of whom there were 17½%.

After diagnosis of the deficient case, the next natural step is that of separation. Our observation, covering only a short time and therefore not very dependable, and perhaps of only slight suggestive value, has shown that these mentally deficient delinquents, while under discipline, seem to be inclined to commit only offenses that may be called neglects, and not offenses that are vicious in character, unless some one of a stronger mind has inspired the more vicious deed. The great number of their failures are failures of omission, due to lack of apprehension. They fall below the standard because their minds are below it.

It is also most apparent that there is need of a special method of treatment of the delinquent who is defective. There should be a

separation of him from the normal. His mind is slow. He does not grasp instruction as quickly as the normal, and to subject him to the same standards under the same rules is inhumane. In discipline he is seriously interfered with by those who are bright and yet willful, and who make him the butt of their jests. He cannot be taught the same subjects that can be taught the average mind. It is a waste of time to undertake to teach him more than the simplest rudiments of the three R's. In work he is most successful in that which is purely methodical, in which there is little intelligence and initiative required. He can rise very little above the laborer, and to expect him to be a real mechanic or to try to train him for such will only mean failure.

It is axiomatic that the reformatory treatment, all too short in its duration for even the normal minded, must cover a very much longer period in the case of the mentally deficient, in order to accomplish the desired end. This was well illustrated in our institution one day recently: To a class of ten were given the sentence, "We get up in the morning, after breakfast we go to work, at night we go to bed," and only three learned to repeat it in less than eleven minutes, while one could not repeat it after twenty minutes of hard effort.

It is a long and tedious task to bring mental and moral improvement to these weak ones of our humanity, and if it is undertaken at all its difficulties must be realized, and the effort, though oftentimes discouraging, that is necessary to chisel the grooves of intelligence and integrity into these natures, must be patiently and generously given.

The reformatory needs to be most discriminating in dealing with this class, when they are dismissed. The character and influences of the place to which they are paroled is a vital matter. These defectives amid evil surroundings, or in the hands or under the influence of unscrupulous people are most dangerous. Unhesitatingly and almost without knowing it, they become the tool of the vicious. They are easily swayed by any power that is exerted upon them.

The best people, those who are interested in helping the unfortunate, and who will seek to carry on through the years the work which the institutions have but begun, ought to be sought to help when these individuals are dismissed.

These defective delinquents, if they are properly handled, have without doubt a place and a purpose in the world. They peculiarly fit into certain kinds of agricultural and household work. Some of the best laborers on farms and some of the most faithful and satisfactory servants of the home have been of this class, and what is true in these two fields, where there is so much need for the proper kind of help, is true also in many other kinds of work. They are not a valueless class of humanity. As wage earners, they have ability that is surprising to those who have made no investigation of the subject.

In the matter of reform they are fully as hopeful as are those whose minds are normal. Our experience has been that if they are paroled

in the care of the right kind of people there are fewer recidivists from among them. As a general rule, however, it is a very great mistake to allow them to return to their old home for the obvious reason that they there are often under the influence of others who are deficient.

If they are dealt with wisely a large percentage of this by-product of humanity will be changed from mere animal things into individuals, whose total value to society will be very great. If they are not dealt with intelligently and according to the demands of their character, they will continue to be a source of destruction and waste.

MENTALLY DEFECTIVE DELINQUENTS AND THE LAW.

By Ernest K. Coulter, Clerk of Children's Court, of New York County.

The most important step to be taken by the state in its slow abandonment of antiquated methods of treating child offenders and victims of bad environment and neglect, must be the establishment of institutions for the special treatment of the mental defectives of this class. That there are in the vast army of children constantly passing through our juvenile courts, certain well defined cases where the child's delinquency has been caused by mental deficiency, is patent to all who have made any study of this work. It is also apparent that many of these children, and I am not speaking of the out and out insane or imbecile, could, with proper treatment, be cured of their mental deficiency and be saved to useful citizenship if taken in time. If anything is to be done to prevent these children from becoming habitual criminals or paupers they certainly must be taken before they have passed the period of adolescence.

At the first indication of criminal tendencies, children, who are suspected of being in the exceptional class, should be subjected to a pathological and psychological examination. This may prove that normal development has been prevented by the absence of thyroid glands, which bring about cretinism, by a brain lesion which perhaps has been due to hereditary syphilis, or by such a simple cause as the existence of adenoids. Often children, with whom any one of these troubles exists, are absolutely irresponsible for the acts that lead them into conflict with the law.

The writer, who has seen at close range 80,000 children pass through the largest Children's Court in the world, has little patience with the sentimentalist who would pounce on every other juvenile delinquent as a mental defective, but, on the other hand, even the most conservative observer in this field must agree that there are certain well-defined cases of exceptional children, victims of environmental or congenital causes, which irresistibly predispose them to crime.

Some of these children I have seen come back to the Court five and six times after they have spent years in the ordinary reformatories all this before they have reached the age of sixteen years. In forcing the commitment of the defective child into the ordinary reformatory institution, the state is blind to its cruelty to the child, the injustice to the institution, and the menace to the community.

While the Children's Court of New York County has not yet arranged for the examination of all the juveniles brought before it by qualified experts in psychopathology, Doctor M. G. Schlapp, who is eminent in this field, has been good enough to give up his time and services to the Court in the examination of certain cases. Dr. Schlapp recently reported that out of 108 cases that had been referred to him by the Court thirty of the children were found to be mentally defective. These, it should be explained, were cases where it was suspected by the Court that mental deficiency might exist.

For sake of argument, and putting the matter on the most conservative basis possible, let us say that two per cent of the 10,000 juveniles arraigned each year in the Children's Court of New York County are mentally defective, and irresponsible for the tendencies which lead them into offenses against the law. As such children cannot help returning to the Court they are almost invariably committed to the ordinary reformatory institutions. There is no other place for them. Here they are total misfits, small cogs driven into the machinery of the reformatory, with the result that the cog is irreparably damaged and the institution's machinery thrown out of gear. Here such a child may be set to mental work or study; the tasks may be willed by him but never performed. He is made rebellious and bitter; he can never get himself into proper adjustment with his surroundings.

In forcing the commitment of such children to the ordinary reformatories the state is sowing a continuous crop of habitual criminals and paupers. The medical head of the State Asylum for the Criminal Insane at Matteawan reported recently to the Academy of Medicine in New York that out of 4,400 inmates he had examined, 2,635 had been committed before. Had there been special institutions for these unfortunates at the first introduction of criminal tendencies in early childhood, many of them could have been made useful members of society.

The state and private charity do not hesitate to establish reformatory and charitable institutions for the ordinary child victims of environment and neglect, but thus far both have been blind to the cruelty that has been wrought to the child, the injustice to the institution, and the menace to the community by failing to provide for the special care of its children who are law breakers because they are mentally defective.

Since the above was written one important reformatory institution recognizing the great need for special provision for the mental de-

fectives among its population has, within the past fortnight, established a separate department for the care and treatment of such cases. The New York House of Refuge on Randall's Island, in New York City, has taken this step and the results of its study and treatment of these cases will be watched with keenest interest by all who have any part in child rescue work.

THE FARM TREATMENT OF MISDEMEANANTS.

By James F. Jackson, Superintendent of Charities and Correction of Cleveland.

The old type institution for misdemeanants failed to accomplish satisfactory results, mental, moral and physical. It seemed incapable of developing industry; it was unhygienic, without classification and with no adequate facilities for developing a man's will or increasing his capacity to do right. Its purpose was to avenge the wrong and not to correct the wrongdoer.

When the failure of that plan was fully recognized, people cast about for a remedy. They saw the success attending the location of charitable institutions in the country, and the idea of similar locations for various types of prisons occurred to them. St. Paul and Minneapolis were among the first to adopt the farm policy. Various other corrective institutions were established upon farms, in foreign countries and in this country, especially within the past twenty years.

The Cleveland workhouse was constructed over forty years ago, on the old lines, for 500 prisoners, two miles from the centre of the city. In 1904 and 1905, about 750 acres were purchased by the city nine miles from its centre. Upon this land building was commenced several years later. Thus far there is built only the "service building" which at present fulfills all purposes. Ultimately, it is to be used for store-rooms and shops. There are also to be built dormitories for trustees and semi-trustees, cell-blocks for the least tractable, kitchens, dining rooms, a chapel, women's industrial building, school building and a greenhouse, all within a high wall enclosing eleven acres. The present intention is that the buildings and wall shall be constructed by the labor of inmates.

All commitments are made to the original workhouse in the city. There the women remain, but about two-fifths of the men are transferred to the correction farm. Prisoners arrive a typical Bridewell company, drunken, dirty, diseased and discouraged. They go away bronzed, with regular habits of living, accustomed to work, with a new determination and a new grip. Of course some fail, and return. But we do not assume to insure immunity against all the wiles of the world, the flesh and the devil.

No key is turned on these men during the day. The night guard and the locked door are more to remove temptation than to prevent escape. You realize this when you know that all these men, instead of sleeping in stuffy cells, sleep in large dormitories, giving them every facility for overpowering the night watch and making their escape. The men do not wear stripes in either prison. Consideration is combined with firmness in all our dealings, for it is the purpose that every requirement shall appeal to the fair-minded prisoner to be in his interest and for his benefit. The purpose is to develop honor and faithfulness, to accustom every man to useful occupation and to teach him to be effective. The officers are not armed, they are not even called guards. They act as teachers, foremen, or farmers as the occasion requires.

On a recent day the 102 men at the correction farm were assigned to work as follows:—On construction of the sewage disposal plant, 24; in the stone quarry, 7; on the farm, 10; in the garden, 7; driving teams, (working the farm and hauling material to the filter bed,) 12; care of horses and stock, 10; to work on the adjoining infirmary farm, 10; firemen, 2; carpenter, 1; barber, 1; and in the preparation and serving of the meals and care of the building and grounds, 18. Some of these last eighteen are unable to do heavy work, but all have fresh air and sunshine daily. At other times men do concreting, make artificial stone, fertilize and drain the land, which is not fertile, make roads on the farm and, later, they will construct the wall and buildings, plant trees and perform every sort of labor that will develop the land, and cause it to be highly productive and attractive in appearance. I also hope that later they will make and repair the needed wagons, tools and all the smaller farm implements; in fact they now do some of that work, especially the repairing.

An apple orchard and much small fruit have just been planted under the direction of the state agricultural department. Last year by attention to pruning, spraying and smudge fires on cold nights, ours was one of the few orchards bearing fruit in all that region.

We propose that the farm shall gradually become a model in all respects. This year we will produce certified milk for the city and the contagious disease hospitals. We plan, as soon as possible, that the correction farm shall produce the meat, milk, vegetables and fruit, both fresh and canned for the entire workhouse and the public hospitals.

From the standpoint of the prisoner, the farm policy is to give to each man the largest degree of liberty consistent with the well-being of others. The ultimate purpose is to employ as many without the walls as possibly can be trusted, and to employ out-of-doors within the walls all the remainder except those whose conduct imperatively demands closest supervision.

There is so much work to do in developing, enriching and cultivating the land, in erecting buildings, in making roads, that every feasible

labor-saving machine is used. This of itself speaks to the man the appreciation of his work as a man and not a substitute for a machine.

The misdemeanants need discipline. It is necessary to keep the men on the farm for some time if they are to receive the needed development, especially the men who are sent for intoxication. Discipline is essential to instruction whether in the day school, the home or any other form of education. Many of these men are committed because of their lack of self-control and time is required for its development. We should not expect to cure twenty years of bad surroundings accompanied by indifferent or bad actions even by a ninety-day period on a farm. And ninety days is in excess of the average period of confinement, although Cleveland "golden rule policies" do not burden us with five, ten or fifteen day men.

Our first appeal is to their sense of honor. Their appreciation of the confidence reposed in them often proves a potent influence for good. The transfer to the farm is such an expression of confidence. But it is given with discretion. Hardened criminals are not sent on distant missions unattended. In fact they are rarely transferred to the farm.

For years there will be work for all workers, no "idle-house" in any sort of weather or trade conditions. Every working day from twelve to twenty men are sent to work on the adjoining infirmary farm. Such transfer was one of the purposes of placing the infirmary on a great contiguous tract of land. But the plan works to the detriment of the correction farm which for years and perhaps always can use to advantage the labor of all men committed to its care. We have the parole system in operation, though there is not help enough for its most efficient execution. There is the Brotherhood Club for the men who have no home to which to go, established at the suggestion of a former prisoner. There a man may stay until he appears strong enough to live a normal life. The club is intended to be self-sustaining.

From the experience of the Cleveland correction farm several rather obvious deductions may be made; we are dealing with men, free moral agents, and a good physical environment does not guarantee their reform any more than does instruction in good rules for living. The farm prison is no panacea, but the hope is that the farming and the making of its equipment, and incidentally the care of the prisoners and their quarters, will profitably occupy practically all the available labor in such manner as to make a man not only fit, but anxious to work. It is hoped that a large majority will be improved and many rehabilitated in an environment which favors giving every man all the chance he will use to reform. Moreover, it will thereby be apparent that the government is not only strong, but so merciful and so genuine in its fatherly desire to help each man that in turn he will cease to be "agin" the government; that he will turn from being a consumer to become a producer of taxes, turn from being his own and other's enemy to become a friend to man.

TREATMENT OF MISDEMEANANTS.

By W. F. Spaulding, Boston.

It is surprising that the movement for the scientific treatment of criminals should have begun and ended with felons. Misdemeanancy is of far greater importance. The number of persons involved, and their cost for police, court and prisons, is larger. The public and private injury done by felons is not to be compared with that done by misdemeanants. The economic loss resulting from the reduction of their producing power and their destruction as producers far exceeds that caused by felons. The poverty caused by it is almost incalculable.

We have lavished money (not too much) upon reformatories for felons, but have not yet attempted the scientific treatment of minor offenders, though every argument for the reclamation and restoration of the felon applies to the misdemeanant.

One reason for this neglect is that misdemeanancy is not one problem, but many. It is easier to consider misdemeanants as masses of lawbreakers to be merely punished, than to divide them into groups, and devise methods of treatment for each group and each individual. And so we have spent our time and money in improving prisons, in efforts for the physical comfort of the prisoner, instead of trying to reclaim and restore him.

When the public takes charge of a sick man or an insane man, it recognizes its opportunity and its duty to improve him. It is to the discredit of a hospital not to do it, if he is improvable. But the state admits no responsibility for the improvement of the misdemeanant. It houses him, clothes him, feeds him—and that is all. Some are criminal because they are weak; the state does not attempt to make them strong. Some are criminals because they are mentally defective; nothing is done to remove the defect. Some do wrong because they lack moral sense; but no moral training is given. Some are creatures of impulse; but no attempt is made to bring them under the control of reason. Some are deficient in will, but no effort is made to develop their wills. We do not even ask the cause of their crimes.

All are subjected to the same treatment;—they are imprisoned, washed, fed, clothed, employed in some measure, and discharged at the expiration of a term fixed beforehand, though known to have been made no better, but rather worse. There was no reason to suppose they could be improved in this way. It has been tried in hundreds of thousands of cases, and the record is one of failure. It has been tried a hundred times on one man, and the next time he does wrong, it is tried again. The state learns nothing by its experience.

The demand of the day, in the business world, is "efficiency." The manufacturer asks how much steam he is getting out of a ton of coal; how much work he gets out of the steam. He demands re-

sults for every dollar expended. If the "efficiency" test were applied to our treatment of misdemeanants; if results were compared with expenditures, it would be condemned.

What can be done? First—Misdemeanants must be classified. The first step is to select out those who are likely to reform without punishment and put them under custodial supervision, on probation.

Next, the drunkards, and the non-criminals whose wrong-doing is due wholly to drink, should be eliminated. The drunkard should not be dealt with as a criminal. He must be arrested, in the interest of public order. If he relapses while on probation, he should be sent to a farm to be repaired—to be inspired by higher ideals, to have his will power and self respect cultivated. He should not be forced to company with criminals. He needs air, sunshine, work in contact with the soil.

Again, in place of punishment, many who have injured others in person or property should be compelled to make reparation or restitution. It is grossly unjust to exact a fine from a man for breaking the law instead of enforcing his obligation to repair the injury he has done. He should be put on probation on condition that he right the wrong. It will teach him property rights.

To offenders upon whom fines have been imposed, time for payment should be given. If it is wrong for a private creditor to imprison his debtor, it is wrong for the state to imprison a man who owes it a fine, until it has given him a chance to pay it—time to earn the money if necessary. The probation fine has been tried successfully in thousands of cases.

These eliminations will greatly reduce the prison population. But there will remain many who must be imprisoned. These must be classified. This cannot be done by the courts. They do not have sufficient information. It cannot be made on the basis of crimes. An offense may or may not indicate the character of the offender. He may be better or worse than his deed. Classification must be upon the basis of ascertained character. Classes should be composed of men who are alike, and not of men who merely happen to commit like crimes. The function of the court should end with its decision that a man is guilty and must be imprisoned. The place of imprisonment must be determined later and by others. The classification must be made by an administrative board, in answer to the questions: What is he? What treatment does he need? Where shall it be given? Each man must be studied as an individual.

But classification of prisoners involves a classification of prisons, so that each class may have a place adapted to its needs.

There are in every prison men who committed crime because they are mentally defective—"not deranged, but badly arranged." They include cases of arrested mental development, and many in which there is need of physical upbuilding. To lock up such a man in a prison, when

he requires outdoor life and labor, is to make him permanently a criminal, when he might be developed into a good citizen.

There are mentally defective men of a different type—disturbers of institution peace; constantly in trouble; constantly making trouble. One of the wisest of reformatory superintendents says that seventy-five per cent of his disciplinary troubles are due to twenty-five per cent of his prisoners. Some of these defectives are distinctly vicious; some are incapable of right conduct. They need special treatment. Their removal is in their own interest and in the interest of the well-disposed and well-behaved men. They should be put together by themselves. The entire atmosphere of an institution may be changed by the removal of a few of them.

Every institution has a considerable, and increasing, percentage of illiterate men. They need education. Most of them are foreigners. In many cases their crimes are due to a lack of understanding regarding American "liberty." They must be adjusted. Teaching them to read and write is helpful, but it is not enough. An illiterate law-breaking foreigner cannot be transformed into a law-loving American citizen by merely locking him up in prison and giving him a smattering of reading and writing English. Such a result would be in violation of the law that no effect can be greater than its cause. Education of prisoners should not be confined to illiterates and it should go much farther than reading and writing. It has been proved that their intellectual improvement is attended by moral improvement. If continued long enough, and carried far enough, education will restore many to good citizenship. It is said that imprisonment is needed "to make men think." But with many of these men more "time to think" makes them worse. It means more time for bad thinking. What they need is not more thinking but better thinking. If every waking moment could be filled with better thoughts, they would improve. Prison schools are of value, not merely to remove illiteracy but to broaden the mental horizon of men; to reveal to them possibilities of which they have never dreamed; to create new ambitions, and stimulate for better living.

Many become criminals because of their lack of skill. They have nothing but muscle to sell, and the muscle market is glutted. They need industrial training. The awakening of some men comes through their heads; to some it comes through their hands. The misdemeanor has special need of industrial training. If he had committed a serious crime, he might have been sent to a reformatory, where he could have obtained what he needed. But because he is only half bad, he can have neither mental nor manual training. Why should he not have as good a chance as the worst men?

It is plain that these needs of the misdemeanor cannot be supplied in any one prison. The first requisite is that the population of an institution shall be homogeneous. Mentally defective men should be by

themselves; illiterates should be numerous enough to warrant the maintenance of educational work, either personal or in schools. Industrial training cannot be given effectively or economically to a few men. Certain prisons should be devoted to certain classes of prisoners, and each should have facilities for its special work.

There are prisons enough; remove from them the drunkards and other non-criminal offenders; then abandon many of the existing masonry prisons and replace them with farm colonies. Utilize some of the others for men who need close prisons and strict discipline, including the mentally defective who cannot be trusted with the freedom of an open institution; utilize others for men who need mental and industrial training.

This classification of prisons and prisoners involves the exercise of large administrative powers of selection and transfer. The greatest obstacle to an effective prison plan is the county system. Each county has a heterogeneous population, for which little can be done. Punishing criminals is not a county function. Crime is against the state, and the state should control the punitive machinery.

But even with the county prison existing, much could be done if proper administrative powers were possessed by a state board—powers to say what uses should be made of different prisons, and powers to transfer prisoners for purposes of classification. Such a system would involve considerable expense. If the state establishes a school, or provides industrial training, in a county prison, and transfers to it men from other counties who need these things, it is reasonable that it should pay a large part of the added cost. It is in the interest of the state.

It will be said that this will cost money. True, but it will save men; and the saving of a man means the saving of money. The taxpayers will get something for their money, instead of seeing it wasted, as it now is, upon the profitless punishment of misdemeanants.

It is about time for us to stop talking about "quacks," when the state continues to gather thousands of dissimilar people; labels them "criminals"; herds them in one common institution with no attempt at diagnosis; gives all the same treatment, regardless of individual needs; and releases them without improvement at the end of a term fixed beforehand.

WHAT KANSAS CITY IS DOING.

By E. T. Brigham, Superintendent of Helping Hand Institute, Kansas City, Mo.

Kansas City made great strides toward a better handling of its misdemeanants when it created a new municipal department called the Board of Public Welfare, and placed its correctional institutions under

its control. The board at first was appointed by the mayor, it is self-elective and some of its members were social workers, some broad-minded business men, its first president a most excellent organizer, a philanthropist and a man of great personal devotion to the cause of humanity.

The newspapers unanimously supported its policies and consequently it received the popular endorsement which freed it from political handicaps. Its pivotal activity has been a farm colony (which of course we all agree is the indispensable feature of effective correctional work). Like other farms, it builds up the under-nourished, gives care to the physically unfit, and, whether by farm work or in learning a trade, the work habit is acquired which helps in rekindling the spark of ambition in the man whom repeated failure has utterly robbed of the power of imitative and confidence in himself. Another benefit is that no man is ever released penniless, but is allowed to earn something during the last few days of his imprisonment. The greatest factor however, which has contributed to success has been the emphasis placed upon the individual man. A careful personal record system with daily notations of a prisoner's conduct and facts concerning his mental, moral and physical condition permits a scrutiny and a kind of helpfulness otherwise impossible.

The records also are examined by a parole committee of three members which meets weekly and recommends certain paroles to be acted upon by the Board of Welfare. A representative of the parole committee visits the "hold-overs" in the police station at five o'clock each morning, talks with each prisoner, and makes out record cards which are taken into the municipal court by this same representative, who, sitting beside the judge, is frequently asked for information, his record often deciding the sentence imposed.

Forty-six per cent of the commitments for 1910 were paroled—or 1,660 persons—of whom 150 were returned to custody. Nine parole officers confirm the records by weekly visits to the homes or places of employment and a woman friendly visitor looks after the needs of prisoners' families during their imprisonment and also during the period of parole. From non-support paroled men \$8,346.21 was collected and paid over to the dependent families.

During the past winter it occurred to me that the city needed an inspector of the unemployed,—a policeman without a club, who should go every day among the homeless men in the lodging houses, saloons and on the street and talk with them, directing them to pay jobs if possible, or if not, directing them to the municipal quarries in the parks, which were operated to provide work to the unemployed, from 150 to 340 men a day earning meal and lodging tickets there at the usual rate paid for rock cracking. If the man was found to be making no effort to find work, after several days this officer, being familiar with the facts, could arrest for vagrancy. This idea was suggested to a police commissioner and an inspector of the unemployed was appointed. In addition to

the above duties, he goes into municipal court each day, appearing as an advocate of many homeless men, a class so often unjustly accused and arrested on circumstantial evidence. His desk is in the employment office which is financed by the Board of Welfare, but is managed by and is in the Helping Hand Institute (a private charity which the Board of Welfare uses as a municipal lodging house for meals and lodging for all dependent cases). The seven hundred men per day who lodge there are practically under the eye of this inspector of the unemployed and the deterrent effect upon the misdemeanant is evident.

Among other classes of misdemeanants that Kansas City is reaching is the lodging house keeper, his misdeeds being brought to light by the housing inspection now in progress.

The endorsement of the Charities Bureau, or rather the lack of its endorsement, is eliminating the unwise free soup charities and the soliciting frauds—these are among the very harmful offenders because of the shiftlessness which they promote. At the suggestion of this Bureau the police have stopped the practice of women soliciting money in saloons.

Another class is handled by the Recreation Department of the Board of Welfare, by the dance hall inspection. For every public dance a license must be secured from this recreation department. This department then sends an inspector to each dance to learn if all its rules are being observed. These inspectors also keep a sharp lookout for young girls and learn their names and addresses. These names are turned over the next morning to the supervisor of police matrons who sends one of her assistants to call on the parents of the girl to inform them where their daughter was the evening previous. Many times the parents had not known the facts or had been deceived by the girls. Such supervision can surely bring about good results.

The Free Legal Aid Bureau averages about 400 cases per month, prosecutes wife deserters and has brought them in many instances home from other states. The Welfare Loan Agency during its few months of existence has eliminated several of those detestable misdemeanants, the loan sharks. Thus Kansas City hopes to supervise or eliminate several classes of its misdemeanants.

DISCUSSION.

ROBERT W. HEBBERD, New York—The question of vagrancy has thus far been carelessly and inadequately dealt with in this country. Despite the experience of a number of European countries and their success in dealing with this problem, we are just awakening to a realizing sense of its importance. Vagrancy has long existed in this country to an alarming extent, and is in an acute stage in some of our cities, notably in New York where it seems impossible to stem its

advancing tide. The cheap lodging house evil greatly helps to foster it and the magistrates are in most cases not alive to its importance. That much of it is due to enfeebled mentality requiring custodial care seems to be beyond question. But how to secure such care is really the problem.

The only feasible plan, and this plan is one that has worked successfully in Switzerland, Germany, Holland and Belgium, is that of the industrial colony to which vagrants can, upon conviction, be committed for long terms. An interesting account of the Colony at Witzwil in Switzerland, written by Professor Frank A. Fetter, of Cornell University, who visited it last summer, is to be found in the February 4, 1911, number of the "Survey," and is well worth reading.

To care for vagrants in farm colonies where they can be made to contribute to some extent, at least, to their own support seems to be a most desirable plan. Those who are willing to work will be received and cared for, while those who fear work will remove to other parts where they are more welcome. The State that is forehanded in this respect will have the advantage.

It is estimated that the care of vagrants and tramps in penitentiaries, jails and workhouses in New York State, where they are kept practically in idleness, costs at least \$2,000,000 annually, much of which could be saved under the industrial or farm colony system properly administered. It is believed, too, that the saving in character, by the removal of these unfortunates from the idle life and degrading influences in the penitentiary, the jail and the workhouse would be of even greater importance.

For several years a little group of people in New York have been seeking to secure legislation looking to the establishment of the farm colony system for vagrants in New York State, but progress has been delayed because of the attempt of the State to live by indirect taxation, which has prevented it from going ahead with this and other measures of social reform requiring the expenditure of large means.

MRS. OPHELIA AMIGH, Illinois—There can be no hard and fast rule by which people who have committed misdemeanors of any kind can be corrected or set right, for one must first call to mind the different degrees of responsibility that may characterize these misdemeanants. Wrong doing seems to come so naturally to some of them that we are surprised if by any means they stumble into doing the right thing, and yet they constantly declare that they are doing the best that they can, and we are prone to believe them, while another standing by the side of the culprit may have been caught in some act no worse than that committed by the first mentioned offender, but well we know that the mental capacity of the one proves that a spirit of downright disobedience and meanness actuated him, while the other either

blundered into it or was drawn into it by some more forceful individual.

This is one of the difficult problems to solve in work such as has fallen to my lot in life, and where I believe much injustice can be done either by the Manager of an Institution or the Judge on the Bench before whom the offender may be brought. The world to-day, as a whole, seems to take a sentimental view of correction, and many advocate the system of shutting behind lock and key all who can not make their way along lines that will prohibit their becoming a menace to society; but I am not prepared to go so far as that, for I believe that many an irresponsible can be made to understand that there is a right and wrong side to every question, and while it may take a long time to make this idea penetrate the defective mind it is well worth trying, and then under good supervision they may become useful in the world. All of this should be commenced in early childhood, and every effort made to prevent this class from ever reaching the prison or penitentiary.

I think it more humane to train and educate to usefulness and activity, even though it may take more time and patience and strenuous measures than would be necessary to allow this stupid class to sit passively down and allow the world to pass by and gaze unthinkingly on their untaught inactivity. For those possessed of mental proportions large enough to help them to plan all kinds of wrong doing from wrecking a bank or buying their way into the Senate, committing crimes against person and property, down to picking pockets, the world at large is inclined to be too lenient; and from this leniency spring riots and lynch law.

THE ORGANIZATION AND CORRELATION OF THE PROBATION AND PAROLE SYSTEMS.

By Arthur W. Towne, Secretary of the New York State Probation Commission.

(Condensed).

The last few years have witnessed the development of two distinct, yet similar reformatory agencies, the probation and the parole systems. The characteristic feature of these systems is that they are non-institutional; they deal with offenders not behind walls or in institutions, but in the open and in the offenders' own homes. The principal difference between probation and parole is that probation is the oversight and reformatory treatment of offenders conditionally released on good behavior before and without commitment to an institution; while parole is a similar oversight and treatment applied after commitment.

The purpose of probationary and parole oversight, as well as the duties of probation and parole officers, are substantially alike. Whether a person is on probation from a court, or on parole from an institution,

the same kind of inquiries must be made from his relatives, friends, neighbors and employer about his conduct; and the same sort of moral influences and constructive measures must be brought into play to overcome his evil habits and to inculcate ambition, right motives and proper conduct.

There are now nearly 1,000 paid probation officers in the United States, and the number of parole officers is probably in the hundreds and still multiplying. It is undoubtedly only a question of time before both of these systems will come into general use throughout the country. Is it not pertinent, therefore, to inquire whether the two systems should not develop a close relationship?

Before discussing the relationship that should exist between probation officers and parole officers, it will be well to consider how each set of officers should be organized to secure the best results. Suppose we consider first, the probation system. That organization of probation officers is best, which best promotes (a) the supervising of persons on probation; (b) the improving of their conduct and condition; and (c) the informing of the court as to whether those on probation observe its conditions and are entitled to remain at liberty.

Those who act as probation officers should be intelligent, devoted, firm, sympathetic, tactful, discreet, observant, energetic and resourceful. This is demanding a great deal, but it is the price of success.

The probation officers should sustain the right time relations to those on probation. Long probationary periods with frequent interviews are necessary. Perfunctory reports by probationers to the probation officer are insufficient. The officer must visit the homes and environments of his probationers often, and labor with them long enough and earnestly enough to produce real effects. A paid probation officer as a rule should not be expected to look after more than about fifty new cases during a year, or at any one time. Volunteers should have no more cases than their free time permits them to attend to adequately, which is usually not more than one or two. The overloading of probation officers with more cases than they have time to attend to is disastrous to efficiency.

Probation officers in different courts, so far as possible, should avoid overlapping each other's territory. New Jersey, New York, and certain other states have organized the probation service in rural districts with the county as the unit area, and with one or more paid probation officers available to serve in all courts throughout the county. Were each court of a town, village or small city to have its own probation officer, the officers as a rule would be without enough cases to occupy their time, and they would be underpaid and inexperienced. In all probability some would be paid on a fee basis, which is objectionable. Through the use of county probation officers the workers are more expert, and the quality of the work is uniform throughout the county.

There should be in each state some state board or commission

empowered to inspect, supervise, improve and co-ordinate the work of probation officers throughout the state. Three states—New York, Massachusetts and Vermont—have state probation commissions, and bills for the establishment of similar bodies were introduced this year in the legislatures of Illinois and Pennsylvania.

Turning to the organization of the parole system, these principles hold equally with respect to the organization of parole officers.

Parole officers, like probations officers, should be selected with special reference to their personal fitness for the work. They should be spared from having more cases assigned to them than their time permits them to attend to. The parole officer, like the probation officer, should work in a comparatively small area. In New York State (which has an area of 47,620 square miles) Sing Sing Prison has one parole officer supposed to cover the entire state for that prison, and Auburn and Clinton Prisons each have a parole officer supposed to do likewise for his respective institution. During 1910, from the eleven state correctional institutions for adults and training schools for children, there were released on parole 3,435 persons. To look after these 3,435 persons as well as those continued on parole from the preceding year, the state employed only 16 parole officers. Each officer served for only one institution. The only state institutions in New York which do not use traveling parole officers are Elmira and Nanpanoch Reformatories for young men. Persons paroled from these two reformatories to live in New York City, are placed under the oversight of agents of the Prison Association or other organizations; those paroled to live in Buffalo are put under an agent of the Charity Organization Society, and those paroled to other localities are placed under the surveillance of police officials. It has been intended, however, to employ traveling parole officers for these two institutions, and for this purpose a civil service examination has been held. Persons paroled from the other nine State institutions, as a rule, are placed under a traveling parole agent attached to the respective institution. The areas covered by these different traveling parole officers range from a few counties to the entire state.

A parole officer required to travel over wide areas cannot know local conditions; he cannot see those on parole often enough; he cannot keep track of their actions; he cannot aid or restrain them when desirable. Each parole officer should preferably confine his work to a single city or single county.

Taking the country as a whole, the chief criticism to be made of the organization of parole systems is that most parole officers are expected to cover too large areas and to look after too many cases.*

*The nearest approach in New York state to the desirable restriction of the work of parole officers to a small area, is found in the parole work of the House of Refuge on Randall's Island. Most of the boys paroled from this institution live in New York city. Many boys from this institution, however, are paroled to other parts of the state; and in such instances the institutional parole officers may be unable to visit them oftener than once in three months or so.

Now if it is wasteful and undesirable to employ two or more probation officers or two or more parole officers to serve in a territory where one could do the work, why should we employ in a given area one probation officer to supervise persons on probation, and one or more parole officers to perform practically the same kind of work with respect to persons on parole, provided the work of all these officers could be done equally well by only one officer?

Except in the few very large centers where there may be enough parole cases to require the entire time of a parole officer, the most rational way, in my judgment, of securing the desirable oversight of those on probation and parole, and of avoiding unnecessary duplication of effort, is to use the local probation officers for both sets of offenders.

Let me summarize very briefly some of the facts already stated, and point out also one or two additional reasons why such a union seems wise. You will recall that we agreed that the purposes and methods of the probationary and parole supervision are similar; that the same qualifications are needed in parole officers as in probation officers; that the use of local officers for parole work would secure closer and more helpful oversight of those on parole; and that such a combination would avoid unnecessary travel and duplication of work and would be a source of economy. In addition both probation and parole officers often deal with the same persons. An offender who at one time comes before a court to be investigated by a probation officer, or who is placed by the court under the care of the probation officer, may at another time be on parole. Furthermore, other members of his family may at times be on probation or parole. It is to the advantage of the local community to have an offender who is on parole in its midst, properly supervised by a local officer. I have not time to discuss by whom these local probation-parole officers should be appointed and paid; but since local social conditions have usually contributed to the delinquency which has resulted in the commitment of offenders to institutions and so made them subjects for parole, and since they have been sentenced by local courts, it seems as proper that the local community, if deemed necessary, should furnish the parole officer, as that it should provide its own judge or probation officer.

This plan of doubling up these two lines of work implies of course that there shall be an adequate number of probation officers, and that they shall be of the right sort. It is probable, however, that the increased importance of the officers and the increased amount of work, which would result from such a change, would tend to secure the appointment of a more nearly adequate number of officers. Such a plan need not of necessity make any change in the matter of reports by the parole officers to those in authority, or in the control over the parole officers.

Now I am well aware that objections will be raised to any such scheme of combining probation and parole work in the same set of officers. Many institutional authorities will desire to appoint their own

parole officers, and to have them directly responsible to the institution. Should a personal desire, however, be allowed to stand in the way of efficiency? Should not that method of appointment be followed which will bring about the best results? Another objection that may be raised is that parole officers should be attached to particular institutions in order to understand properly the institutional methods and aims. What is the benefit of such knowledge, however, if the parole officers are traveling about and can see the persons on parole so infrequently that they cannot apply the knowledge? Again, the institutional authorities may contend that the standards of probation officers in judging whether persons on parole should be re-committed are less strict than those of traveling parole officers. Any such difference of standard, if it exists, is more than offset by the advantages of having local officers. At any rate it is a matter which could be adjusted by properly educating the probation and parole officers. In the long run the standards of the probation officers are probably just as likely to be right as those of the parole officers. In the next place a critic might ask what would be done with females on parole. Of course we all recognize that girls or women on either probation or parole should be placed under officers of their own sex. If the local paid probation officers were all men, and there were cases of girls or women on parole, the situation could be met in the same way as if there were females on probation; namely, by securing a paid woman probation officer for part or whole time service, or, if that were impracticable, by enlisting the services of one or more women volunteers. Another objection would be the fear that children on probation or parole would be harmed by being mixed with adults on probation or parole. The problem of separating children on parole from adults on parole is no more difficult than that of segregating children on probation from adults on probation.

Wherever the parole work is being well done by officers devoting themselves wholly to parole cases, or by private agencies, I would not advise any change; but in most places very positive advantages would probably accrue from using local probation officers for both probation and parole cases. In New York State we have made a beginning in the direction of such a union of probation and parole. The legislature of 1910 authorized probation officers to serve as parole officers, and a number of institutions have begun to avail themselves of the services of probation officers.

Benefits corresponding to those of state supervision over probation officers can be had through state supervision over parole officers. Regardless of whether parole work is carried on by probation officers or by special parole officers, the State should exercise general oversight over their work. For the sake of economy, co-ordination and efficiency this oversight can well be vested in the same state body that supervises probation officers. In this connection it may be mentioned that Governor Dix of New York State has recently recommended that supervisory authority over parole officers be conferred upon the State Probation

Commission, and that its title be changed to that of State Probation and Parole Commission.

The probation and parole systems have come to stay, but they must so improve their operations as to be able to stand the most rigorous examination by both friendly and hostile inquirers. The increased financial support which both systems need will come only as the systems prove that they are succeeding as they should. I doubt if the parole system can stand the scrutiny and cold analysis, which will some day be brought to bear on it, unless it operates through local officers. The most hopeful way of getting faithful, competent local parole officers in most places seems to be through the use of probation officers. With proper State supervision over both systems there would seem to be every reason to believe that this scheme of combining probation and parole supervision can be worked out in a practical way and to the advantage of each system.

ORGANIZATION OF SYSTEMS OF PROBATION.

By Hon. Charles A. DeCourey, Judge of the Superior Court, Boston.

The two essentials for any successful system of probation are: Judges who have an intelligent and sympathetic interest in the work, and probation officers fitted by temperament and training to secure the best possible results.

To further define these essentials,—we need judges who will not discredit the system by extending probation to persons not likely to profit by it; and who will apply it whenever it can be done with due regard to the protection of the community, and where the past history and present disposition of the person investigated indicate that he may reasonably be expected to reform without punishment. And we need probation officers who possess not only sympathy and zeal, but knowledge of human nature, tact, firmness and patience.

How shall we secure such judges and officers? It is such a human problem that it is difficult to conceive of a man otherwise fitted for judicial position who will not apply probation with intelligent sympathy when its possibilities are called to his attention. Here is a field for education of the judges. Frequent conferences should be held among them, and between them and the Probation Commission of the state. The judges most earnest and experienced will enkindle the interest and enthusiasm of their associates. Interchange of their several views and experiences will tend to secure uniform standards and improved methods everywhere.

How to secure suitable probation officers is the most important problem in the probation system. Realizing that this must be somewhat determined by local conditions in the several states, I shall not discuss

the abstract question of the relative merits of the New York system of selection, based on civil service examinations, and the Massachusetts method of placing the unrestricted power of appointment in the judges. Rather will I adopt the suggestion of the Chairman of the Committee and deal with the problem in the light of local experience.

Here in Massachusetts, where all judges are appointed for life, and where probation has long been part of the judicial system, the appointment of probation officers by the judges of the several courts has proved satisfactory in the majority of cases. The larger part of the officers in the Commonwealth measure well up to the ideal standard, and their work is correspondingly fruitful. But in a matter so vitally affecting human lives no community should be denied the advantages of a good probation officer. The chief cause of complaint today in Massachusetts arises from the persistence of some judges in retaining as probation officers deputy sheriffs, clerks of courts, and men physically incapacitated by age or other disability from properly performing the duties of the position. The reasons which dictated our law prohibiting active members of the police force from serving as probation officers, apply with like force to deputy sheriffs, who are considered a part of the police department in many places; and the duties of clerks of our local courts are inconsistent with those of a probation officer. Even if such officials had the time and desire to perform effective probation work, their identification with the prosecution would prevent them from gaining the confidence of the probationers. That these objections are not merely theoretical ones is apparent from a comparison of the courts whose probation officer is also deputy sheriff or clerk, with courts having a like number of criminal cases whose probation officer is not burdened with such inconsistent work. The returns for the past year show that less than one half as many cases are taken on probation by the former as by the latter courts. It is true this condition arose in the early days of probation, before the importance and character of the work were fully realized. Yet when the State Commission called attention to this subject in their last report, but few of the judges removed such officers. And at a recent hearing before a committee of the legislature, on a proposed amendment to the law, prohibiting the appointment of deputy sheriffs, clerks of court and bail commissioners as probation officers, these same interested incumbents appeared with counsel in opposition to the recommendation of the Commission. The result was the familiar one of the success of organized selfishness. Consequently, the friends of probation in Massachusetts should now organize to secure from the next legislature a needed amendment to our probation laws that will remedy this defect which has developed, and will tend to secure that ideal for which every system of probation is organized, viz., a suitable probation officer for every court in the state. My recommendation is,—an amendment to the probation law, providing that every appointment must be approved by the State Commission; and that unless

after a careful inquiry into the qualifications of the appointee, the Board within thirty days certifies that in their opinion he is qualified by temperament, training and experience for the office, the appointment shall be void. The amendment should be made applicable to present incumbents as well as to future appointees; and a similar examination and certificate should be required every five years to prevent the retention of officers physically unable properly to perform probation work. In the case of officers grown old in the service of the state a pension provision may well be adopted.

Such a law would not substantially interfere with the judges' power in the case of good appointments; it would relieve them from the pressure to make mediocre ones, and it would be a needed check on the few judges who have no real interest in probation and persist in making unfit appointments.

An essential element in the organization of systems of probation is a central State Board. As probation is a part of the judicial system, I favor the Massachusetts method of appointing its members, by the Chief Justice of the Superior or trial court. And where, as here, a majority of its members are judges, the efforts of the Board are most likely to secure the co-operation of the judges throughout the state.

The State Board should have power to prescribe forms of records and reports; to suggest uniform and efficient methods of work by the officers, and promote co-ordination among them; and, in general, it should have ample authority to supervise the probation work throughout the state. Where it also has authority in approving appointments, and arranges for frequent conferences of judges and of probation officers, as above suggested, the organization of the probation system seems complete. Inasmuch as the Board must act mainly through its executive officer (in Massachusetts, the Deputy Commissioner), the personality of this officer is of the first importance. He is the one who should frequently visit all the probation officers, keep in close touch with their work, aid and encourage them, and maintain cordial co-operation between them and the State Board.

So much for organization. It is important, but not as an end. The most perfect engine is ineffective until vitalized by the motive power. We must provide for each locality the form of organization that will then and there tend to secure and maintain the most efficient probation work. But, as the Departmental Committee on the English "Probation of Offenders' Act, 1907," recently reported: "The value of probation must necessarily depend on the efficiency of the probation officer. It is a system in which rules are comparatively unimportant, and personality is everything. The probation officer must be a picked man or woman, endowed not only with intelligence and zeal, but in a high degree, with sympathy and tact and firmness. On his or her individuality the success or failure of the system depends. Probation is what the officer makes it."

PROBATION AND PAROLE.

By Amos W. Butler, Secretary of the Indiana Board of State Charities,
Indianapolis.

We should agree upon the meaning of our terms. Probation and parole are often used synonymously, while in fact authorities and prison officials recognize a distinction. Probation applies to one conditionally released after conviction but before entering upon his sentence. Parole is understood to be the conditional release of a prisoner from an institution after the serving of sentence has been begun.

In Indiana the law authorizes the board of trustees acting as a parole board, or the Governor, to release on parole persons who have been confined under commitment in five institutions: the State Prison, the Reformatory, the Woman's Prison, Girls' School and Boys' School; to all of these, sentences are in effect indeterminate except for murder or treason. Prisoners so released are under supervision and accurate records are kept. The following figures indicate the results secured in three of the institutions named above:

Operations of Parole Law—April 1, 1897, to Sept. 30, 1910.

	Reformatory, Jeffersonville	State Prison, Michigan City	Woman's Prison, Ind'polis	Total
Served parole and given final discharge	1,903	1,172	85	3,160
Sentence expired during parole period...	289	132	23	444
Returned for violation of parole.....	450	336	27	813
Delinquent and at large	471	159	23	653
Died	64	36	3	103
Reporting	306	197	14	517
Total paroled..	3,483	2,032	175	5,690
Percentage of unsatisfactory cases	26.4	24.3	28.5	25.7
Earnings of paroled prisoners	\$977,510.49	\$561,992.81	\$807.25	\$1,540,310.55
Expenses	842,322.62	423,499.42	358.62	1,266,180.66
Savings	\$135,187.87	\$138,493.39	\$448.63*	\$ 274,129.89

*Only six of the 14 women now on parole are earning wages. The others are in their own homes.

The Indiana probation law applies in three different ways, respectively, to felons, to misdemeanants, to juvenile delinquents. A person who is convicted of a felony is sentenced to a state prison or a reformatory. Sentence may be suspended and he be released on probation. The committal is sent to the institution to which he is committed and he is placed under the supervision of the agents of that institution, exactly the same as if he were paroled therefrom.

If the offense is a misdemeanor, the court may suspend judgment and release the offender upon such terms and conditions as in his judgment and discretion seem right and proper. The prisoner is placed under the supervision of the probation officer authorized in each county by the juvenile court law or under the oversight of some other probation officer designated by the court. In either case the law makes proper provision for such subsequent action by the court as the behavior of the convicted person merits.

The juvenile court law provides for a juvenile court in every county in the state. There is a special juvenile court judge in Marion County, containing the city of Indianapolis. In all other counties the judge of the circuit court is ex-officio the judge of the juvenile court. Provision is made for the appointment of at least one paid probation officer in every county and for such volunteer officers as will agree to perform the service without pay.

Juvenile delinquents may be released by the court upon probation and placed under the care of these officers. They make reports to the Board of State Charities. They should understand thoroughly that their work should properly be divided into three phases: (1) before the trial; (2) at the trial; (3) after the trial. The first contemplates a complete investigation of the child's history. It should include everything that can be learned of it and its surroundings. The second involves presenting to the court all learned facts together with the conclusions and recommendations of the officer. The third contemplates complete supervision of the child after it is released upon probation. It is not necessary to state that in all this the best interests of the child alone should determine the action to be taken. What has been worked out in one place and another as to the best methods and practice in the case of children is being applied to adults who are subjects for probation. Our experience is now great enough to enable us to say that many men and women offenders can be reclaimed to useful lives without imprisonment, by correct probationary treatment.

PLACING MISDEMEANANTS ON PROBATION.

James A. Collins, Judge of the City Court, Indianapolis, Ind.

In the city campaign of 1909 I pledged the people of the city of Indianapolis that if elected judge of the city court, I would introduce a probation system as a means of helping delinquent men and women.

The enactment of a law by the legislature of 1907, under which courts may exercise the right to suspend sentence or withhold judgment in the cases of adults, made possible the application of a probation system in the administration of justice in circuit, criminal and city courts.

The probation system inaugurated in the City Court of Indianapolis has covered:

The Suspended Sentence.

The power to suspend sentence has saved many novices in crime from undergoing the harsh punishment that would be otherwise meted out to them, and that seems to be contrary to the constitutional provision that "all penalties shall be proportioned according to the nature of the offense."

During the past year sentence has been suspended in 236 cases and judgment withheld in 3474. The majority of these were first offenders. In those cases where the judgment was suspended, the court has had to set aside the suspension of sentence and commit the defendants in only two cases, and where the judgment has been withheld less than two percent have been returned to court for a second or subsequent offense.

While there is no provision under the law for the employment of paid probation officers, adequate supervision in 352 cases was made possible by good citizens volunteering to serve in that capacity. These probationers were required to furnish the court a monthly report signed by the probation officer. Time will not permit the details of these reports. Each tells its own story of heroic efforts toward right living.

Paying Fines on Installments.

The old method of collecting money fines which compelled the defendant to pay or replevy the same the moment he was fined was always a source of great hardship on the poor. It was unreasonable to expect a common laborer arrested late at night and convicted in the morning to be prepared to settle with the state. If he was unable to pay or make arrangements to have his fine stayed for the statutory period, he was sent to prison, not because the court had given him a term of imprisonment, but because he was poor, which is, in effect, imprisonment for debt.

To aid this particular class there was introduced as a part of the probation system a plan for the collection of fines in small payments. In those cases where the defendant appeared deserving he has been released on his own recognizance and the case held under advisement for thirty to sixty days, as the circumstances seemed to justify, at the expiration of which time he was required to report to the court that he had paid in the amount designated as the fine and costs to be entered against him.

At the close of the year 830 persons had been given an opportunity to pay their fines in this way. Of this number, 64 were re-arrested and

committed for their failure to pay their fine, and the affidavits in 32 other cases are held for re-arrest. The balance lived up to their obligation with the court, and paid in more than \$7,100.

This plan operates to the benefit of the defendant in several ways:—it saves him his employment; it saves his family from humiliation and disgrace, as well as from the embarrassment incident to imprisonment; but more than all, it saves him his self-respect. With but a single exception not one to whom this opportunity has been given and who has paid his fine in full has been in court a second time.

Drunkenness and the Pledge System.

No unfortunates appeal more strongly to the court than the victims of the liquor habit. In all cases of first offenders charged with being drunk and in those cases where the defendant had others dependent upon him for support, the court has made it a condition on withholding judgment or suspending sentence that the defendant take the pledge for a period varying from six months to one year. At the close of the year 101 persons had taken the pledge, and of this number all but ten had kept the same faithfully.

In the severe cases where the defendants was bordering on delirium tremens, he was committed to the workhouse and the superintendent informed of his condition. While there are no special arrangements for the treatment of inebriates at the workhouse, Superintendent O'Connor has successfully provided a separate department for such cases. With inadequate facilities a splendid work is now being done among this class of unfortunate and harmless offenders.

Medical and Surgical Treatment.

Men suffering from physical defects have frequently been before the court charged with offenses entirely out of harmony with their antecedents and environments. In these cases the court has been able to call to his assistance some of the best known surgeons of the city. During the year three surgical operations were performed. Two of these were brain operations and one was sterilization for degeneracy. Three additional cases were successfully treated at private institutions for the drug and liquor habits.

Separate Trials for Women.

Acting upon the suggestion of Amos W. Butler and Demarchus C. Brown, the court set aside Wednesday afternoons for the separate trials of women and girls. A woman probation officer maintains an adequate system of investigation and supervision.

During the seven months that the work among women and girls has been in charge of a probation officer 139 cases have been investigated,

and of that number only 11 were imprisoned, and adequate supervision provided for 70 during the probation period.

In 18 cases of drunkenness, under the supervision of the probation officer, pledges were taken, and all but three have kept the same faithfully. In 15 cases of country girls coming to Indianapolis and falling into bad company, resulting in their arrest, arrangements were made, by this officer, for the return of these girls to their homes in various parts of the state. In the balance of these cases investigation disclosed that the defendants were more sinned against than sinning and the cases were dismissed.

Restitution.

The criminal code is absolutely silent upon the question of recovery for loss or damage to property and injuries to the person growing out of criminal acts except that in cases of malicious trespass the court may fine a defendant a sum equal to twice the amount of the property damage. To fine a person double the value of the property damaged and because of his failure to pay the same, place the additional burden on the citizen of supporting him in the workhouse or jail seems in itself an absurdity.

As a part of the probation plan the court requires every person charged with any offense involving the loss or damage to property and injuries to the person to make full and complete restitution to the injured party before the final disposition of the case. Upon a proper showing that restitution has been made the court is then in a position to take such action as the other facts in the case justify. Under this plan more than \$1,800 in restitution has been recovered and turned over to the proper parties.

Results.

The results of the operation of any system of justice are not to be measured by dollars and cents.

During the year 1910 the court disposed of more than 15,000 cases. Notwithstanding this tremendous volume of business there was a saving to the county in the cost of feeding prisoners in the county jail of \$1,393.61 and in the maintenance of the workhouse \$4,631.95.

Yet the reduction by fifty per cent. of the number of commitments of persons to the workhouse, jail and correctional department of the woman's prison speaks with far greater force in favor of the probation system than any saving in dollars and cents, for of greater significance to the community is the moral uplift.

Children*

TENDENCIES IN CARE OF DESTITUTE AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Jeffrey R. Brackett, Member of the Massachusetts State Board of Charity.

Each of the three hundred and fifty-four cities and towns may care for such children as are local charges, but the number of them in care of local public-aid officials is small, except in Boston. The state is empowered to receive destitute children who are thus settled, as well as the neglected from the courts; it has care of the many who are state charges, because not settled in any local unit; it is recognized to have expert service; duplication and waste in placing and visiting are avoided by the use of one central agency; and cities and towns wish to avoid expense—so the tendency is to state care. The state, whose agency for the purpose chances to be the State Board of Charity, has now in its care and custody nearly 4,500 children, classed as destitute or neglected. The Board is the chief factor in the care of children in the state. The city of Boston has over 800 destitute and neglected children in its care. All these, of state and city, are placed and visited regularly by agents of some experience. There are fifty private charitable agencies in the state, over half of them in or near Boston, for care of such children, but the number cared for by them, not only in institutions but also without, under really effective supervision, cannot be easily ascertained for supervision varies much in quality.

In the improving care of the children the first leading tendency to note—in logical order and very notable—is the increase of good "case work" at the beginning. That is, when applications are made to agencies to take children into their care, a systematic effort, by persons of experience, (1) to diagnose the whole situation as to needs and remedies; (2) to see that the real needs are met, directly by the agency or indirectly through other sources; and (3) to solve the problems through the families of the children.

This systematic work, the three elements joined, began in the Children's Aid Society of Boston twenty-five years ago, and has been highly developed. In the Children's Department of the City of Boston, such work has been conducted energetically and increasingly for over a dozen years. The State Board began systematically, with one worker, three years ago; and has now four women, with a clerk, busied

*For papers read at joint section meetings with other committees, see pages later.

with the many applications when the Board exercises discretion in receiving children. Most of the children presented are not taken, because other and better ways are found. In a growing number of instances, where appropriate private charities are not found, overseers of the poor are got to help families to keep together.

The basis of this notable tendency of progress is a mutual understanding and working together among the agencies and forces touching children. This has been furthered by two methods which can be introduced into any community. First is the habit among our leading child helping workers of getting together and helping themselves and others to work out common problems, from general policies to forms of record cards. For instance, one carefully prepared history card is used by at least ten agencies in Massachusetts, and a supervision record, telling much at a glance, is being used by five neighboring ones. Then there are social gatherings, as our large Monday evening club of paid workers, and conferences or committees meeting frequently, as that in Boston on neglected families, in which meet representatives of the Overseers of the Poor and leading charities, including Roman Catholic and Jewish. One large conference of persons dealing with girls, officials of rescue homes and those touching mothers with infants was begun from consideration of a girl coming to the attention of a social service worker of the Massachusetts General Hospital, a girl who had been dealt with by fourteen different agencies, including an insane hospital, but whose history had never been studied. The other way, closely associated with this, is the bureau for confidential exchange of information of needy families. This bureau has been built up by the Associated Charities of Boston, with the help of many thoughtful agencies and persons. Our concern is with the use of that bureau by the children's agencies. Until some seven years ago only two were using it regularly. To-day, about twenty-five agencies which deal directly with children, not counting the delinquents, inquire regularly at the bureau. Centers of co-operation and exchange of information are springing up here and there over the state; either by action of societies for organizing charity or by the widening and very instructive development of the Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The point of the use by child-caring agencies of such resources is that the knowledge gained is about the whole families—the questions of children cannot be separated from those of family life!

Before leaving this particular topic, the increase in good "case work," that first care which, well done, may prevent much care later, I ask two questions for discussion. Are we doing what we should to get the help of rescue homes and of medical agencies which deal with women in confinement or having sex diseases? Very notable in Boston is the idea of medical social service, as begun effectively in connection with the Massachusetts General Hospital, five years ago. And are we beginning to do enough, in the way of diagnosis, especially

with reference to feeble-mindedness to see (1) if young mothers can give proper care to their children, (2) if children coming to our notice should be allowed to grow up "in the open!" Most important are such questions of the relation of intellectual and moral age to physical age. We are looking forward to the opening in Boston, next year, of the State Psychopathic Hospital with an out-patient "social service" department, ready to be a center for diagnosis and distribution. Already the State Hospital for Epileptics at Monson has a woman at field work, studying family and neighborhood relations of epileptics.

My other question related to adoption. Happily, the tendency among our child-caring agencies is to greater care in giving children for adoption. But should not more be done to make their experience helpful to public officials who appoint guardians and decree adoptions? Our Society for the protection of children from cruelty has recently sent a letter offering such co-operation to our probate courts.

The next notable tendency in child-caring in Massachusetts is the growing use of placing-out, especially at board. Someone said, are you going to speak of a community without institutions for children! My reply was, not of Boston, surely, for in greater Boston alone there are at least a dozen institutions, which keep children for from one to several years, and can altogether accommodate over 1,200; besides nearly as many temporary homes, which can together take over 500, and which range in capacity from the two of the State Board and one of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, of some twenty each, up to the home for Destitute Catholic Children, of over 250. In Boston, in the last decade, two very small institutions have been opened; a Jewish home is soon to be opened to hold a couple of hundred children—but with a marked difference of opinion among the Jewish people, some regretting that boarding out was not tried instead.

On the other hand, in the decade, four important agencies have closed their institutions and are giving all their time and money to (1) departments of advice and assistance, and (2) for children who must be taken, to placing out, especially at board. Two others still are developing in the same direction. The State Board for all kinds of children, including young delinquents, maintains five small temporary homes. They may well be classed as cottages in any classification. In these, only a very few children, peculiarly difficult to place, are kept as long as several months. In Worcester, the Children's Friend Society has disposed of its home and developed its admirable work. In New Bedford, for example, the sixty-eighth annual report of the "Orphans' Home" tells officially of the change of name to the Children's Aid Society; of the sale of its buildings; of the employment of another visitor; of forty-six children in families, nearly all for board; of more children not taken during the year than the number taken into care, although all of the old extreme requirements had been removed; of the disapproval of a large proportion of applications by would-be

foster parents for children to board; of the beginning of a study of illegitimacy. In Haverhill a like development is going on. Other places will surely follow.

The placing out at board, in selected families, of children who have no families or cannot be kept under proper conditions in their own families, has been tried in Massachusetts for over a quarter century. Its beginnings are told in the Reports of the Massachusetts Infant Asylum, from 1867; of the Hampden County Children's Aid Society from 1879; of the State Board of Charities from 1880; of the Boston public authorities taking children from 1884; of the Boston Children's Aid Society from 1886. The last named agency, for instance, to which much credit should be given for the development in the state of good placing out, has for several years had at board in families nearly two-thirds of the children in its care. Several other agencies, following the same policy, have a proportion of boarded children, as compared with those in free homes or on wages, of from sixty to eighty-five per centum. Turning to the agencies which deal with larger numbers, the City of Boston, closing its children's home in 1899, has had always nearly 800 destitute and neglected children placed out, with an increasing majority at board. The State, in 1886, had 357 children in its home, called the State Primary School, 885 in families without board and 247 in families with board. Ten years later the school was closed and the number at board soon was more than those placed without board. Now, of the 4,500 destitute and neglected children in the State's care and custody, those at board are more than two-thirds. The State by boarding out infants had quickly cut down the appalling death rate in the home. In the last year, 1910, the rate was the lowest on its record, 6.11 per centum for all under three years and only 12.28 for those under one year.

Touching this placing out, I would speak of a few points which are fundamental. (1) Placing out is not done because it is a cheap way of caring for children. With board, usually from \$2 to \$2.50 a week, besides some allowance, the cost per child is still less than the cost in any institution which can be recommended by a White House Conference. Expenditures may be increased for better placing and for greater opportunities for selected children; but the real reason for placing out remains, apart from questions of cost, that it is believed to be the best kind of care. (2) Those who are doing this work believe, also, that enough good homes can be found, if we use the right means for getting them. In other words, if we are not getting proper homes, the fault is with us. (3) They believe, too, that the use of boarding homes does not cut off the supply of free homes, where the reasons for the uses of one or the other are plain, as age, difficulty in care, etc. (4) The helpfulness of institutions for temporary care is urged by some, but the experience of others shows that they are not necessary. Considering child-caring in Massachusetts generally, the need in many

cases is for temporary care only. The number of full orphans and of illegitimate children is surprisingly small, even of the children dealt with by the State. (5) For good placing—for selection of homes, fitting children to them and real oversight—there should be more skilled visitors to the number of children than most agencies now use. The leading private agencies try to live up to not over forty to fifty children for a visitor. The City of Boston averages over three times as many; the State more still, running up even to five times as many. The State Board is now trying to get a more adequate force.

I would leave this subject of placing out with one question: should we not do more in the way of more individual treatment, in the study of possibilities and securing their realization, by use of all available resources, in public aid and private interest? The reports of our agencies give some stimulating examples. A rational use of child study and of vocational guidance should help much.

Our third notable tendency, part cause and part result of the others, is the increase and spread of the professional worker, who combines real interest in children with special knowledge and an open mind to learn. References in early *Conferences* to child caring in Massachusetts told of the use of unpaid, local visitors, especially to befriend girls placed out in free or wage homes. The State uses today about seventy-eight such visitors; but they supplement rather than take the place of the expert. The Children's Aid Society uses many volunteers as heads of "home libraries," under expert direction. Together with the spread of the really professional worker in child-caring, is to be noted the increase of managers and directors who help the experts work out problems in the way of progress. If we look below the surface of the dozen leading agencies for children in Massachusetts, we shall find such a happy combination of forces; we shall usually find workers who have caught the spirit, with the training, of the Children's Aid Society or of the Associated Charities of Boston.

In these progressive tendencies there are two by-products which should be noted as beginnings of promise. One is, in trying to work out problems through family life, the effort to improve the condition of families from which children are removed, that these may be soon and safely returned. This effort at thoroughness may be made, of course, through co-operating agencies. The State Board does not give up children committed to it as neglected, through the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, without asking a report of home conditions from that Society, in addition to its own officer's report. The second beginning of more thoroughness is increasing consideration of what becomes of former wards. In the Proceedings of the Conference of 1907 was a stirring article on studies made at our Lyman School for Wayward Boys; the recent annual reports of the trustees of that school and the industrial school for girls are notable for efforts to learn of right methods by results. The report of the State Board for 1910

contains a study of the careers, after discharge from the Board's custody, of 240 former wards. This number is small and there is no basis of comparison with children otherwise brought up; but the indications from this study are encouraging.

In conclusion, these aims of the State and its metropolis and a dozen important private charities are to carry out the conception that family life is the strategic plan for saving lives of infants and bringing up children; that "life in the open," family and neighborhood life, is the best way of learning how to live, for increase of good habits. But to carry out that conception effectively, safely, there must perforce be interested and experienced workers, for thorough "case work," placing and visitation; there should be greater use of the many resources in our communities, especially of good foster-parents or care-takers, friendly visitors and donors, for individual development; there should be proper recompense to foster-parents. Our leading public opinion is going in the way of such care. Vested interests in things material or in customs must more and more yield to it.*

MEDICAL SCHOOL INSPECTION—A WAY TO CHILD WELFARE.

By Dr. George W. Goler, Health Officer, Rochester, N. Y.

(Condensed)†

In attempting systematic work for the benefit of the mother and child in the home we have to begin at the foundation and advance slowly. The public does not yet realize its responsibility for the child or the parent. Organized government initiates little for the good of its people; private philanthropy must always point the way. So we began our work for mothers and children by interesting private philanthropy in the problem of the mother and child in the home.

We are engaged in a task which is only to be accomplished by years of effort and after many disappointments, we are frequently asked why we don't do more and work faster.

We started our work for children fifteen years ago and began by asking an old private philanthropy, a hospital, to assist a new public philanthropy by furnishing the services of a nurse for July and August and with \$300 of city funds we opened two milk stations. Similarly all our work has been started by private philanthropy.

* (See in Proceedings of the National Conference for 1879, Family Homes for Pauper and Dependent Children, by Mrs. Leonard; 1880, the Massachusetts System of Placing and Visiting Children, by Mrs. Richardson; 1882 and 1889, Mr. Scanlan and Mr. Shurtleff on Boarding of Infants; 1886, Boarding out in Massachusetts, by Mrs. Calkins; 1890, Delinquent Children in This County and Abroad, by Miss E. C. Putnam; 1906, the Full Measure of Responsibility, by Mr. Pear; 1907, Mrs. Evans, on After-care. Also in Proceedings of the International Congress of Charities, 1893, the special volume on Child saving.)

†This Address was illustrated with Stereopticon Views.

When medical school inspection was begun, a philanthropist, Henry Lomb, gave us funds to pay five medical school inspectors for six months. When we found it necessary to extend the school inspection into the homes, the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union paid for the services of the nurse to begin that work.

When to care for children found by the school inspectors and nurses, a special dispensary was needed for eyes, ears, nose and throat, a philanthropist again came to the aid of Rochester's children and established such an institution.

When a large percentage of the teeth of the children were found to need repair, the Rochester Dental Society co-operating with the Public Health Association, secured funds to begin the work which they have so successfully carried out.

As the various departments of work for the child were organized they were more and more closely associated. School inspection was gradually made to include the care of deficient and feeble-minded children. The section of medical school inspection was so closely associated with the examination of children applying for work certificates that the child so applying was required not only to have evidence of age, school training, physical development and soundness sufficient to enable him to do the work required, but it was made necessary for him to bring his card of school inspection and file it with the officer issuing the certificate so that he and the health officer might know just what medical school inspection had done for him. By this plan of child welfare, the child is under observation from the time he enters school until he goes to high school or out into the world to labor.

Now, while efforts were being made to protect the child all through its school life, there was, unprovided for, that gap between birth and the beginning of school days, and even back of that, into the time when it lay a growing being within its mother's body. It was with a desire to do something for the mothers before the birth of their children and for the little babies between birth and school age, that the Rochester Kindergarten Association began to help mothers and infants by providing funds for a nurse for infancy and maternity, whose duty it is to teach expectant mothers about the care of themselves or the child they are to bear, and the care and training of infant children.

Here then is a new plan of child welfare. As far as possible it proposes to begin with the mother before the birth of the child, and through medical school inspection, dental inspection and school nursing follow the child all through the school. Wherever an invitation is extended, the visiting nurse for Infancy and Maternity will begin with the child and the mother. The child will be inspected by the medical school inspector, directed in the way of health through home visitation; have its teeth temporarily repaired, and be taught about diet and mouth hygiene; have its nose, throat, eyes, ears and all the bodily functions, ultimately the sex function, carefully guarded by this simple follow-up plan of medical

school inspection; and the child will end by passing into the high school or by coming with its various papers to the Health Officer for permission to go to work.

Beginning with this new work of child welfare, the visiting nurse for Infancy and Maternity provides herself with forms upon which are to be entered brief social and medical statistics of the family, including among other things income, rent, family expenditures, number in family and ages of children, obstetrical attendant, food and care of the child; and from these data she gives a hint here, a suggestion there relating to the care of the child and to the economics of the household. Poverty, intemperance, lack of work, incompetence, necessity for hospital attention—all such needs are by the nurse directed into their proper channel. We carefully refrain from permitting a nurse to step aside from her particular work, which is the education of the mother concerning the care of herself and her child. If the home is very dirty and the mother sick, the house is cleaned and put in order, and kept in order; and when the mother is well enough, she is held responsible for the better order and cleanliness of her household. If the people do not speak English, a child interpreter is secured for a small sum; and it is a proud boy or girl, who in this capacity, accompanies the nurse on her visits. We have but one ironclad rule,—the nurse is not to enter a house until she is invited. While at first invitations came slowly, not more than a week or two elapsed before the nurse had more than she could attend to among her rapidly growing family. "How much you charge?" said one mother. "Nothing." "Then come every day." Said one black curly-haired maid aged five: "Nurse, when I grow up I'm going to get your job. I'd like clean, smooth things, and I'd scrub and sweep, too." A robust woman, mother of five sons and daughters, all dead but one, said to the nurse: "If I'd know you, I'd had-a all-a my bambina." Another woman said, holding up her robust child: "How you like him for baby, hey? Him very good baby; I nurse him; not feed him on a bot and string. No, no, not me, other woman. She no can nurse; but, me, I can." Still another woman said: "Say, you tink I can make my baby well? I only got-a one more, and he got-a crooked feet; too bad. Can make him straight in-a hospital? Yes, you tink so?" And so the nurse goes from house to house. Sixty-eight families she found in the first three months.

In the summer we begin to get ready to open our milk stations on the last week of June; so that by the first week in July they may be in full operation. The city milk stations are in charge of trained nurses and have the usual equipment of a table, scales for weighing babies, chair, refrigerator and milk booklets; and from these stations we minister to the needs of many babies in the neighborhood, during the months of July and August. Not only do mothers and babies come to the stations, but a visiting nurse will, upon invitation, visit the mother in the home and advise and suggest concerning the essentials of baby care.

The summer milk stations have a wide-spread influence. Through the work of the nurse they help to popularize child welfare; they show people the importance of child care and child feeding; they help people to understand how and why they ought to rear near-well children.

All men and women are potential fathers and mothers, and when they actually become parents, they must assume the responsibility for the physical and mental characters of their children. To all men and women, whether potential or actual parents, the nurses in the milk stations stand ready to teach the elementary duties of the parent to the child. To the farmer the central farms from which the stations draw their milk supply help to demonstrate how clean, cold milk may be produced without great expenditure of money and effort, and to the state, its cities and towns, the work of the stations and the farm show that small bacterial counts, those under 100,000 bacteria per c. c., have a distinct relation to child deaths and to child sickness, and that the lives saved and sickness prevented by clean milk have an economic value which, while not appearing as an estimate on the credit side of the public ledger, will nevertheless reduce expenditures for sickness, death and dependence, and prevent sorrow and physical pain.

This year summer milk stations in charge of school nurses are to be opened in the public schools,—the school nurse having her vacation at another time of the year. In the association of the milk station with the school we hope to make of the schools secondary health centers, and as medical school inspection develops, to have a medical school inspector always in attendance at the school; and, of course, to have such an inspector at the milk stations during the summer vacation; for the medical school inspector is in the future to be a most important public official. We will no more think of conducting a school without a well-trained physician, than we would think of conducting a garden without a gardener, or a chemical establishment without a chemist. The duties of the Medical School Inspector are growing more exacting each year. my associate, Dr. Joseph Roby, briefs their work as follows:

“The work of the Health Physicians consists of medical school inspection and the care of the sick poor.

“1. The care of the sick poor, under the direction of the Health Officer and Commissioner of Charities.

“A—Sick calls at house.

“B—Sick calls at office.

“C—Confinements.

“D—Insanity examinations.

2. Examinations of the city cases in the hospitals once in three months.

“3. At least one call at each school once a week.

“4. An average of 50 physical examinations every week, unless it so happens that a smaller number will bring about an examination every year of all the pupils in the schools to which the doctor may be assigned.

"This is the minimum amount of work required. However, it is understood that this is not to limit the voluntary activities of the physicians and that they may feel at liberty to (and it is hoped that they will) enter into such work as lectures or talks to the upper grades and Mothers' Clubs."

When Medical School Inspectors were appointed, and as a result of their inspection bodily defects were found in children, it was the custom to send notes or printed forms to the parents by the children, describing the defects and suggesting that the child be referred to the family physician or to a dispensary. This plan in most cases resulted in failure; the parents paid no attention to the suggestion of the Medical School Inspector, either because they couldn't read the note, or took no interest in it, or the child didn't take the note home at all. It soon became evident that someone would have to act as an intermediary between the home and the child in the school, and so bring them into closer relationship. This is the work of the school nurse. The school nurse does not run a dispensary in the school, to spend her time binding up cut fingers, washing out ears, or pouring oil on creepy heads. Whatever the nurse finds it necessary to do for the child, she is, when possible, to do in the home as a means of showing the mother how to care for the child with her own common, everyday utensils, under the instructions given by the nurse. In every new case, the nurse makes her report to the Health Office on an appropriate form; and once a week she meets with the Health Officer for advice and instruction. Last year three school nurses ministered to 3,746 children. They treated at home, (some few in school) and showed the mother how to care for minor ailments 1,249 cases. They personally took to the dispensaries or to physicians 918 children, and they made 2,136 home calls. Of the children taken to the dispensaries, nearly 900 were taken for defects of eyes, ears, nose, throat and teeth. Would it be possible for three nurses to exercise such power for good over nearly a thousand children in any hospital or other institution, except the school? We now have three dental dispensaries to which our children may be taken. By the work of these dispensaries, and the co-operation of the dentists with the nose and throat doctors, and by improved methods in the feeding and care of children, we hope in the future to have few children with carious teeth.

Closely associated with dental work for children, so closely indeed that it should come first, is work for the nose and throat. The dry, overheated air of our houses, the dust and smoke of our streets cause certain accessory infantile salivary glands to persist, and these glands unite to form adenoid and tonsillar tissue in the upper breathing passages, which not only obstruct free breathing and free hearing, but act as re-absorbents of poisonous substances and as nests in which the germs of infectious diseases may lodge and grow.

The dentist and nose and throat specialist should work together. Tonsils and adenoids will have to be cleared out first. It is their obstruc-

tion and the retention and reabsorption of poisons which is responsible for the characteristic changes in the face, lessened stature and weight and the increased susceptibility of the child to infectious diseases. When we have properly warmed and ventilated our houses, cleaned our streets by pneumatic cleaners, stopped our chimneys from smoking, our children's bodies will not suffer as they do now. We pay a great deal of attention to plumbing and drainage; we trap and back-vent our plumbing; why not back-vent our children's noses, so they can breathe properly, at least, until we can pay more attention to private and public housekeeping.

In addition to the repair of noses and throats in children, we have made provision for the examination and segregation in classes of backward and defective children, now known to represent about 2 per cent of our school population. We hope thereby, not only to benefit these children, but we ultimately expect to remove those incapable of elementary education, so that they may not become a burden to themselves or a menace to society.

This in brief is our plan for following the child through the elementary school. If he goes to high school or to college, still other expert medical supervision of the newer kind which seeks to prevent disease will have to be provided for him. If, after finishing the elementary school he desires to go to work, he is required to bring not only proof of age and class work in school, but he must also furnish the school inspection record, so that we may know in every case just what he has been doing from year to year and just what the medical school inspector has been doing for him.

RECREATION IN RURAL COMMUNITIES.

By Mrs. Belle Lindner Israels.

Considering young people in rural communities is a question first of interpretation. City dwellers have a special interpretation of the country life. They seek the country for recreation. They love its seclusion. The rest to eyes and ears brought about by the change of sight and sound is recreation for the senses. These are the things that form the contrast with city life, and they have an exactly opposite influence upon the people of rural communities. The things the city dweller wishes to leave behind, the noise, the electric lights, the pavements and the shops, the theatre and music halls, are craved by the dweller in rural communities.

We need to remember the natural basis for the lives of all young people. I am not speaking of the little children, but of children of that mysterious age and time between the ages of twelve and eighteen—the girl and the boy. They have ceased to be interested and satisfied

with the daily rounds of washing dishes and mending and going to school and finding birds' nests and being happy with out-door things. Some subtle change has taken place in their mental and emotional attitude. It is a time of unrest, and this time comes to the country child in just as strong a degree and for exactly the same reason as it comes to the city child.

Reform institutions are filled with girls and boys who have unfortunately not been tided through that dangerous period of change. They may not necessarily have become delinquents at the time when they were still subjects of the juvenile court, but the changes began then and the foundations for their misfortunes were laid at that time. Every boy and girl feels the need for pleasure, the need for expressing joy in life. It evidences itself in a desire for the companionship of the other sex, in innocence and virtue in the beginning. But we offer them so little to gratify that desire wholesomely. We laugh at them or we repress every natural expression of their desire to be social human beings.

In far-scattered rural districts the boy and girl are treated occasionally to some form of amusement; the circus comes and there is an occasional picnic. Sometimes as they grow older and more venturesome, they find their way by trolley to nearby picnic grounds or amusement resorts. All over the country there is a class of people who have recognized the needs of these young people and have planned to meet them. The eternal wisdom of the business man has gone out and given to these young people the things that they crave, not from any philanthropic motive or because they want to do a beautiful or educational thing, but because the business man knows that there is money in meeting a natural demand, in giving people something they have not, and which they want, at a price that they can afford to pay.

Has any one gone into the picnic groves? Has anyone taken the trouble to find out what there is there besides the dance platform and the music thumped out on the worn piano, with strict attention to its time-keeping attributes? Has any one found out just how much the success of that dance platform depends on the amount of liquor that can be sold during the progress of the dance? How much information have you as to the hotel on the premises and as to the amount of liberty or license that goes on there? Some of us have and we have been appalled at what we have seen. Within the last year and a half we have kept a newspaper record of the dance hall situation throughout the country, and we had occasion to inquire a week ago in how many places the dance hall problem had been recognized. We found that not twenty-five or forty, but a hundred and thirty-three communities have had cause to take some action for or against or in recognition of the amusement problem as expressed in the dance hall. These one hundred and thirty-three places were cities and towns and villages and country places from the remotest corner of Maine to the

farthest corner of California and Oregon. This awakening has a meaning to the young people of the rural communities.

Dancing has always been a form of emotional expression; and it is no different to-day from what it was in the days of ancient Greece, only we clothe it in different forms and utilize it in different ways. We expect young people in country communities to be satisfied with the day that begins at daybreak and ends with sunset, full of the hardest and most monotonous kind of work. It looks attractive to us because we do not have to do it all the time. But our work grows monotonous and at times becomes drudgery, and so does the routine of their work, when opportunities for adequate recreation are not at hand. There is recreation and relaxation in putting something in your hands that you have never held before. If for days and days you have been testing pieces of satin, and that is your business, it is a relaxation and rest to the nerves to begin testing samples of velvet or linen. Yet we close our eyes to this truth, not only in rural communities, but in the cities as well.

Young people are leaving rural communities as much for the excitement and interest that city life brings to them as for any other reason. It is said of New York City and Chicago that the people who fill the theaters and amusement resorts are strangers in the city. The same is true of the moving picture shows and vaudeville performances. The old-timer who has always lived in the city demands something more stimulating to his blase taste. The young people coming from the country form the mainstay of the amusement resorts. They drift into the towns and into amusement places, and find on every hand a plentiful supply of their favorite type of recreation, the dance. In the smaller communities it is often a big room over a saloon, with immoral resorts in the immediate neighborhood, or a dance platform attached to a picnic grove. There the boys meet girls and the girls meet boys and the nights go merrily on; but the proprietor must be paid, and he is paid in the way that suits him best. Drink pays his bills. While the purchase of liquor most often costs the girl nothing in money, it frequently costs her something else that she can never regain though she live a hundred years.

These fresh, bright, easily aroused young girls are sought after carefully by the men of the city who supply the houses of prostitution, and they fall an easy prey because of their innocence. The story of life in the city, of Broadway and the restaurants and dance halls, appeals to them. The problem of recreation for young people is not covered by parks and playgrounds. It has been left specifically uncovered for the boys and girls of from fourteen to eighteen years of age. We have forgotten to get underneath the cause of the downfall of these boys and girls, the fact that they want to meet each other and have a good time together. We have said "No, you must not," and we have sent them out into the little dark corners that we never

look into but which they find for themselves. We talk of preventive work and doing things for young people before they shall have entered the path that necessitates reform work. In the cities there are certain forms of prevention along lines of amusement, and the same forms should be recognized and utilized in the country. First, the public school needs to be more than a school where learning may be acquired. It should be a center of recreational life to the community, and should have standing by its side the church community. The school and the church should be avenues of recreation for these young people. The school might offer many types of amusement, concerts and singing, clubs and dancing and theatricals. The public schools of New York have social dancing in many evening recreation centers. Some churches have turned chapels into dance halls and invited young people to come and enjoy themselves there, rather than to pay the saloon keeper at the next corner for their enjoyment. But the church and the school cannot answer all the needs. There will always be private enterprise. The church and the school must offer something just as good as private enterprise will offer. You cannot hold your standard too high in your community. On the other hand, you cannot say "I will only have dancing in my schoolhouse in just the way I like to dance." Young people will dance the way they want to until you have succeeded in giving them the idea that your dance hall is a more enjoyable and much nicer place to which to go than any other.

In New York City amusement interests have supplied five hundred and fifty dance halls. This does not include moving pictures and vaudeville performances. Chicago has two hundred and sixty-four dance halls, and in every one of them liquor is the prime reason for existing.

In addition to offering a substitute in school and recreation centers, regulation of the private enterprises is necessary, in the city and in the country as well. These places must be regulated and properly supervised, and that supervision will be influenced by the nature of the amusement. It is possible to have a personal relationship with the amusement resort and to prescribe that they shall run this way or that, and be open until twelve o'clock or two, and that certain dances may not be indulged in, or that they may.

The essential thing that we have to recognize is that this amusement problem has come to stay. It has had a violent growth within the last fifteen years, just in proportion as our industrial communities have grown in their use of the labor of young girls. It is the reaction against the monotony of a day's work which produces need for the night's amusement. Until we realize that closing our eyes to the problem will not solve it and that closing the doors will not improve the situation but will decidedly make it worse; until we realize and recognize that these doors must be opened to the light of day and under supervision, just so long shall we have the situation as it is. Young girls will continue to begin their careers in dance halls. When a girl

through her desire for excitement is on the verge of going wrong, if we could offer her the right kind of amusement in the right way with the right people, we should go a longway toward the recognition of that universal thing, the desire for the expression of the joy of living.

THE REGENERATION OF COLORED POPULATION IN THE RURAL SOUTH.

By Miss Rossa B. Cooley.

There could be no more hopeful subject than that upon which I have been asked to speak and while I come to you from a Sea Island off our South Carolina Coast, I come from the midst of a rural population of over 6,000 Negro people among whom are only some 50 white. As a worker among these Sea Island Negroes I can speak of their regeneration—but on the whole problem, that is, the regeneration of the Negro population of the rural South,—I can speak only as a student and observer.

Those of us who have lived in the South during the last fifteen or twenty years have watched with interest an increasing tendency toward co-operation among the educators.

When Anna T. Jeanes left her fortune to be used for the betterment of the small Negro rural schools, a step was taken for the advancement of the entire rural South. In large sections of the South the children have a term of from one to four months school. As would naturally follow, the buildings are quite inadequate for their purpose; dreary and poorly maintained. The children often learn in spite of the conditions, rather than because of them. This would all seem hopeless had there not been a new note struck and did we not know that the better things are coming and that they are coming to every out-of-the-way corner in our rural districts.

The Jeanes Board is studying the present situation and schools are changing and whole communities are changing.

What is being done in Henrico County, Virginia, can be done in every county of the South, and at no far distant day we shall see a change in our present inadequate country schools. A young Negro woman has been appointed under the auspices of the Jeanes Rural School Fund as Supervisor of the Negro schools of Henrico County. In each of the schools she has organized School Leagues, introduced industrial work and helped the school teacher. Twenty-three schools are thus brought into a closer organization, school terms are lengthened and the buildings kept in good repair, as well as being made more attractive. Other Supervising Industrial teachers are being sent out by this Board and in every case the community is uplifted and education is made more real.

In all our Southern States, except two, supervisors of rural schools

are now appointed. This is indeed a step forward. It is natural perhaps that this attention should be given to the white schools, in many cases fully as bad and in some cases worse than the Negro, but there is every reason to believe that before very long the Negro schools will be as carefully supervised. Already in Virginia there is a Supervisor of the Negro Rural Schools, Mr. Jackson Davis, a Virginian of the white race, an educator of high rank, and his success will go far toward making the people in other States realize the necessity of there being such an officer appointed.

In all of this awakening, and it is indeed an awakening in the real sense, the work among the farmers through the farm demonstrators organized by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, is of greatest importance. Beginning with one acre, prepared, fertilized, planted and cultivated according to the instructions of an experienced farmer; the farmers in the South have been aroused; they have been educated by the results, made enthusiastic and given new courage. What this means in a discouraged or indifferent community of farmers must be felt rather than described.

On St. Helena Island there is a Negro community of about 6,000 among whom would be found some 50 white people. This Island must be reached in an open boat from Beaufort on Port Royal Island where is the nearest railroad station; a half hour's row and a drive of six miles over Ladies Island brings you to St. Helena and here you find what might be called a thoroughly Negro Rural Community. The isolation of the people, the difficulties of mingling with people of the white race, has resulted in their retaining the real characteristics of the Negro people in a greater degree, perhaps, than anywhere else in our country.

As you drive along the white oyster shell road you will meet the Negroes who greet you courteously. You will find yourself among a very polite people and if you live among them you will find them a grateful people. There is the desire to do what they can and as in Africa the gift of the egg to the guest is common; so on St. Helena eggs are urged upon us.

These Negroes are a religious people. This is true generally of the Negro race, but our people are more realistic and there is a greater earnestness in their religion. As one of the old men said in the Praise House: "God done gib de white folks a heap of things, but He ain't forgotten we, cause He gib we religion and we have a right to show it out to all the world. De Buckra (white people) deys got de knowing of de whys and de hows of religion, but dey ain't neber got de feel ob it yet."

All day Sunday is usually spent in church going. The Island child is taught to pray in the silence at "Day Clean" (sunrise) turning toward the East because there is the dawn of the new day.

The language of the people is filled with odd words and expressions, due doubtless to their isolation. Here are some of their expressions—"The fever am still very rapid." "I tell ooner (you) de years walk

along fast." "Water do be most becoming now, and if he cold ain't follow him, de crops sure be glad." "Ain't yo got no shoes keener in de mout?" "Some white folks are so feeling able." "I has a rising of the ground."

Probably 98 per cent of the people are farmers, raising a bare living on land that is equal to giving rich results. They are land owners and among them you find the self respect that is always found among any people who own their homesteads. The whites have been friendly to them, and there has been little race friction.

If we had gone out into the cotton fields less than 50 years ago we should have found the people naked to the waist, men and women, working from "day clean," sunrise, till sunset. There were 61 plantations and the large majority were field hands who had no civilizing contact with white people. They talked a strange dialect, keeping many of their African words. Their religion was most crude, for the forms of the Christian religion which they imitated were but little understood. Their homes were but mere sleeping places, cheerless and comfortless one-room cabins, with bunks built in for beds. A log brought from the nearby woods served for chairs. The iron pot in which they cooked their meals was their only cooking utensils and oyster shells, worn smooth in the service, served as spoons.

Now in these same fields are the Negroes, descendants of those I have just described. But the people I have just left on that Sea Island are self-respecting farmers. Their homes have 2, 3 or 4 rooms, and some have 2 stories. Most of them are whitewashed and painted, a sure sign of progress in the rural South.

How has this change come about? There have been two forces at work. When the Union Army was victorious, the whites fled to the mainland and the Island was soon after put in charge of Northern white men who were to direct the Negroes until they could buy land. The plantations were sold off in small holdings of about 10 acres and these were bought by the Negroes who have proudly held on to the land and in many cases added to the acreage.

Some missionary teachers went down with the soldiers and plantation directors, and two of them, Miss Towne, and Miss Murray, started Penn School.* They went down to show these people who had been left entirely without leaders, how to help themselves. They did heroic service and to them much of the credit is due for changing these people from the half naked ignorant workers in the field to self-respecting land-holders and home owners.

Another circumstance combined to help in this work of uplifting a people. The merchant who happened to go to that Island became a friend of the people and urged them to keep out of debt, so the mortgage crop system which has so terrible a grip on some parts of the South did not get so firm a hold on our people.

*Named for William Penn, that early apostle of freedom.

Farming methods are very primitive and uninteresting. Is it any wonder that the young people want to leave the rural districts and go to the cities? They hear of the high wages and easier work; they know nothing of the expenses of living, and you know the history of the large majority. One of the young men of our Farmers' Conference who had been asked to study the physical condition of the young people of one plantation who had gone to the city, said in his report: "In round figures I may say 1-3 comes back to visit; dey is solid; 1-3 comes back sick, dey is wrapped up in disease such as consumption—dey is damaged; and 1-3 comes back all ready for de graveyard, no good to nobody."

The school founded in 1862 became an industrial school in 1904, organized under a board of trustees of which Dr. H. B. Frissell of Hampton Institute is chairman.

We have to be more than a school. We must be a center for education and inspiration for the people along all lines. The school is built on the farm. We have our class rooms and our shops, where they can take off their own shoes and learn how to mend them, also where they can learn how to make African baskets like those brought over by their ancestors from Africa. The girls have lessons in housekeeping which are needed to be applied in their own homes. In our Extension Work, the farmer goes from the school farm to the outside farm. Last year we began with 6 men who were willing to take a half acre and plant it exactly according to his instructions. A Negro minister raised 54 bushels to the acre where in previous years he had only raised 16 bushels. This year 63 men are doing that kind of work on their own land, and some of them are on the nearby islands. Our farmer goes to these different farms and gives instruction, and others are getting instruction from the Negro farmers. The indirect influence is greater than I can tell you. The school teachers come into our school for their inspiration once a month with all their school children to hold a temperance meeting. We have an audience of 600 to 800 school children and through them we fight drunkenness. That organization has been existing 40 years.

In all of this work the home and the farm must be the basis. The Negroes are needed in the rural South. Experiments with immigrant labor show that the negro is the best worker for those conditions and if we make the conditions favorable, the young Negro will stay in the country.

THE RELIGION OF THE LAND.

By Rev. Warren H. Wilson, New York, Superintendent of the Department of Church and Country Life of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

(Abstract.)

The redistribution of farm land just now going on has religious effects. This process appears in the retirement of farmers from the land, in the increase or decrease of tenant farmers among the country population, and in the influence of absentee landlords who own the soil, but do not till it. These are the religious figures of American country life today.

This change in the ownership of land is religious, because it means a shrinkage of the rural population with undiminished production. The tillage of the soil is done today by one-third of the people of the country and more is produced than when it was done by ninety per cent of the people. This has an effect in smaller country churches, in the abandonment of many churches in the country, and in condemning the divisions of churches. This shrinkage of the country population has religious effects, because it destroys so much of religious organization.

The second religious effect of this distribution of land is the increasing demand made upon the soil and those who till it. As the number of farmers grows proportionately less the burden laid upon them is greater. The farmers are brought to their knees. Agriculture becomes a religious occupation. The greatest agriculturist in America has recently said this truly in the sentence, "The soil is holy." The increasing needs of those who consume and the decreasing number of those who produce will meet only on that day when farming becomes a religious occupation.

Thirdly—the real prosperity of the farmer is produced only when the farmer is a moral and religious man. Agriculture is the one occupation which can not be permanently performed by bad men or by atheists. The farmer must needs be a reverent, a devout, and good man. This becomes more evident as we see that cash prosperity destroys the farmer by retiring him from the land to the town. The increased value of land in itself makes for the removal of the farmer from the country. Unless agriculture is the basis of a social and a religious community life, it is not satisfying to the farmer himself. Only with religious sanction can he and his children be enlisted permanently in the production of food and raw material for the people of this whole country.

Moreover, farming in America is in the future to be scientific. The land is rapidly passing into the hands of those who will till it to the highest advantage, to themselves and the people as a whole. These sur-

viving farmers will be scientific men. They will use the learning provided by the universities, but in the language of a university professor, "The key to the problem of agriculture in America is possessed by the country church, because it is not enough for the universities to produce the science by which the farmer shall till the soil. It is a greater thing to produce the spirit by which in the country community that knowledge shall be used, and only the country church can produce that spirit." This means that in the opinion of an eminent economist the surviving farmer in America shall be a religious farmer. He will till the soil by his faith. He will pray to a providing and all seeing Father and the source of his belief will be in the response of the God of nature to his toil, his study and his industry.

Drunkenness

Report of the Committee by Robert A. Woods, South End House, Boston,
Chairman.

The object of the committee in presenting this report is to indicate in outline the scope and significance of the problem of drunkenness. Except as to points where enlightened experience is showing extremely suggestive results, the committee does not seek to express for itself, and far less for the Conference, any definite conclusions or recommendations. As to all the phases of the problem touched upon in this report, the committee does strongly urge that they should from time to time be brought forward by the Conference for thorough discussion and for such recommendation as progressive study and experience may justify.

The section on drunkenness was created on account of a clearer and keener realization of the profoundly serious part played by alcoholism in undermining character and producing degeneracy. Such a realization is today driven home by the sting of personal experience with cases, to the minds of an ever-growing number of thoughtful and resourceful people. At the same time the triumphs of medical science in other fields and new medical revelations as to this, cause alcoholism to be less feared: its intrenchments are weakened as a result of economic and efficiency tests. It is confronted by more intelligent, diversified, numerous and powerful social-service organizations than at any previous time; it is threatened by a steadily broadening, even though often ill-judged, onslaught on the part of vast bodies of the people at large.

A new conception of drunkenness is emerging which is at once more tolerant and more hopeful. Though not removing from it the assignment of blame, we are coming to regard drunkenness in some of its principal aspects as a disease. While a few of our best physicians continue to rely to a considerable extent upon drug treatment, and while all urge healthful physical regimen and activity, the determining medical sentiment classes drunkenness as a disease of the mind, only to be cured by bringing the whole mind and nature of the man into normal relations and up to normal standards.

The committee feels that from the point of view of the national conference it is not of great consequence just how far alcoholism is a cause and just how far it is an effect of poverty and degeneracy. Medical science is indeed showing us that many cases of drunkenness begin as cases of hereditary physical and mental defectiveness. While alcoholism is not the source of all the evils with which it is involved, yet it makes them all more serious and baffling.

As has been the case with nearly all forms of human backsliding and suffering, interest in the problem of drunkenness began with the extreme stages. In the ordinary view, any case which has not reached these extreme stages is placed under the category of the "harmless drunkard." From the new point of view, no drunkard, however far gone, is considered hopeless. Marvelous cases are on record of recovery at all stages. On the other hand, no case of drunkenness is now properly considered as in any real sense harmless.

The increasingly wide-spread sense of social responsibility and the increasing range and effectiveness of social organization, give ground for a summons to new types of voluntary individual and collective effort toward the recovery of the young drunkard previous to any experience on his part of public restraint. The committee would particularly urge upon social workers the great importance of special thought and effort centered at this particular problem as it manifests itself in their local communities. Experience has shown that persons interested in the temperance cause can be particularly effective in such personal work. The opportunity for the church in this direction is especially clear.

Probation, which is making rapid progress throughout the country, has its largest and best field in dealing with the drunkard. The principle of influence, as against the principle of coercion, is becoming well established in our courts, and with it an increasing sense of perspective and progression, in dealing with the inebriate who has reached the stage where public action is required. The release of the offender without trial after his first offence, and the release by the court on deferred payment of fine, show a refreshing spirit of humanity and of common sense which is creeping into public procedure against drunkenness. Release in court after signing the pledge, and delay of sentence subject to keeping the pledge, is a most cheering recognition on the part of certain courts of the fact that there is sound hope of improvement of permanent recovery under a sufficient stimulus in very many cases. All of these measures, so far as they have been applied, are clearly justifying themselves both in economic and in human results.

Release upon probation subject to the oversight of the probation officer, is each year occupying a larger place in the interests of many members of the national conference. In numerous states the probation system is coming to be regarded as an indispensable branch of the judiciary. The influence of the probation officer with the court in cases of drunkenness is very considerable. This shows that our judges, as well as our public-minded physicians, realize that the social worker, who is in daily contact with the family and community background, is particularly in position to gain sound opinions with regard to the drunkenness problem, and has in hand the best resources for dealing with it.

The organization in some of our states of probation commissions is regarded by the committee as a step of the greatest importance. The unification of the probation system in this way is essential to a proper

science of probation, proper standards of work, a proper sequence of treatment in the probationary stage, proper tracing of cases from place to place, and the proper handing on of information to institutional authorities, if the institutional stage is reached. It has been found in one instance that a state hospital for inebriates in its effort to secure a hopeful type of patient from the courts, was able to accomplish this result through an understanding with the state probation officers, and through them with the courts of the entire state.

We venture to suggest that the time may come when probation officers, by the detailed analysis of histories of inebriates, may be able to institute practical case study of the causes and conditions of drunkenness. The tracing of drunkenness to certain evil conditions; the pointing of the finger of fate at certain types of drinking places, at certain drinking customs, at certain particular liquor sellers, might come about in this way. This would only mean the application to probation as a method of treatment for drunkenness of those same methods of cross-sectioning our cases which is leading more and more in all forms of personal effort to the setting off by themselves of this or that social factor common to many cases, with the purpose of turning the broad resources of the community against it.

Some fifteen states are now at different stages in the movement for the establishment of state hospitals for inebriates. The state hospital is designed to deal with drunkenness beyond the probation stage but still without criminal taint. The pioneer state hospital, in Massachusetts, has now reached the point where it is able practically to limit itself to the relatively hopeful type of patient; it includes a considerable majority of voluntary patients, and carries on effective after-care work. One result of the after-care work is the compiling of a reliable body of statistics covering 1,000 cases which have gone through the hospital during the past three years. At least twenty per cent. of these cases have remained sober since leaving the hospital and at least twenty per cent. more have shown substantial improvement over their former condition. The method consists chiefly of outdoor work and discerning mental and moral treatment. Two further steps are in contemplation, the establishment of a special hospital for inebriate women, and of a non-penal detention colony at which confirmed non-criminal inebriates should be kept until they are cured or they die.

The placing by public authority of so large a part of the public treatment of inebriety under the care and custody of the medical profession must mean that we shall have ere long further highly valuable results from research into the physiological, psychological and sociological bearings of alcoholism.

The practice which is now so strongly and generally condemned, of punishing drunkenness by a succession of short terms of imprisonment, continuing often for many years, should be brought to an end by systematic and determined efforts on the part of social workers, who through

their relation with the general community can often trace its evil results even more clearly than can the authorities of the law. It is true that drunkenness which represents a serious menace to public order, or is complicated with crime, must be summarily dealt with; and there are numerous cases where a brief commitment during the sobering-up process is essential. But in every series of commitments the principle of the cumulative sentence should be applied; the shorter terms of the more offensive drunkards in jails or houses of correction leading soon to longer terms at a state penal farm. And it is of the highest importance, in any case, that non-criminal drunkards should in all stages be kept by themselves.

After-care treatment, whose importance is being felt in many kinds of medical institutions, is peculiarly necessary in connection with the special hospital for the treatment of drunkenness. Considering it an essentially mental ailment, the re-integration of the patient into normal family, industrial and general community relations is indispensable for good and continuing results. Such effort should enlist the services of all social workers and in particular of church workers. Whatever one's view of religion, experience clearly shows that it is a peculiarly important means of recovery to the inebriate. It is to be hoped that volunteer visitors of a new type will appear who shall, after appropriate training, devote themselves to follow up work with those who have been patients at the inebriate hospitals.

The projection of this after-care point of view into the field occupied by the local social worker, is making more clear the necessity of organizing in every local community a network of specially helpful and bracing social influences into which persons discharged after institutional treatment of whatever sort may fall. This responsibility is closely related to that which is beginning to press strongly upon local social effort toward anticipating and intercepting the special causes and occasions of moral delinquency, particularly among the young. The committee feels therefore that it may properly call upon all agencies for social service to apply themselves to the problem of inebriety in their neighborhoods as a means not only of restoring certain individuals to the ranks of industry and citizenship, but of saving the home and the neighborhood from the economic incubus and the serious moral contagion which every drunkard represents.

The point of view of the social worker committed to neighborhood betterment is of much value in approaching this many-sided and exceedingly complicated question. Viewed simply as one of the human issues of the local community, approached as the great physical ills are being approached, analyzed and dealt with in specific detail, the problem will be divested of much of that paralyzing influence which comes from the usual sense of its horror, its hopelessness, and its inevitableness.

It is the belief of some of the best exponents of sound practice in social work that there should be a carefully devised and far-reaching

campaign led by social workers against alcoholism, similar to that which is fast emancipating the civilized nations from the fear of tuberculosis. The committee feels that the situation calls for such an undertaking. To a large extent the social organization already exists through which such a campaign could be made effective. The marked increase of scientific data as to the effect of alcohol upon the human system, the great growth in the interest of the medical profession in measures against alcoholism, and the clearing of the field which has been produced by existing forms of broadly organized medical service, all indicate that the forces of preventive and public medicine are available. The testimony which is gradually being accumulated as to the way in which alcoholism, prostitution, crime and insanity, play into each other's hands and re-inforce each other, will make an effective propaganda. The new psychological and sociological methods of disentangling the crossing and recrossing strands of character and social relationship, and of reconstructing normal habits of mind, ways of life, and forms of association, give fresh interest and promise to this great enterprise.

As a specific motive, suggesting specific methods, to be added to the program of friendly visiting, of settlement work, of hospital extension work, or of school nursing, etc., we believe that such a campaign would have real and important results. It would give new stimulus and suggestion to the whole scheme of public recreation as a source of deterrents and alternatives to the saloon. It would distinctly strengthen and broaden the sentiment which is rising in many departments of industry and commerce against the injury to productive capacity wrought by alcoholic drinks. Through such a campaign, in such hands, the efforts which are being made by some of our trade-union leaders to bring the American labor movement in line with that of England, France and Germany in the matter of free and fearless action with regard to the liquor question would be very much assisted.

The National Conference of Charities is from year to year tracing every evil social result back farther and farther toward its sources and causes. It will hardly hesitate in the matter of the discussion of even so difficult and controversial a phase of the present question as that of the public regulation of the liquor trade. The extreme prohibitionist is at times irrational; but in the light of science not so irrational as he who insists that if a man is going to drink he will drink, all the conditions of his life to the contrary notwithstanding. Modern social service sees immediate and well-nigh endless possibility of improvement and progress in the readjustment of the human will to its human environment. It is clearly a part of any honest or thoroughgoing treatment of the subject of drunkenness to give full consideration to all experiments in the way of public regulation of the liquor trade with the object of reducing the gross and obvious evils that are associated with it and come from it.

In this connection the most impressive fact of recent years is the great increase of people in the United States who are bent upon some form of

local or state abolition of the saloon. To dismiss this remarkable movement with the comment that prohibition is not a success would, even if the statement were entirely true, be to ignore what, from the point of view of the social student and worker, is an extraordinarily encouraging, albeit not wholly wise, manifestation of temperance sentiment. Out of such widespread sentiment, sooner or later very large and abiding results must come.

Local option by separate local communities is a system which seems, so far as its main results go, to have few critics, and is believed by the vast majority of persons living in no-license communities to be of great benefit to them. In some cases this principle is applied to local districts in cities. The district-option system commends itself to the study of the social worker for the valuable result which it would have in keeping the temperance issue publicly before the voters in our cities, even though no-license might be practicable in only a few suburban sections.

County option seems to be among the more encouraging phases of public policy with regard to the liquor question only when the county is rural in character. When the county includes a city, it is a policy resembling in principle that of state prohibition.

State prohibition has thus far in most instances certainly not proved its case. To say, however, that it has shown the futility of further experiment in that direction is to go beyond the facts and counter to an increasing volume of sound sentiment. The facts with regard to prohibition in Kansas during the past five years, including particularly its effects upon pauperism and crime, are such as demand fresh and thorough consideration. The belief that the liquor traffic can be abolished is hardly so utopian as the belief which is gaining increased support in this conference that poverty can be abolished. For this reason, many persons who recognize the serious shortcomings of state prohibition still feel that the experiment ought not to be given up. It is likely that many members of the conference feel that prohibition in Maine has not justified itself. On the other hand, in connection with the issue before that state this autumn, a long and varied list of eminent citizens from all parts of the country are supporting the status quo, including several of those members of this conference whose leadership most of us unquestioningly acknowledge, two of them having recently been its presidents.

Legislation for the restriction of the liquor trade short of local or state prohibition, is a subject which requires much more attention than it is receiving. The liquor business has manifold phases. It is quite possible and practicable even in great cities to eliminate certain of its more objectionable phases. The limitation of the number of licenses, the requirement that the saloon shall be open to public observation, the separation of the bar and bottle trade, the placing of special restrictions upon the sale of liquors containing high percentages of alcohol,—these and many other steps are likely to be subjects of keen discussion and active experiment in the largest of our urban centres.

In this connection, the social worker should apply himself, under skilled guidance, to the systematic localized analysis of statistics of arrests for drunkenness and other data which would serve as a guide to public action. The study of the cost of alcoholism in terms of police expenses, court expenses and institutional costs, including the indirect share of alcoholism in producing or accentuating crime, insanity and other forms of delinquency and dependency, should be well understood and put to educational use. Nor in these days of emphasis upon the last minute details of scientific management for efficiency, should the facts as to the effect of alcoholism upon productivity be neglected.

Under license, the liquor business is of the nature of a quasi-public monopoly. That its operations should be kept under aggressive supervision and regulated in detail so as to protect the public interest,—as we have decided that insurance, railway, rapid transit, lighting and telephone interests shall be—has not yet penetrated the intelligence of our licensing authorities. It soon must do so, and it is specifically the duty of the social worker in our cities to see to it that a conception of their duties, on the part of our licensing authorities, which belongs to the days before the investigation of the insurance business, shall be changed and be brought in line with our present standards of duty for public-service commissioners.

The individual saloon as a producer of disorder, drunkenness and other immorality, must be the subject of inspection and regulation by our licensing boards. The case system as applied to the saloon; its detailed record, and thoroughgoing action with regard to each particular case, on the part of the social worker will equip him for assuming a responsible position. It is known that certain steps in this direction are being taken by the organized liquor interests themselves in certain parts of the country. The social worker will cordially welcome every such effort; but he will want to find a way of going farther and under a different motive.

It is almost a commonplace nowadays with regard to public franchise business of all sorts, that if public regulation prove to be inadequate to protect the public interest, public ownership and management must surely follow. The close experimental study of the present liquor system on the part of the social worker will equip him for assuming a responsible part either in bringing about a comparatively innocuous liquor system in our cities under closely regulated private initiative, or in definitely promoting a form of semi-public or public administration like that of the Scandinavian countries.

The time seems to be approaching when it shall be clearly established that the public interest alone shall determine to what extent, if at all, intoxicating liquor shall be sold; and, wherever sold, the public interest will determine with the minuteness and the comprehensiveness of scientific social administration, just what the entire procedure of the remnants of the liquor business shall be.

TEMPERANCE AND LABOR.

By the Rev. Charles Stelzle, Supt. Department of Church and Labor,
the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church
in the U. S. A.

I am not a temperance agitator. By all my antecedents I should be in favor of the saloon. I come from a family of saloon-keepers. I believe that I know the human side of the problem. I have no sympathy with those who say that all saloon-keepers are "low-browed brutes." There are many men engaged in the liquor business who have the same hopes and aspirations as the average workingman. Whatever may be my opinion of the saloon and the influence of intoxicating liquor, it has been arrived at through a careful unbiased study of the whole question. I am not a prohibitionist, although I do not use intoxicating liquor. I never drank a glass of beer in my life. But I wish to say, without any qualification, that the time has come when the saloon and the labor movement must be divorced, for they have absolutely nothing in common.

I shall speak of the saloon tonight because it is the institution with which we deal in this matter. On every side the workingman is being appealed to in order that he may vote to retain the saloon. He is asked to give the saloon and the liquor business a "square deal;" but how can one be fair to the saloon? One might just as well talk about being fair to tuberculosis, or to small-pox. How can one sit down and calmly be fair to something which is killing men? You encourage the anti-tuberculosis crusade because tuberculosis is a curse, so you start anti-saloon crusades because the saloon is a recognized evil. There is no need to argue this matter with social workers. Your experience has shown you the iniquity of the saloon as an institution. There is scarcely a family in this audience tonight that is free from its blight. The workingman is told that if you close the saloon you take away his personal liberty. In this country there is no such thing as absolute personal liberty. You may exercise your liberty only in so far as it does not interfere with the liberty of your neighbor. The greater our civilization, the greater is the restriction of the individual man. The workingman cannot spend his money as he pleases because the law says that he must first provide for his wife and children. You may not burn your own house, even though you have cancelled the mortgage, because by burning down your house you may set fire to your neighbor's. The law says that the workingman must send his children to school, even though they are his own children. The law says that you must keep your home clean. If you do not, the health inspector will come around and force you to do so. Whatever works an injury to society must be exterminated. When the saloon destroys human lives and souls, then the saloon must go, no matter whose liberty is restricted. When the work-

ingman objects to local option, he forgets that the matter of local option is merely the application of the referendum to the saloon proposition. The referendum is one of the fundamental principles of organized labor, and he must not protest against submitting the question of the saloon to a vote of the people, and when the people have decided the matter he must stand by their decision as a good trades unionist.

"If you destroy the saloon you will throw great crowds of workingmen into the street," we are told by the defender of the saloon. One would imagine that the workingman will throw into the sewer all the money that he formerly spent for beer and whiskey, or that the brewery and the saloon are the only industries that require farm products, furniture, harness, horse-shoes and glass bottles. If the same amount of money that is spent today for whiskey and beer were spent in legitimate trade, workingmen would be far better off, and many more men would be employed. As a matter of fact, liquor interests pay the smallest percentage of wages of any industry in the United States, according to governmental statistics. If whiskey drinking is so good a thing, why do saloon-keepers insist upon their bartenders being sober, and why did the bartenders in a Western city recently organize a temperance society? Anyway, if what these men say is true, it would be like patronizing the doctor and the undertaker because they need the money.

The only way to arrive at what organized labor must think about the saloon is to find out what organized labor and the saloon have in common. Organized labor has for its fundamental principle the saving of little children from lives of depression. It stands for the dignity and the preservation of our wives and mothers and sisters. It is fighting for higher wages and steady work under better conditions, for greater efficiency, for better homes and better cities. What relation has the saloon to these things. Did you ever hear of a saloon that was an influence for saving children, for preserving the home, for giving a man higher wages and steady work and greater efficiency? Did you ever hear of a saloon that created better homes and better cities?

Recently, in Toronto, during the session of the American Federation of Labor, a monster Labor-Temperance Mass meeting was held in Massey Hall. Over 4,000 working people were present, and among the speakers were John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; John Mitchell, formerly President of the United Mine Workers; and Tom Lewis, Mitchell's successor. This is what Mr. Lennon said with reference to the saloon:

"What is the effect of the liquor traffic on the standard of living of the people? Has any influence gone out from the saloon that has helped to make men and women better? The labor movement is essentially a moral movement. It stands for equal opportunity for men and women, though it believes that it should be made more easily possible for women to become home-makers. Who can deny that the liquor traffic is driving women to work in factories, in work-shops and at wash-

tubs who ought not to be there? The trades union movement is opposed to child labor, yet who can deny that the liquor traffic is driving into industrial life boys and girls who should be in the school or on the playground? The liquor traffic tends to decrease wages, never to increase them. The use of alcohol makes workingmen less skillful and drives men to lower scales of employment and reward. Every cent spent in the liquor business is wasted. It brings no social benefit and no moral uplift. I have been criticised for my fight against the saloon, but I give notice here and now that I will fight the traffic as long as the saloon opposes the interests of the people. Too many men and women are going down the stream to degradation for me to keep silent. To the trades unionist there is no redeeming feature in the saloon. Go anywhere where its influence is felt and you see the demoralization it brings. We are fighting for social well-being, civic benefits, and moral uplift. Never a foul plot is organized to injure public rights and social well-being, but the saloon is used for the job. The saloon is the enemy of the people for whom we work."

John Mitchell declared: "I am not at all impressed with the argument that if you close down the liquor traffic you bring about a calamity. When you shut down a distillery, a factory takes its place; and when you close up a saloon, a grocery store is put in. Nothing has done more to bring misery upon innocent women and children than the money spent in drink. The labor movement was not formed merely for the purpose of getting more wages and shorter hours. The purpose of the labor movement is to secure a better standard of living and to make the lives of men, women and children happier and brighter."

"If you want to know where the miners of America stand upon the temperance question, I'll tell you," said Tom Lewis, of the United Mine Workers. "In our constitution we have a clause which forbids any member to sell intoxicants even at a picnic. That's what we think of the liquor traffic. Some people say that the saloon is a necessary evil. I don't believe in that kind of doctrine. Because the liquor traffic tends to enslave the people, to make them satisfied with improper conditions and keeps them ignorant, the leaders of the trades union movement are called on to fight the saloon."

There is absolutely nothing in common between labor and the saloon. When I was in England I met one day the labor members of the House of Parliament. As we sat in a little room over-looking the River Thames, we ordered our drinks, and every labor man ordered tea—and without a "stick" in it, either. I discovered that practically every labor member in the House of Parliament was a total abstainer. The labor men of Great Britain have organized a Labor Officials' Temperance Fellowship, and at the last convention they had 300 delegates who represented over a million members, so that today they practically dominate the British Trades Congress.

Socialists of Northern Europe have been active in wiping out the

liquor business. The Norwegian Social Democratic Party passed this resolution at their Congress this year almost unanimously: "The National Party Congress looks on the battle on alcoholism as a chief condition for a successful development of the working class and demands First, that the local groups and party organs seek to cut loose all relations with the alcohol-capital; and second, that the party work for the greatest possible limitation of the trade in intoxicants with national prohibition as the ultimate goal."

The Congress of Swedish Socialist leaders in Stockholm this year did even better. Eighty of the 140 members are total abstainers. By a vote of 95 to 2 this article was put into the party program: "Fighting of alcohol by instruction in all public schools concerning the nature and action of alcohol on individuals and society and through legislation which shall lead to prohibition of alcoholic drinks."

The Finnish Social Democratic Party is one of the chief supporters of prohibition in that land. There is also a strong temperance movement among the workingmen in Germany. Two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are total abstainers. Quite a number of the international labor organizations in this country will not permit their local unions to meet back of or over saloons, and they will not pay sick or death benefits if the member was injured or killed while intoxicated. In many American cities there are Labor Temples owned and controlled by the trades unionists, and in every case so far as I know, there is a clause in the constitutions of these Labor Temples which forever prohibits the bringing of alcoholic stimulants into them.

The time will come when every labor official will be a total abstainer. The rank and file among organized workingmen will not tolerate a leader who habitually uses intoxicating liquor. In the fight for its rights labor is contending against great wealth and the best brain power that money can buy. Labor has no great wealth—it has only its brain power, and workingmen are insisting that those who represent them shall stand before the Legislatures and before their employers and their representatives with clear heads and steady eyes,—for those leaders hold in their hands the destinies of their wives and children. It is unfortunate that the liquor interests of the labor movement have still so great an influence, even though the group of trades unionists engaged in the liquor trades is comparatively small. The time will come when there will be a break in the ranks of organized labor because of this issue. While I cannot go into particulars, I would say that the time will never come when the liquor men of the trades union movement, or any other body of liquor men, can commit the National Federation of Labor to the saloon. That day has gone by.

One of the greatest problems is to find halls free from the influence of the saloon. I can recall when I was a machinist in New York City, and attending the meeting of my Local, that every man was compelled

to pass through a saloon in going to the meeting hall of the union; and woe betide the fellow who did not stop to take a drink at the bar, because the saloon-keeper did not charge us for the rental of the hall. In one of his annual reports, President Gompers said, with reference to this matter:

"It is not only the aim, but the trend of our movement to make men more moderate and temperate regarding the use of intoxicants. Through the influence of our movement the so-called labor bureaus, that is, the places where unemployed workmen could seek employment, have been removed from the drinking saloon, as has also the place of payment of wages been removed from that influence. Years ago saloon proprietors would give their meeting rooms free, or offer a bonus to such associations of workmen as could be induced to become tenants. This rule often applied, years ago, to the unions of labor. Gradually, but constantly, the unions have sought meeting places in buildings in which intoxicants are not on sale; but despite their best efforts a sufficiency of halls and meeting places was not and is not available. I commend the thought to your consideration, whether we have not the right to insist that our unions in the various cities and towns throughout the country shall have the right and the opportunity for the use of our public school buildings in which to hold their evening meetings."

It will never be possible to organize the women in the industries in our cities until halls can be secured away from saloons. In the Labor Temple in New York—which is connected with the Presbyterian Department of Church and Labor—we have opened our big auditorium for the women of the Book Binders' Union because their business agent could not secure a hall away from the saloon without paying an exorbitant price. It seems to me that the men in the labor movement should assist the women in industry in the matter of securing decent meeting places; and the social workers and churchmen should help by opening the churches, the social settlements and other meeting places over which they have control in order that the men and women of labor may not be subjected to the influence of the saloon-keeper, whose only interest in the labor movement is to secure profit out of the sale of intoxicating liquor.

THE NEXT STEP IN LIQUOR REGULATION.

By John Graham Brooks.

First, one word of reference to labor men. It would be a mistake not to admit that the liquor interest of this country has a very sinister hold on a large number of laboring men in politics. It is one of the very ugliest facts, and we have to say it unless it pleases us to be deceived.

In the little I have to say, I am thinking of tactics and methods rather than of specific regulation. The word regulation is like the

word "efficiency," it has got to be a kind of cant, because we cannot now get on two minutes without using one of these two words.

If I were to say what our government and municipalities are committed to most definitely for the next generation or two, I should say it was the regulation of the great economic powers centering about transportation and affiliated corporations. Not only is our government absolutely committed to it in spite of all the raillery of the socialists who tell us that you can't regulate the steel corporation or the railroads, or Alaska, because these big interests own and run the government. We are, however, committed to regulation of foods, weights and measures, railroads and big corporations of every kind, and all dangerous interests, like the liquor interest, which is one of the greatest economic, and at the same time one of the most dangerous, forces in the community. And we have to regulate it. My question is, what kind of regulation shall we aim at?

I suppose every student has been staggered by one fact. The "three fundamental vices" of society, gambling, prostitution and drinking, have been legislated against for hundred of years. Centuries against prostitution alone and what is accomplished? It merely shifts these plagues from one spot to another. It is virtually the same with drink and with gambling. We change the forms—do we change the essence or the total of evil enough to be at all sure of our case? Many students say that gambling has not been diminished by a jot. We have won a little hold upon the drink problem and it has been through regulation and the accompanying education. For years I have had the statistics of drink in Belgium. These statistics are in such shape that you can really do something with them, as you cannot with those in our own country. There is almost no regulation in Belgium. I have been in places where any man with a hundred francs could start a cabaret and sell just as much rum as he pleased. I have seen districts in which there was one saloon for every eleven families, every man picking up profits out of this business without regulation. They have a drink bill in Belgium absolutely paralyzing. The average Belgian laborer pays all he earns during two months in a year for his drink bill. There is only one place worse, and that is France, where they drink the deadliest thing that is made for a drink, absinthe.

It seems to me proved that we must strike for a local politically manageable unit. I believe the county is too large, and much more is the state too large, and yet I would fight against throwing Maine back into a licensed state. My opinion is precisely as Mr. Woods has stated, Maine has not made out her case and yet I would maintain that experiment until we get a great deal more information, and especially until there is far greater unanimity of opinion on the merits of the case. I want it still among the experimental legislation which is to guide us. For every new start, take the manageable unit of local option, and get into the county and state as fast as possible.

What next? This book which I hold in my hand is the most relentless criticism on the method which I believe in, and yet I would advise everybody to read it for that reason. I have known three or four excellent liquor men—men who made their money selling liquor; we may get invaluable instruction from them. We have to learn that it is good politics to co-operate with those men because they are going to teach us things that we must know. As in the new constructive politics, we have to learn that it is stupid simply to fight the kind of politicians that we dislike. Politics has made little progress further than it has learned to co-operate with the very best opponents so far as they will take one step that is decent toward saner policies. I do not know an intelligent political student that has not come to that conclusion. I know many that began by thinking politicians are merely loathsome beasts. We have learned that a politician may teach us a lot if we approach him right, and we may co-operate with him to the general cleaning up of the community.

The same is true in industry. We have assumed co-operation between the laborer and the employer, and the Socialist's camp is today torn on this issue. The extremists say any co-operation, any active sympathy with the capitalists or politicians is a vice. On the other side is the reformist or the opportunist. The reformist who is willing to co-operate with practical politics is on the winning track in every country known to me where the Socialists fight. We too have to co-operate with every one of those liquor men that will take first steps towards decency and help educate his own crowd. He can do this far more effectively than outsiders.

The next step in my opinion is to develop this co-operation in eliminating the element of private profit from liquor distribution. But it must go beyond the Gothenburg system. We tried here ten years ago to get a permissive bill to introduce this system. We shall never strike the deadliest blow to liquor distribution until we take the private profit principle out of it. You will waste no end of time until you have that which is the essence of the Gothenburg system. Mr. Gordon, in the book cited, has been watching it for years, and he writes the severest piece of literature against it that I have read. He points to the weakness of the whole business. If you take away private profits, what are you going to do with them? They have to go to the city or state, and that is dangerous, unless most carefully guarded in manageable units of population. It is a very real danger, as he says, to substitute this communal pecuniary advantage for the advantage of the private individual. If I thought the profits were going into the pockets of the tax payer, as they do in certain Swedish communities, I should think it just as much of a curse as Mr. Gordon does in this book. We did not propose to try this experiment in a large city, but, in a community that had fought license year after year. Wherever a small community has opposed license, our permissive bill asked that the town be allowed to

experiment in this elimination of profit. We came within one vote of this permissive bill, not to cover a large city, but to try this little experiment.

What should one do with the profits? In every place where they have taken the profits away from the liquor interests, everybody is amazed to see how huge they are. If we want to make a genuine substitute for the saloon, we need a great communal house with gymnasium, with museum and theater, and then we want to make that an educational center for the teaching of modern science on the real injury that drink does to the race, and to teach the evils of drink generally. I submit to you that an experiment of that sort in a controllable no-license area, carefully watched, could not be very injurious. That was all our claim, and the principle on which we wanted to make that was this. Dr. Hatton said the liquor business ought to pay its own bills. It causes inconceivable wreckage. Why should the general community pay the bill? The liquor interest throws it upon society. We are very feeble-minded if we continue to stand for that. We have plenty of examples. The genius of workmen's compensation is this: It insures the workman against accidents and then makes the trade pay the bill, and it insures different phases of the trade according to the danger of accident. In the hard coal mines where the accident rate is high they pay a heavier insurance, and throw the wreckage upon the trade. What I want to see is to have educational centers where we can have these graphic temperance charts that really instruct you. Profits from liquor should create powerful educational centers. I want the profits of the trade to pay for this education, and I don't want one dollar of it to go into the taxpayers' pocket, so he can say "That's a good way to pay the taxes." I wish everybody would read Mr. Gordon's book. It is strongly against what I am saying, it is a bitter attack on the Gothenburg system, but he attacks its avoidable weaknesses, not its strength. It is the argument of an absolutist who will have no compromise with the enemy. I don't know anything more precious in social politics than to get the habit of learning from your opponent, even from your enemy. If I should try to make that into a little phrase. I would say that to learn from your enemy is as intelligent as it is divine to forgive him.

THE EFFECTS OF ALCOHOLISM ON THE HUMAN BODY.

By Harlow Brooks, M. D., Visiting Physician, Montefiore and City Hospitals, New York City.

This subject is almost as old as the study of medicine. In the works of Hippocrates we find an excellent account of certain of the manifestations of alcoholism and practically all the older medical authors, especially those who dealt with pathological studies of the tissues have interested themselves in this disease. Yet there are today few subjects in pathology on which a greater divergence of opinion exists, not only as to the grade of the changes induced but also as to the character of them.

The New York Academy of Medicine has recently appointed a Committee of Fifty, the purpose of which is to investigate from a scientific standpoint all aspects of the alcoholic question, not from a biased standpoint, but from that of the pure scientist who searches for truth, merely because it is truth and in order that the results of their investigation may be applied in the furtherance of Public Health.

Among the sub-committees is one appointed to investigate the question as to the effects of alcohol on the body lesions. I have the honor to serve as a member of this committee.

The question is much more difficult of solution than might at first appear to be the case, and calls for much first hand original study and observation.

At the outset one is confronted with the difficulty that one rarely or never sees cases of fatal alcoholic poisoning. What we are called upon to study is a disease condition,—Alcoholism—the etiological factor of which is alcohol; but the complications and digressions of which comprise many other factors. Thus, in alcoholism, especially as we see it in the great cities, are such important factors as exposure, under and malnutrition, and all the other numerous effects of dissipation—these contribute to the lesions of alcoholism which then becomes a complicated disease picture. It is not the toxic effects of alcohol alone, but the conglomerate result of many pathological factors which combine to make up this disease picture.

It would seem that one should be able easily to induce experimentally in animals the lesions of alcoholism—but results in this direction have for the greater part led to either entirely negative findings or to changes quite different in character or degree from those which we know to develop with a high percentage of occurrence in cases of clinical alcoholism;—we have alcoholic poisoning, and these changes may be easily induced in animals, but not alcoholism.

Hence it is that we must fall back chiefly on the study of the body tissues after death in cases which have clinically pursued the course of the alcoholic.

There exist many instances in which alcohol may be used to excess

throughout an active life without producing any disease changes in the body which may be correctly attributed to the drug. These cases are, of course, rare and they are commonly such as have during life shown few of the toxic symptoms which usually result from the abuse of alcohol.

Alcohol affects the female to a much more serious degree than the male. Not only is woman more susceptible to the dosage of alcohol per body weight than man, but the course of the alcoholic woman is much shorter than that of man and the evil effects on her tissues are more rapid as well as more fatal in their early effects.

My studies are from cases of the New York variety,—they have been collected mostly from Bellevue Hospital, City Hospital, Harlem Hospital and from a large Hebrew Hospital,—thus it may be seen that my statistics are probably quite fairly founded on all nationalities; Americans, English, Irish, Scotch, Italian, Bohemian and Hebrew, all maintaining to a more or less degree, their national drink characteristics though in a new habitat.

I shall attempt to adhere strictly to the results of the abuse of alcohol for I believe that in this agent we have a therapeutic power as valuable and nearly as dangerous as strychnine or morphine and a food substance of irreplaceable value which, however, at times becomes as poisonous as sugar to the diabetic or as purin bases to the sufferer from renal disease. There is no absolute guide as to the physiological or pathological dose except experiment and personal experimental medicine is a very perilous branch of vivisection research for the layman.

Changes in the circulatory system in alcoholism do not play an important role except when primary disease of the kidneys or liver have developed in which instances secondary circulatory changes appear. Certain exceptions must, however, be made. When great quantities of the milder alcoholics, as beer, are taken, a condition of fatty and dilated heart results closely allied to the Munich beer drinkers' heart which is found so constantly in the dead houses of that beautiful city. Arteriosclerosis or hardening of the arteries does not appear to be a frequent result of alcoholism except when complicated by kidney disease or when the disease is associated with dissipation, with great mental strain or the like—all conditions it is true aggravated or induced by alcohol.

Among the most serious and frequent lesions induced by alcohol are those of the gastro-intestinal tract. Dilation of the stomach, chronic and acute inflammatory disease of the stomach and intestine are among the most certain of the effects which the alcoholic is to expect. To a certain extent in this country the decreased consumption of the stronger alcoholics has resulted in a lessening of these changes and the crafty alcoholic has found that the "high ball" or the "wine and seltzers" give equal drug or force effect and cause less gastro-intestinal disturbance than the whiskey straight or the undiluted wine—his experience is based on a thoroughly well confirmed pathological basis.

Direct effects on the lungs and other respiratory organs are for the most part lacking, but there is no doubt whatsoever that alcoholism greatly predisposes the pulmonary tissues to all manner of inflammations, bronchitis, pleurisy, pneumonia, or tuberculosis and at the same time the mortality in these diseases in alcoholics is much higher than in those not addicted to the drug.

The effects on the liver are perhaps most widely advertised in lay and elementary medical literature. As a matter of fact the pathology of the liver is so very complex that most of us feel very poorly qualified to speak of the changes in this little understood organ in alcoholism or any other disease condition. We do, however, know that excessive alcohol acts on the liver in two ways,—it causes fatty degeneration and certain forms of cirrhosis or hardening—the first more likely in the user of the less concentrated alcoholics, the last in those who chiefly employ the more concentrated drinks. It is astonishing how little alcohol may in some cases cause these liver changes and in other instances it is equally astonishing how much and how long it may be taken without the slightest manifest disease of this gland.

The effect on the reproductive organs is marked, not quite enough so, however, to fall in with modern conceptions of eugenics. The reproductive capacity of the alcoholic is greatly diminished. This is much more marked in the female than in the male. Although the immediate effects of the drug are to excite sensualism, used either acutely or chronically it diminishes insemination and conception. None the less there is no doubt but that alcoholism is a most important condition in the induction and spread of the venereal diseases—as a famous student has said in this regard, two of the most frequent predisposing factors to venereal diseases are "alcoholism and opportunity."

The effects of alcohol on the kidney are commonly known. Not only are primary renal lesions among the most grave of all those produced in alcoholism but of even more permanent nature are changes secondary to the kidney lesions which arise in the heart and other circulatory organs, in the liver, brain and gastro-intestinal tract, so that in grade of importance, the kidney disorders may be placed first among all the changes induced in the body by the abuse of alcohol. Practically any type of kidney inflammation or degeneration may appear depending somewhat on associated conditions, but largely on the form in which the alcohol is taken, on the frequency with which it is used and whether it is taken together with other foodstuffs or not.

Second, only in point of occurrence to kidney changes in alcoholism is disease of the central nervous system. To my mind these lesions are even more important sociologically since they do not kill early, but thrust on the body public a long and pitiful list of criminals, incompetents,—and their offspring. The ganglion cells of the brain normally originate, create and elaborate all that helps to elevate man above the lowest animals. In them reside the creative sense and the motor

control of the artist's fingers, the ideas and ideals of the publicist, scientist or soldier. In alcoholism these cells become poisoned, degenerated and eventually destroyed either qualitatively or actually. Indeed we may say that alcohol possesses an almost selective affinity for these delicate structures. As a result of these changes come neuritis, premature senility, mental and moral decay. Although it is true that these are not constant and inevitable results they certainly are those to be expected in more or less degree in the majority of cases.

Various forms of sclerosis or hardening of the tissues of the brain also come with the changes in the nerve cells. It is most important to remember that degenerations of this nature in the delicate mechanism of the central nervous system admit of little or no repair such as may follow in most other tissues when the drug is discontinued and proper conditions supervene. The over stimulation, with its greater output of mental work sometimes possible under alcohol, is but the irritation and precursor of the degeneration and death of the ganglion cell and nerve fiber.

As perhaps far distant but absolutely direct results of the changes in these structures is the effect on heredity, and frequently the result of this nerve poisoning manifests itself in most marked degree in the latter generations in various types of nervous disease or deficiency.

To summarize: While alcohol may be used to excess without producing in the tissues of the human body changes of recognized pathologic nature, this is rarely the case and in by far the larger number of instances, lesions of a serious and largely irreparable nature result in the most important organs of the body. The higher in point of evolution the grade of any tissue, organ, person or race the earlier and more seriously does it become affected by this poison, thus anatomically as well as psychologically lowering the position in the scale of physical and moral evolution. The pathological changes due to alcohol lead through heredity to deficiencies and disease of the offspring.

THE EFFECT OF ALCOHOL UPON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY.

By Dr. William R. Williams.

If one were to assemble the literature on the effects of alcohol on the bodily functions, its ponderous bulk would suggest that on this subject at least the last word had been said. Such, however, is not the fact. The gaps in our knowledge are many and wide, and not a little of the evidence at our command is somewhat discordant.

The explanation of this is to be found in the remarkable complexity of the problem. The effects of the drug must be considered in respect

to the immediate and remote results of its local irritant action, to its action on the various organs after absorption, and its chemical fate in the body with its final destruction or elimination. The effect of the alcohol in each of these particulars depends not only upon the actual quantity used, but largely upon the degree of its dilution with water and upon the extent to which the organism has become accustomed to its use. So far I have mentioned only pure alcohol more or less diluted with water, but this is scarcely ever drunk by mankind. Every one of the long array of alcoholic beverages contains, in addition, many other substances which modify the effects of the drink.

Our knowledge of the subject has been derived in part from experiments on the lower animals, and in part from more or less scientific observation of human beings. With man as the subject of experiment there are many sources of error, an adequate control of the essential factors is always difficult and often impossible. This is particularly true of the psychic factor, the influence of which is so subtle that conclusions are likely to be erroneous unless a large number of subjects are used in many different tests, and even then unusual care is needed in the analysis of the apparent results.

I shall try to present to you those effects of alcohol that seem more definitely established, leaving the more controversial points for the fuller knowledge of the future.

Let us begin with the effect of small or moderate quantities. If a little strong alcohol is dropped on the skin it gives rise to a sensation of coolness or of distinct cold. This is not due to a specific action of the drug upon the tissues but is simply the result of evaporation. If evaporation be prevented the alcohol acts as an irritant and causes a burning sensation and redness of the skin. On the mucous membranes, which are more sensitive, the burning and congestion are more striking, —a fact which will readily be conceded by anyone who remembers his first drink of undiluted whiskey. An irritation such as this in the mouth and throat and stomach, sets up a train of nervous impulses that lead to a transitory stimulation of some important nerve centers such as those governing the respiration and the circulation. It leads also to increased secretion of saliva and the gastric juice. The cocktail, a rather concentrated alcohol with aromatic bitters, has become popular as an appetizer because of this irritant action. Another effect of this irritation is the stimulation of the muscular wall of the stomach. Alcohol is quickly absorbed and unless taken in large amounts its local action is not noticeable below the stomach.

We must next consider its influence on the chemical processes of digestion. The gastric juice that it calls forth is well adapted to active digestion, but this action may be modified by the presence of the alcohol. If it be present up to one or two per cent, digestion may be somewhat more active. This amount would mean not more than half an ounce or an ounce of whiskey in a well filled stomach. Alcohol up to fifteen per

cent seems to have no significant retarding effect on digestion, but in stronger solutions the ferment action is interfered with and may be stopped altogether. It would therefore appear that a little alcohol, well diluted, may enhance the appetite, stimulate the flow of saliva and of gastric juice, favor gastric digestion or at least not retard it, and aid somewhat in the absorption and expulsion of the stomach contents. On the other hand the too frequent repetition of the local irritation may set up an inflammation of the stomach with its train of symptoms. The amount necessary to cause this varies extremely in different individuals. Then, too, the danger of the formation of the alcohol habit can never be forgotten.

After its absorption the alcohol enters into the chemical processes of the body and is oxidized. A small percentage only escapes combustion and is excreted as alcohol by the lungs and the kidneys. In certain experiments with men, when an amount of alcohol equivalent to six ounces of whiskey was taken daily, less than two per cent was excreted unburned. In every respect then alcohol acts as a food, its combustion supplies energy to the body, it spares the body proteins from oxidation, it spares the fat which may then be stored as fatty tissue, and but a small part of it escapes unused. Although we are forced to admit the possibility of alcohol serving as a food it does not follow that it is therefore a desirable article of diet in the ordinary healthy individual. The objections to its use in other respects and its dangers make it an undesirable food except in unusual circumstances and in small amounts.

The effect of alcohol on the circulation has not been fully worked out. The most striking result of its administration is dilatation of the blood vessels of the skin. This causes the flushed face and a sensation of bodily warmth. Notwithstanding this subjective feeling of heat the actual temperature of the body falls. In a warm room this effect is slight, but in cold air and after large amounts of alcohol it is a serious disturbance.

The effect on respiration is not important in the healthy individual. Actually the breathing is stimulated and more oxygen is absorbed.

The effect on the power of doing muscular work is more important. The repeated use of even small quantities of alcohol impairs the capacity of the individual for sustained effort. Athletes in training and soldiers on the march do better without any alcohol. There is not, however, the same consensus of opinion as to the effect of a single small dose. Some experiments tend to show that the ability to perform fine muscular movements accurately is lessened from the start, others show that the total work that can be done by any special group of muscles is less after a little alcohol, while still other experiments show that at first, for half an hour or less, the amount of work that can be done is slightly increased. This increase is more noticeable if the muscles are already

somewhat fatigued. On the whole, however, the chief result of alcohol is a decrease in muscular power and efficiency.

It has been found that after a little alcohol more mistakes are made in the addition of columns of figures and in the repetition and analysis of disconnected syllables such as is practised in some experiments in psychology.

Perhaps our chief interest centers about the effect of alcohol on the higher nervous functions. After a little alcohol there is a semblance of stimulation of the mental faculties. The flow of not too deep thought is accelerated and the flood gates of eloquence are opened wide. Is this really a stimulation? Is it not rather due to a depression of certain inhibitory impulses which by causing a sort of diffidence hamper the flow of speech and of thought? More careful analysis tends to support the latter interpretation. If we accept this, then the action of alcohol on the higher nervous functions becomes one of depression throughout. This affects first those faculties that have developed last in the process of the evolution and education of the mind. The finer judgment is interfered with. Accuracy and close attention are impaired.

The finer ethical distinctions are blunted, wit becomes coarser, all of the emotions are less restrained, and self control is relaxed. Along with this depression of the higher faculties, the co-ordination of motor impulses is interfered with. This may be detected by careful experiment long before it becomes obvious in the unsteadiness seen in intoxication. Sensation also is blunted, the sense of muscular fatigue is relieved by even small doses, painful sensations are dulled, and thus is established the sense of well being and bodily comfort that explains a good deal of drinking. If external stimuli are cut off sleep is favored quite independent of intoxication.

After larger doses of alcohol the individual passes through the various phases of drunkenness to a state of complete loss of co-ordination and muscular power. The depression of consciousness and of sensation amounts almost to a complete surgical anaesthesia. Indeed, before the introduction of the modern anaesthetics alcohol was used for this very purpose. Finally the important centers governing respiration and the circulation are attacked and the condition becomes precarious and may even end in death.

If enough alcohol is taken to cause obvious intoxication this progressive depression of the various nervous functions is unmistakable, but there is no sharp line of transition between the mildest effects such as follow a single drink of strong spirits and the stupor or even coma of the dead drunk. The only difference is one of degree.

Although these signs of depression may be demonstrated by a careful analysis of the effects of alcohol, the subject of the experiment is loth to admit them. He feels that he is stimulated to greater efficiency, that the quality of his thought is improved, that his muscular strength is

increased and he has an undoubted sense of well being. Surely "wine is a mocker."

The long continued use of alcohol gives rise to more protracted mental disturbances that are classified as alcoholic psychoses. A brief description of these disorders is impossible. Their variety is infinite, in severity they range from a scarcely noticeable nervousness to actual insanities. Some are transitory, others prove incurable.

Another important result of alcoholic poisoning is its effect in lessening the ability of the body to resist infection. In some instances this is largely due to the impairment of function associated with a reduction of the temperature of the body, as the same susceptibility to infection has been found experimentally when the temperature was lowered by other means. In part it seems to be due to the specific action of alcohol upon the defensive mechanism of the organism. In our hospital work we expect alcoholic patients to do badly whenever they contract any of the severer diseases such as pneumonia or typhoid.

This then is a short summary of some important effects of alcohol. Strictly its tendency to set up a habit of drinking, its striking modification of the psychological processes of the drunkard, and the phenomena of delirium tremens are all a part of my subject. Upon careful analysis the designation of alcohol as a "stimulant" finds little justification, it is rather a narcotic and depressant of great power.

THE TREATMENT OF INEBRIETY.

Irwin H. Neff, M. D., Foxborough, Massachusetts.

As a preface to my paper I would like to emphasize these medical truisms:

1. Inebriety is an expression of nervous weakness; founded on this weakness is a habit which we call drunkenness.
2. The antecedent weakness is either acquired or an inborn defect.
3. The nature of this nervous weakness is as yet not accurately defined; it appears to be closely allied to degeneracy and the functional minor nervous disorders.
4. The inebriate is, as it were, a sum total of his personality and the symptoms attributable to alcoholism.
5. Inebriety should be considered as a disease in the sense above described. The acceptance of this theory implies responsibility on the part of the inebriate, although it admits of extenuating circumstances.
6. The treatment of the inebriate can best be expressed by the word "individualization."
7. There is no known drug which can permanently eradicate the desire for drink.

The medical treatment of the inebriate can be summed up in three words: Individualization, differentiation and segregation. In order to determine the exact mental and physical status of the patient and to detect the cause of the condition we must consider the patient as an individual; our object is to establish our patient's personality, and to ascertain the cause for his excessive drinking. Differentiation is closely related to individualization, indeed, it is a part of it in that it clearly emphasizes the fact that no two cases are exactly alike. Successful treatment therefore depends largely upon appropriate differentiation. Segregation: In order to benefit the patient it is necessary in the great majority of cases that the patient be removed, at least temporarily, from his present environment and that certain conditions be sustained. Segregation does not necessarily mean isolation, although the changed environment should be clearly appropriate to the case. The inebriate, by reason of his nervous weakness, is quite suggestible and this suggestibility is taken advantage of in any treatment which is inaugurated.

The modern treatment of inebriety consists first in getting the patient interested in himself, and secondly, in encouraging him to sustain this self-interest on his defect. The requisites required for successful treatment are conditions which will allow of segregation or grouping of the diverse classes, and for carrying on the necessary educational or re-educational measures. We recognize that the cure of inebriety has a three-fold principle: a physiological life, abstention from alcohol and the institution of moral and educational measures. Drunkenness has a mental and physical side. If one be free from organic disease, the recovery from the physical symptoms is a matter of a comparatively short time. Experience has shown that a certain percentage of cases can be permanently helped, others benefited by hospital methods, while still others are apparently incurable.

Although it is possible to define certain types of inebriety, it is unwise, from a remedial point of view, to adhere strictly to any classification. The indiscriminate and careless use of such a custom is likely to make one lose sight of the personal problem, and thus fail to realize the importance of individualization.

Doubtless much misunderstanding about inebriety is due to a misconception of the word "inebriate." All cases of drunkenness are not cases of inebriety, but all confirmed or habitual drinkers are properly classed as inebriates. Inebriety is a condition which depends upon a number of causes. The determination of the causes and the selection of the method for their removal are possible only after a careful analysis of the individual case.

Beside the hospital, or hopeful case, we must recognize several other types of inebriety which demand institutional treatment. Although, unfortunately, with our present equipment, we have been unable to care for these cases to our complete satisfaction, we can say with confidence that every inebriate should receive proper treatment and custodial care. The

necessity for the care of these cases is as great, if not greater, than that for the insane.

Many of these individuals, apart from their habit of alcoholism, are of good repute, and under certain conditions are capable of earning their livelihood. A type frequently encountered is the middle aged or elderly man, who has lost his self-respect and social position. The family and friends of such a man, after repeated trials, consider him to have forfeited all his rights and privileges. Such men frequently become outcasts and institutional "rounders." Another class of men demanding institutional care is the delinquent; in such cases alcoholism is an expression of inborn defectiveness. The early recognition of this type and the inauguration of educational measures is certainly indicated.

It is much to be deplored that in this enlightened age the public continues to look for miracles; this has reached its greatest exemplification in the advertisement of the so-called "cures" for drunkenness. Taking advantage of the credulity of the public and the suggestibility of the inebriate many "cures" for inebriety have been heralded and have received considerable attention. When these so-called "cures" are submitted to analysis the claims for special treatment are generally found to be exaggerations.

I do not maintain that drug therapy has no place in the treatment of inebriety; on the contrary it is at times invaluable for the modification or correction of the symptoms of drunkenness or for the cure of the physical diseases which result from the long and continued use or abuse of alcoholic stimulants. But inebriety has for its true origin a mental defect and can only be modified or corrected by moral and educational measures.

Few cases of inebriety can primarily be treated at home. In order to apply educational measures it is essential that the patient be removed at least temporarily from his environment. The length of time that a patient should be detained at a hospital depends upon his personality, the nature of the case, the progress the patient makes under institutional care and the conditions he will encounter when he is discharged.

At the time we inaugurated the present method of treatment at the state hospital, the importance of medical aftercare was recognized; therefore, an out-patient department was organized. This has been in operation during the past year and a half, has proven an unqualified success, and has added greatly to the efficiency of treatment and the value of the institution. The essentials of the department are as follows: A preliminary examination of prospective patients to determine their fitness for hospital treatment. Weekly visits to patients at the hospital; visits to the homes of patients before their discharge from the hospital; visits to patients and patients' relatives and friends after their discharge from the hospital. Such a routine gives the patient prior to his admission a knowledge of the hospital and its purposes, makes it possible for us to secure an accurate history of each case and supplements the medical

educational work begun at the hospital. In order that the hospital might be utilized for the more hopeful cases, visits are made by the out-patient physician to the committing magistrates and judges, and addresses have been made to charitable and medical organizations explaining the work the hospital is trying to accomplish and the class of patients who are likely to be benefited by hospital treatment.

A department of aftercare is the vocational bureau. Those who are familiar with the inebriate question can recognize the difficulty which patients have in securing re-employment. With the aid of the out-patient department it has been possible to re-establish many patients in their old line of employment.

Another function of the out-patient department which is worthy of extension is the home education of those who are concerned in the handling of the inebriates after they leave the hospital. A branch of the vocational bureau, which is a part of our probationary or parole system, is the practice of employing desirable patients at the hospital at small salaries for specified times. We have found that many of these men are of better type than can be secured in the open market. Some of these patients have been retained on the pay roll for more than two years, have been abstinent and have proven to be competent and willing employees. These men working with patients serve as an incentive to them to put forth their best efforts. We have secured employment for many men in the neighborhood of the hospital. These men are self-supporting and report at the hospital at stated intervals.

Following the lead of Massachusetts twenty years ago, the states of Iowa and Minnesota founded hospitals exclusively for the treatment of inebriety. During the past two years many states have appointed commissions for the investigation of drunkenness with powers to advise on conditions and remedies. Maryland, Michigan, Connecticut, Ohio, Indiana, New York and New Jersey are actively concerned in such investigation. The unexpected state to start legislation on this subject is Maine, which has recently introduced a bill asking for an appropriation for the establishment of a farm for the treatment of her inebriates. Michigan has reported favorably on the feasibility of a state farm. It is significant that the commissioners advise that this system be extended so as to permit of its use for other misdemeanants. The opinion is universal that there should be some change in the state's method of dealing with misdemeanors and minor criminal offences. The system now in vogue is not reformatory but merely punitive. Drunkenness is the chief misdemeanor, as is shown by the 50,000 arrests in Boston for drunkenness in the year 1910. Compared with the present methods of dealing with cases of drunkenness any plan would seem to be worthy of a trial. The experience of Massachusetts during the past five years has revealed conditions which have served as a basis for legislation. The Trustees of the Foxborough State Hospital, in accordance with a legislative resolve, submitted a report in 1909 on

the treatment of drunkenness, in which they have accurately defined the cost of inebriety to the commonwealth. In place of the present system of fine and prison sentence for frequent offenders, a plan is submitted for the complete segregation of non-criminal drunkards from other offenders, so that the curable cases among them may have every opportunity of cure. The plan provides for segregation and care of woman drunkards.

The report was favorably received and the sum of \$50,000 was appropriated by the General Court of 1910 to purchase a site for a new hospital. The Trustees have purchased one thousand acres, on which will be established farm colonies and hospital buildings, for the care and treatment of alcoholics and drug habitues of both sexes, and we have utilized the existing farm buildings for the reception of some patients.

The plan includes the development of three institutions, differentiated as follows:

1. A new hospital colony for male inebriates, to receive (a) patients who come voluntarily; (b) cases committed by judges and magistrates; (c) young habitual drunkards placed on probation by the courts on condition that they spend their probation period at the hospital; (d) suitable cases transferred on parole from the detention colony.

2. A detention colony for incurable non-criminal inebriates, to receive (a) incurable cases committed by the courts; b) confirmed drunkards on indeterminate sentence.

3. A hospital colony for non-criminal female inebriates, to receive (a) voluntary cases; (b) committed cases; (c) cases sentenced from the courts.

These three institutions, for facilitation of transfer and for uniform management will be under the same Board of Trustees and the same medical directors.

This system as above outlined will provide for all types of drunkards beyond the release and probation stages, excepting for drunkards with criminal taint who, together with the refractory cases from the detention colony, should be sent to the State Farm.

The most obvious needs for the proper and economic treatment of inebriety are (1) sufficient land for agricultural development. (2) Sufficient land for industrial training. (3) An opportunity for segregation of the diverse types and (4) facilities for the treatment of female inebriates.

We feel that by the adoption of the plan above outlined, these advantages can be secured.

The colonies, excepting possibly a detention colony for incurable inebriates, will consist of cottages accommodating a maximum number of twelve or fifteen patients. These will be under adequate supervision, but will be cared for largely by the patient occupants. Each cottage or habitation, so to speak, will be a unit.

Our experience during the past three years has taught us, first, that

from a medical point of view, co-operation is better than coercion; secondly, that there are, broadly speaking, two classes of inebriates, namely, the hopeful case, which is amenable to hospital care, and the "repeater" or the apparently irreformable case who requires custodial care and whose release from supervision should always be conditional; thirdly, that it is a duty of persons interested to detect the inebriate in his incipency, secure proper educational training and in this way, if possible, prevent the development of the "rounder."

ALCOHOL PROBLEMS.

By Miss Alice L. Higgins, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Boston.

When our country was passing through one of its hours of greatest trial an Englishman of large sympathy and insight begged his countrymen to look forward to an inspiring future for "the great confederation of States with freedom everywhere, equality everywhere, law everywhere, peace everywhere—that such a confederation would afford at least some hope that man is not forsaken of Heaven, and that the future of our race may be better than the past." Much of what John Bright hoped for has come true, but an enemy to universal freedom, equality, law, and peace is found in every city of all our states. What freedom is there where men and women are slaves to a thirst for a drug that increases the thirst with every instance of its use; what equality, even in the mere chance of growing up, when children are born into homes where parents are such pitiable slaves; what law when alcohol affects the judgment of juryman and legislator alike; what peace when duties are thrown aside, the most sacred ties of love forgotten and the fair promise of early manhood or womanhood lost in the insane asylum, the almshouse, the jail, or the ruined home?

That may sound like the old-fashioned temperance speech, but I believe it is the task of doctors and social workers today to show the community in just what degree it is true with new-fashioned scientific data.

We have left "alcohol" in a sea of invective for the abstainer, or a roseate glow of desirable oblivion for the victim. We need to study the results of its use and pin on the wall each item of cost to the individual and the community as a naturalist does his specimens for the public clearly to see.

It is said that the use of alcohol began with the early agricultural period, but fortunately for that day, the liquid could not be kept or transported until utensils were made so that chronic drunkenness was not possible before the period of stationary agriculture. The devices

of some of the early races before the seventh century and the age of distillation are interesting to the historian. A picture of American Indians chewing boiled manioc in order to produce fermentation by the action of saliva on the starch and then ejecting it into a receptacle may not suggest the making of an alluring beverage, but it indicates what we may metaphorically call the hand press from which the modern distillery has been evoked. Legislation among the Mexicans and Peruvians before the Spanish Conquest was perhaps the first liquor legislation on this continent, and today the cost of insanity, other diseases, crime and poverty due to alcohol shows that as a protection to the community legislation alone, is a failure. What remains? I would reply—has a campaign of education had a fair trial? The objections to such a campaign that I have heard from temperance wishers, both of whom are physicians, are two.

1. Knowing the real effects of the use of alcohol will not make people temperate. Doctors and nurses know more than anyone else about the effects of alcohol and other drugs, yet as a whole, use them to their own harm more freely than other people.

2. Drunkenness is not as good taste as it was, do nothing about it and the use of alcohol will steadily decrease.

Is it not the answer to the first that different men will be influenced by different reasons and an effective educational campaign must be adapted for different races, and designed to reach those who drink from varied causes. And, at least, men and women should not be allowed to take a drug under the impression that it is a food; to take a narcotic, believing it to be a stimulant; to turn to alcohol in the hope that their efficiency may be increased, uninformed of the increasing evidence of loss of creative power, quickness, and efficiency from even a moderate use of the drug.

Is not the second objection answered in the words of John Morley—"The world grows better, even in the moderate degree in which it does grow better, because people wish that it should, and take the right steps to make it better?" Isn't it time to turn our attention to finding what the "right steps" may be? The people to tell us this are the doctors. As a whole, the medical profession has not been more active in propaganda work than our own. Many alienists are much concerned about the problem because of the relation between alcohol and insanity, but little or no organized effort toward informing the community of the danger has been attempted.

One of the most remarkable educational campaigns the world has ever seen is that of the last eight years in the prevention of tuberculosis. In 1902, that campaign was largely in the brain of one person—Edward T. Devine of New York. That campaign has been made so vivid that thousands go to an exhibit intended for their welfare,—to an exhibit

made up of germs and other undesirable, unpicturesque, unexciting and depressing facts.

Is not that campaign the model for us to study? A few sides of the campaign I should like to have discussed, and so will state my own beliefs in order to arouse counter suggestions. It should be:

1. Diversified.
2. Popular.
3. Scientific.
4. Remedial.

In exhibit opportunities alcohol to the showman far outshines the tubercle bacillus. One man may be affected by knowing that 20 per cent. of all the men in Massachusetts Insane Asylums and 8 per cent. of women are there because they used alcohol; that the leading alienists of other countries assert from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. of all men in asylums owe their insanity directly or indirectly to drink, although many of them may never have been intoxicated in their lives. An ambitious man may be influenced by letters from the presidents of the big railroad companies of the country that they will not employ men who use liquor or who are seen where liquor is sold. The man who fears death or disease may be startled by the comparative tables of length of life of abstainers and of non-abstainers, or in the fact of the peculiar fatality of pneumonia to those who use alcohol, or of the lessened resistance to disease or the small chance of the alcoholic to acquire immunity to contagious disease. One tax-payer may be interested in comparing the amount of money received by the city from license fees with the amount paid by the county for care of drunkards in houses of correction and other penal institutions, or if his city uses the license fees for the school department he may prefer to compare it with the cost of the care of destitute and neglected children of drinking parents. The man whose brother is a bar-keeper will look at the chart of death rate by occupation with concern, and when he understands that where the general death rate of occupied males is 1,000, that of inn-keepers and their servants is 1,659, that where 100 occupied men die of alcoholism and liver diseases, 733 inn-keepers die, where 100 occupied men die of gout, 600 inn-keepers die, and when he realizes that the Prudential Life Insurance Company will not insure him at all, but prefers to take the manufacturers of dynamite and firearms, he will feel his brother is in a dangerous occupation and the fewer men so employed the better.

The artistic temperament will be interested in the Swiss charts showing decrease of power in the higher faculties from moderate use of alcohol, and the doctor so far behind the times as to still use alcohol in any appreciable degree as a medicine might see to his profit the diminishing use of alcohol in the London and American hospitals pictured by comparative squares. Another chart I would suggest is one

of the occupation of those who hold mortgages on saloon property. In Massachusetts the percentage of mortgagees who are in the brewery business would tell a story by itself.

2. The campaign should be popular. The Committee of Fifty has a gold mine of careful, well-attested facts, but they are lost on the shelves of the library. Their wisdom must be translated into every tongue, into the vernacular and ballad. It should be graphic,—charts, lantern-slides, telling illustrations and the language of picture must be developed. The German government has conducted experiments that are valuable and scientific. The results will be published this fall but they must be exploited for the public health with the ardor of the advertiser. Sir Thomas Whitaker has estimated that the weekly consumption of alcoholic drinks by each wage earning family in 1901 in the United Kingdom was 6s. 1½d. In 1901, in London there were 124,733 families living in tenements of four rooms or less. Assuming the expenditure for drink of these families to be but 5s. per week, that sum directed to rental would give each family an additional room and 3s. 6d. margin to each family for better food. We must have our imagination stirred by definite, wholesome expenditures contrasted with the bill paid the brewer and the distiller.

Individual achievement could be illustrated by rooms of disorder and actual earning and budget—a transformation room and budget after reform.

Perhaps the third point should be first, for it is fundamental. Scientific accuracy must be observed in all illustrations. The medical profession must direct the campaign, must furnish the data on the effect of alcohol on the body. To be convincing we must be guided by the highest medical opinion at every step.

4. The campaign, I believe, must also be remedial, that is in close touch with the medical treatment of individual inebriates. Though working at cure is our safety in theory, our gain in cure is also our advance in prevention. We have today no more opportunities for rational treatment of the inebriate than we had for the tuberculous eight years ago; no place to send a man who begs to be helped to give up the habit. Massachusetts has a hospital at Foxboro, but there are only a few such institutions in the country. Of out patient departments where a man still at work may go for advice there is scarcely a half dozen in the whole land. The campaign must also emphasize the preventive side. It must be splendidly suggestive in the necessity of leisure and the use of leisure.

The Boston Associated Charities organized last summer a committee of leading physicians, social workers, and laymen. The chief work of any such committee is to first inform itself, and the secretary, a physician giving half of his time, has been studying the subject. Opportunities for a special alcoholic clinic have been made and some

initial work has been started, but the difficulty of finding young physicians willing to give their time as to other clinical work is great. That prevention must begin with the young is evident and the committee through the co-operation of the State Board of Education is giving eight lectures this month in four of the Normal Schools of the State. These lectures are: Alcohol and Insanity; Alcohol and the Nervous System; Effect of Alcohol on Digestion; and the Social Cost of Alcohol. A series of stories for children have also been published in a paper having a large circulation in Sunday Schools.

This is but a small beginning. An extension of lecture work before men's clubs, women's clubs, Trade Unions and trade boards will, I hope, develop rapidly. The place of the pamphlet in the campaign is large and also of the exhibit. The co-operation of the psychologist, the doctor and judge is needed to bring about more intelligent care of the individual sufferer. And the union of the clergy and the doctor will give to the religious appeal a background of scientific data that will challenge attention. The individual must know the danger he runs, the community must realize the size of the bill it pays.

I should like to direct you attention to four revolutions of attitude toward the alcohol question.

1. In 1840 a Quaker went to a London office for insurance on his life, but as he was a total abstainer he was expected to pay an extra premium. Later that year, this Quaker, Robert Warner, started an office for abstainers only. In 1849 he opened a department for non-abstainers also. From the experience of forty years it is shown that where 100 deaths are expected 94 non-abstainers died, and 71.52 abstainers. To-day six English and Scotch life companies give a bonus to abstainers, and fifteen accident companies give a reduction of 5 per cent. to 10 per cent.

2. The use of alcohol by physicians. In the practice of medicine alcohol played once a really speaking part. Dr. Richard Cabot has shown the diminishing cost of the bills for alcohol at the Massachusetts General Hospital in the last ten years that is striking, and a comparison with fifty years would be dramatic.

3. Attitude of Trades Unions. In 1837 the rules of the Steam Engine Makers Society Labor Union provided that one-third of the weekly contribution should be spent in refreshment of the members. In 1899 "many unions fine or otherwise punish those who attend meetings in an intoxicated condition, and the Trades and Labor Council of Fort Wayne, Ind., goes so far as to provide that "the Council shall never, on any occasion, where it is giving a demonstration, celebration, excursion, picnic, ball, or entertainment of any description, sell intoxicating liquors to any person or persons, firm, society, or company."

*Committee of Fifty.

4. Practice of employers. Early in the nineteenth century wage earners went on strike to get rations of rum, and when in 1817 a ship was completed without the use of liquor in any form, it was considered a remarkable achievement. To-day, with the transportation companies, evidence of intoxication is ground for immediate discharge, and employers in increasing numbers are taking an interest in the temperance question because of its relations to quality of product and hence to profit and loss.

I should like to predict that before this century reaches its meridian there will be another change of attitude and that the connection of any political party with election day treating or any undue sympathy with the liquor traffic will be considered incongruous with a platform of economy and reform, and deemed altogether bad politics.

The connection between heredity and alcohol must be studied along similar lines mapped out by Dr. Goddard in his wonderful studies of the social history of the feeble-minded at Vineland. Through the knowledge secured by such studies we shall gradually acquire more sense in our treatment of crime, of disease, and of poverty. There will undoubtedly come into our program more of custodial care. This is necessary if we are to have an advancing civilization. We have known that alcohol makes its victims anti-social, that the responsibilities which the inebriate shirks have to be borne by others, but we have not so fully understood that his lack of co-operation in the community may be reproduced within himself, and that the lessened co-operation between his bodily organs may force one of the others to become the over-worked wife at the washtub. The first things the alcoholic loses are the last gains of the race, the finer, higher attributes; this places the fineness of our civilization against alcohol in the duel.

There is one great difference between the tuberculosis problem and the alcohol problem. No one directly is financially interested in the tubercle bacillus. Many are in alcohol. Again, no one wants to have tuberculosis. There are human beings who do want to have the oblivion of alcohol. They do not want to have the later results of alcohol, it is true, but these they expect to escape. It may be worth while to answer a few of these advocates of the use of alcohol.

1. It is said to reduce the liquor traffic will throw men out of employment. In the first place the numbers of these men is left purposely large and vague in the public mind. The danger of the occupation has been mentioned. In the next place the men thrown out of employment through inebriety is larger. The number of men in Massachusetts in the liquor traffic by the 1905 census was 6,954. The number of arrests for drunkenness were 73,972, 67,468 males, and 6,504 females. I realize the repeaters are many, but fewer than those who work because of alcohol less regularly, yet escape arrest. There is evidence of increased number of assistants needed in grocery stores where cities go "no license," and the money now spent in liquor would be spent in less

harmful ways which would require the employment of men and women.

2. It is hard to believe the sincerity of those who oppose reduced drinking because of reduced license fees. The large manufacturer of national reputation who said he would vote for "no license" and cheerfully pay all the increased taxes that it was said would result in order to have his employees come to work sober on Monday morning was the shrewd economist.

3. The misery drinker who begs for the mere privilege of forgetting is the most pathetic figure in the city,—no not quite, the hopeless, vacant-faced insane man in the asylum that he may become, is even more pitiable. All who are interested in housing, fair hours of labor and fair wages, better recreation, in raising the standard of living belong in this campaign. The alcohol problem is both cause and effect. And the misery drinker with all our sympathy must be challenged by the knowledge of the results to body and mind toward which he travels.

4. In contrast there is the luxury drinker who is underworked and over-bored. I wish I knew the alchemy that would stir the blood of every luxury drinker to go forth and pair with a misery drinker and enter the occupation of service to a fellowman and so win his own freedom and that of another. That sounds a dream, yet it is part of history and fact.

5. The tired worker who drinks moderately to increase his efficiency makes his plea with almost the spirit of the martyr. He may know the danger he runs to gain this supposed efficiency, the chance of losing control of the amount he will take in view of the steadily increasing amount he must take to feel the same exhilaration. He takes the chance for his beloved work. It is part of the righteousness of the universe that alcohol doesn't increase efficiency, and the tests we see in the loaned charts by the Social Museum at Harvard through the kindness of Professor Peabody must be given wide publicity.

6. The thoughtless drinker who takes the moderate amount because of its pleasantness in hours of relaxation is perhaps the most serious complication in the alcohol problem. He may be so valuable a citizen, so splendid a soul, that he stands rightly as an example to all young people who come in contact with him. Yet some who imitate his habit will lack his strength and we dwell in a community which we affect continuously for good or ill by every act. We are "our brother's keeper" and that responsibility came to us with our humanity.

7. The spirit of hospitality itself is linked with the alcohol problem. Sir Horace Plunkett said the temperance movement in Ireland based on the soundest psychology for that lovable, generous people was the Anti-Treating Society. Each man must pay for his own drinks. This campaign must tell plain truths in all quarters. I once asked a young man who has a large circle of friends in the leading society of this city, and who is a total abstainer, how often he was asked to take wine and was "jollied" over his refusal. He said several times

a week, and told me of some hostesses who were guilty of this rudeness. I wish they could all hear the quiet tones of the physician who told me of a man he knew who died insane from alcoholism. The several sons of this man came to this physician to learn their chance of escaping the disease. He told them that if they kept absolutely away from alcohol their chance was good, but if they took alcohol at all he could not answer for them. All but one of these sons have kept away from the drug, alcohol, but one while at college felt strong in his power to take it moderately. He has no power now. That youth might have been the guest "jollied" by a charming hostess. If these young women knew the real nature of alcohol they would at least require a doctor's certificate based on knowledge of the habits of their guest and on those of his ancestors before they would urge the "social glass."

In some respects it is an ungracious campaign we are considering, as well as a difficult one; and we are face to face with a big issue. We are playing for big stakes—the health, the character and the efficiency of our people, the economy of our state, the very soul of our civilization.

Standards of Living and Labor

Report of the Committee, by Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of The National Consumers' League, Chairman.

MINIMUM WAGE BOARDS.

The characteristic new hope which inspires this Conference in the new century is that poverty is to disappear from our country, and that the organizations here represented are to contribute toward that wonderful change.

If, however, we and not our great grandchildren, are to realize this hope, we must follow relentlessly, whithersoever our search may lead, every cause of poverty—physical, moral, social and economic.

The institution upon which I am to report tonight rests upon recognition of the fact that one very important cause of poverty is industry.

Poverty is the regular human by-product of certain industries without standards, of certain socially subnormal industries. But it is obvious that in any rational society, each industry must sustain the people employed in it. An industry which supports its workers and their families only in part, places an undue burden upon charity and is, itself, a parasite upon the community. This undue burden upon charity is all preventable. It is all due to a lax tolerance by the nation of predatory management, battenning upon defenceless immigrants in the North and defenceless poor whites in the South. England has already acted upon the conviction that this undue burden upon charity can be lifted by legislation, whatever may be the difficulty of raising by statute the general level of wages.

The existence of industries without standards is a world-wide phenomenon so generally perceived that in September, 1908, the International Conference of Consumers' Leagues unanimously recommended to its members that, on their return to the twenty countries whence they had come, they strive to introduce minimum wage boards. The National Consumers' League has acted in accordance with this instruction, and this paper is an appeal for co-operation by every appropriate organization in every state represented in this Conference.

The socially subnormal, parasite industries, the industries without standards, vary in the different countries. Minimum wage boards were introduced into Australasia about eighteen years ago for the purpose of redeeming the sweated trades—primarily the manufacture of garments in which, at that time, women, children and Chinese were reducing all

the employees to starvation by their unbridled competition. Minimum wage boards now exist in 38 branches of industry in Australasia.

In England lace making, chain making and the manufacture of paper boxes have been recognized as subnormal industries, and are included with the manufacture of garments under the Minimum Wage Boards Act of 1909.

Our subnormal industries are somewhat different. Chains are not made here by hand, and lace making is still in process of introduction. Our need for minimum wage boards is, therefore, in a rather different series of trades and occupations. But our need is no less urgent than was the need of Australasia and of England.

In all three countries, an industry is socially subnormal when it regularly and permanently produces wholesale poverty, when it pays wages so low that an average workman engaged in it cannot maintain his wife and four children, but must rely upon them for a part of the family support; when it minimizes the employment of men, substituting women and children for them; when it pays to an average, normal woman worker dependent upon herself, a wage upon which she cannot live.

Whether, in general, wages can be raised by statute is a question of theory and of experience into which the time limit forbids me to go. In this paper I propose merely to discuss three industries for which minimum wage boards are needed. I select these three because I have been interested in them for nearly thirty years, and because there is an accumulation of knowledge about them even without further special investigation. They are ripe for this discussion. They have been the object of effort of the Consumers' League for several years. They are first, retail trade in the form of stores; second, tenement house industries, and, most difficult and most important of all the cotton mills. The regular human by-product of all three is notoriously wholesale poverty. Yet industrially they have been prosperous, producing millions galore. Cotton dividends varying from 30% down to 15% have not been unknown within the range of my acquaintance. The phrase "merchant prince" tells its own story, and of shoddy millionaires of the tenement house garment trades we all know more than enough. These industries are subnormal only in their relation to society, not in the ability or the financial success of the men who direct and control them. These industries are what they are by the deliberate, determined policy of the men who conduct them.

Retail Stores.

For several years the Consumers' League has gathered obvious facts as an incident to its effort to establish standard conditions in stores and factories. In the absence of comprehensive scientific figures showing the relation of women's and children's wages to the cost of

living, we are dependent upon obvious facts as these present themselves. Among the most obvious facts was the insufficient pay of employees in retail stores.

These stores minimize the employment of men, substituting for them women, girls and boys, employed largely at less than living wages.

The obvious, characteristic quality of the working force of retail stores is its youth, its cheapness, its irresponsibility, and its defencelessness. Vast numbers of the employees are between 14 and 21 years of age, in the years when our own girls are most carefully guarded and chaperoned if, indeed, they are not still in the high school or college.

Twenty years among the immigrants who contribute unflinching streams of youthful recruits to the ranks of retail trade, have convinced me that these stores constitute a subnormal industry. An indication of the absence of standards, of the payment of less than living wages, is the undue proportion of their young employees in sanatoria for tuberculosis. Private and public institutions alike have waiting lists of overworked and underpaid young workers from the retail stores.

The close relation of these stores with the social evil has been abundantly proven in Chicago. In New York, after the wholesale dismissals following the Christmas rush and the midsummer reductions former clerks and cash girls have been recognized upon the sidewalks.

The well-nigh universal requirement that girl employees shall live at home betokens the parasite nature of the industry which intends to extract from their families a share of the support of the girls.

In the interest of the conscience of the consumers, the Consumers' League of the City of New York has, for years, tried to obtain for the women and girls in the stores a living wage. From 1900 on the League asked for \$6.00 a week for girls 18 years old and over who had been clerks a full year in the service of one employer. Obviously, this left all younger employees upon a still lower wage level, and all girls of 18 years who had been less than a year at work as clerks.

The inquiries of Mrs. Ainslie Clark and Miss Edith Wyatt, in 1909 and 1910, showed that a woman away from home cannot live on this sum in New York. Girls who try to do so, though they may continue chaste and honest, cannot continue well. An industry conducted on this scale produces regularly, as its human by-product, wholesale poverty, vice and disease. It is indeed an industry without standards, a subnormal industry in dire need of minimum wage boards. After nearly twenty years of volunteer effort by private organizations, in many states, something has been accomplished in bettering the hours of labor, chiefly by statute. But persuasion has failed as a means of improving wages, and wages are the essential thing.

For the integrity of the nation, these young workers cannot be left to fight their own battle for wages. The young clerks and cash children, the bundle wrappers and change makers, afford no material of which militant unions can be formed to stand out successfully for a liv-

ing wage. Whatever safeguarding is to be theirs must come to them from without, from the consuming public's determined effort to lift the present undue burden upon charity and correction by establishing standards below which no merchant may go. A floor must be built beneath the feet of these workers precisely because they are at the age of irresponsibility, and cannot be left to themselves at the edge of the abyss.

Every gain hitherto made in behalf of the employes has met energetic opposition from associations of merchants, who systematically fight the establishment of standards of hours or wages. This industry is kept in its subnormal, parasite condition by deliberate intention of merchants who are among the ablest business men of America. In New York city their organization, formed after the Reinhardt Commission investigation, in 1896, has been maintained and strengthened for the purpose of fighting all encroachment upon their freedom of exploitation. It has served as a model for similar organizations in scores of other cities.

The Tenement House Industries in New York.

The branches of production carried on in tenement houses are subnormal, parasite, an industry without standards. They include the manufacture of garments and furs, purses, pocketbooks, slippers, paper boxes, paper bags, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, umbrellas, articles of rubber, macaroni, spaghetti, ice cream, ices, candy, confectionery, nuts and preserves. They, too, minimize the employment of men. They avoid the maintenance of factories and workshops, substituting women and children for men wherever possible, and kitchens and bedrooms for workshops. They overflow from the factory into the tenements, invading the homes to save the cost of heat, light, power, supervision and cleaning.

These trades add to underpayment the further evil of speeding alternating with seasonal unemployment. Piece work in these trades gives the maximum strain upon health and endurance in return for less than living wages.

In these trades, a quarter century of strikes at the center of the garment industry in New York City has resulted in some gain to the men and women who have escaped from the tenements to the ten story loft buildings. But there are left behind unknown thousands of women and children in 13,000 licensed tenement houses containing from three to fifty families each. For these there is no limit to their working hours, no depth below which wages cannot fall.

The tenement trades place upon charity a greater burden than do the retail stores because, by invading the tenement homes, they draw within the circle of exploitation and exhaustion mothers and young children, and housebound or bedridden invalids. They demoralize the children's schoolwork, and largely delay their readiness for entrance upon legitimate industry. They promote congestion of population by

keeping homeworkers within walking distance of the factory and workshop. They are the sweating system in the United States.

Tenement workers get all the disadvantages, and charity is burdened with the consequences. The benefits all go elsewhere. Through the tenement house families the employers and the consumers are alike subsidized. They get relief in aid of profits and relief in aid of bargains. Charity commonly contributes sporadically food or clothing. Lodgers pay the rent. Childhood contributes its uttermost sacrifice to enrich shoddy millionaire clothiers and encourage bargain hunters. Disease spreads among the huddled, exhausted workers and travels afar, carrying poverty in its train.

Half a century after Alton Locke, New York City reproduces all the horrors of the sweating system on a scale as much larger than Kingsley described, as a new law tenement house is larger than a London workingman's cottage. We have profited nothing by England's experience or our own.

Here, too, as in the retail stores, society cannot afford to delegate to the trade unions a task which they cannot justly be asked to perform. Tenement house workers have never anywhere been able to form a lasting union for their own protection. Differences of language, nationality, race, religion, sex, age and skill make an effective union among them unthinkable.

Society itself must build the floor beneath their feet, and no other effective floor has hitherto been invented for their safety than the minimum wage board laws in force for eighteen years in Australasia, and for eighteen months in England.

There is pending before the Legislature of New York State a bill for a legislative commission to study the whole subject of manufacture in tenements, with a view to accumulating such a mass of facts as to the labor of men, women and children in the tenements, that future legislation (banishing work thence or prescribing rates of pay such as would spoil the appetite of manufacturers for work done therein) may never again be annulled by the Court of Appeals of the State of New York on the ground that the public health is not involved. Through the work of this commission we hope to get, sooner or later, minimum wage boards for New York.

Cotton Manufacture.

Beyond and below the stores and tenement workrooms stand the mills which furnish the raw materials, the cotton mills, the greatest of the textile industries in America. The cotton trade is farthest of these three socially subnormal industries below the normal level. It is the oldest, dating back to the 18th century. It stretches continuously along the Atlantic Coast from New Orleans to Biddeford, Maine. It exhibits the same product of wholesale, chronic poverty under high protection

in America, as in England under free trade. It is not an accident that New Orleans and Fall River, at opposite ends of the cotton coast, have the worst death rates for cities of their respective sizes in the census of 1910. Tuberculosis and the work of mothers in textile mills unite to kill neglected babies and underpaid workers.

While the tenement trades carry industry into the home to its undoing and to the burdening of charity, the cotton mills suck the whole family into industry. The cotton industry everywhere, and at all times, pay such low wages that wives and children must eke out the family subsistence. Its regular accompaniments are child labor, employment of married women, long hours alternating with curtailment, poverty, illiteracy and tuberculosis. It is regularly subsidized by the children who give it their youth, and by the mothers who sacrifice to it their babies.

Communities dominated by the cotton industry need, though they do not always maintain, relief societies, day nurseries, milk depots, clinics, camps and classes for tuberculosis, open air schools, school luncheons, night schools for illiterate adults, widows' pensions and child labor scholarships. These are some of the palliatives which the textile industry now regularly requires, for instance, in the Kensington region of Philadelphia.

Cotton manufacture is not only socially subnormal; it is also predatory. It actively strives to prevent legislative progress. It fights the establishment of standards. In not one cotton mill does the eight hours day obtain. In no state dominated by the textiles is there a statutory eight hours day, even for the children. It is in New Hampshire, a cotton manufacturing state, that we find a new law of 1911 for a minimum age for children in factories, out of school hours, fixed at 12 years, when all other Northern states have adopted 14 years as the minimum. It is the cotton industry which led the recent unsuccessful fight against the women's 54 hours' bill in Massachusetts, and induced Governor Blease to veto the appropriation for factory inspectors in South Carolina.

It is an active cotton lobby that keeps Georgia from freeing its 8, 9 and 10 years old children from working 66 hours a week and 11 hours a day. It is the cotton lobby which prolongs the life of the law under which 50 cotton mills, employing young children, worked at night, in the winter of 1910, in North Carolina.

We shall meet the cotton lobby before legislatures North and South, fighting against the passage of minimum wage board laws. It killed the women's 54 hours bill in New Jersey in 1910. Before the New York legislature of 1911 the garment manufacturers from Troy, and the cotton mill men from Cohoes and Utica, appeared together to oppose the women's 54 hours bill, upon the plea that the workers could not live upon their earnings if their hours were shortened,—the same plea that is urged against shorter hours for little children in Georgia, where they work 66 hours.

Could there be a more convincing argument for minimum wage boards than this hypocrisy?

Such are the three industries for which the immediate creation of minimum wage boards is proposed. They dominate legislation in the series of cotton manufacturing states stretching from Louisiana to Maine,—in Louisiana, Alabama, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and all the six New England states. Along that entire coast of gulf and ocean, New York alone has the eight hours law, even for the children employed in manufacture.

It is at the opposite side of the Continent, on the Pacific Coast, fortunately free from the cotton lobby and the tenement trades, that we find the new 8 hours law for women and children, in California and Washington. And the new 9 hours law comes no further east than Utah, Missouri and Michigan, all three states free from the blight of textile and tenement manufacture.

Henceforth, we shall try by organization, publicity and legislation to introduce into states hitherto dominated by these industries the new standard of the twentieth century, to enforce the principle that goods and profits are not ends in themselves to which human welfare may continue to be sacrificed, but means to human welfare to be encouraged only in proportion as they promote human welfare.

Objections to Wage Boards.

The objection may be raised that, while these three industries do produce poverty, it remains to be shown that minimum wage boards are a possible, or a desirable, preventive for that poverty. To this we reply that a man is never so little a pauper, a burden upon charity, as when he is earning his living and maintaining his family.

Experience in Australasia shows that men can be enabled to do this, even in previously subnormal occupations, by setting a wage limit below which the cut-throat competitor cannot go. This is done by creating legally constituted boards, composed of representatives of workers and employers, entrusted with power to confer in the light of full publicity until an agreement is reached, which has for a specified period the force of law. If at the expiration of the period either side has cause for asking for a change, negotiations must be reopened and the process repeated. These boards, being representative, give all the workers a voice in determining their own wages.

By this use of publicity, the consumer is enabled to know the livelihood of the employes, and the merchant or manufacturer is prevented from drawing upon charity for the maintenance of his workrooms or his workpeople.

If workers are employed who are incapacitated by the infirmities

of old age, or of excessive youth, or of chronic disease, from giving the full value of an able-bodied person's wage, the wage boards can prevent such massing of subnormal workers in one occupation as wrecks the industry. The boards can grade wages and permit the employment of a reasonable number of handicapped persons in a given group, at wages suited to their reduced usefulness.

Two other troublesome arguments against minimum wage boards have been offered, one that wages are best regulated by the labor organizations, the other that laws creating wage boards are unconstitutional.

First as to the unions, there is no conflict between the unions and the advocates of minimum wage boards. On the contrary, in Massachusetts, where the unions have more power than in any other cotton manufacturing state, they have successfully taken the initiative for such legislation by obtaining the creation of a State Commission on Minimum Wage Boards. In retail stores, however, there are no unions of girl employees known to me east of San Francisco. There are no unions anywhere of tenement house workers.

In the cotton mills union men are forced to compete against their own wives and children who form no unions. In some small communities in the Southern States, a man suspected of being an organizer for the textile unions has been escorted to the railway station at the muzzle of a gun. Nowhere is their union strong enough to establish wages sufficient to maintain wife and four children by the work of the father. The nation cannot afford to delegate to the unions the task of establishing minimum wages.

The most damaging, because the most paralyzing, argument against minimum wage board bills was the question as to their constitutionality. If it be true that these boards cannot be created because we have an 18th century constitution, interpreted by 19th century judges, then the urgent need of this Republic is for a 20th century constitution interpreted by 20th century judges. But is the trouble really in the constitution? Or is it in the judges?

In the Illinois case we may, perhaps, have a cheering instance. Nineteenth century judges held, in 1895, that the 18th century United States constitution forbade all restriction upon the working hours of women. Twentieth century judges held, in 1909, under the same United States constitution, that women's working hours can be limited to ten in twenty-four hours. The Illinois Supreme Court is elected for short terms. When the second decision was reached, reversing the first and protecting the health of women who work, no judge sat who participated in the first decision. All had been superseded by twentieth century judges.

Legislation.

In the brief space of 13 months since Father John A. Ryan made his eloquent and persuasive address on minimum wage boards before this sec-

tion at St. Louis in May, 1910, the subject has ceased to be an academic one and has entered the legislative phase.

In the present year, 1911, bills for minimum wage boards have been introduced in three states—in Minnesota, in Massachusetts—where a commission to study the subject was created—and in Wisconsin. In all three states the original stimulus to action came from the Consumers' League,—in Minnesota, through Father Ryan, a member of the Minimum Wage Boards Committee of the National Consumers' League,—in Wisconsin, through the State Consumers' League directly; and, in Massachusetts, through the Women's Trade Union League, to which Miss Balch, then its President, permitted me to present the subject. After that meeting, the Women's Trade Union League kept the subject before the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor until the bill for a Commission was introduced into the legislature.

It is not astonishing that two of these bills failed to become laws. It is, however, only a matter of time when in many states similar laws will be in force. For in our democracy it cannot forever remain true of any industry that the industry itself breeds poverty. Subnormal, parasitic, predatory industry, poverty and disease are inseparable, and must henceforth be considered together in all enlightened discussion of poverty, charity and correction in this country.

When the people of the United States so decide, all industries will be standardized and none will be permitted to remain subnormal, parasites, placing great and continuing burdens upon charity, public and private. With the levelling up of wages in great industries, an indispensable next step will be taken, and a burden will be lifted which charity has borne with patient tolerance a century too long. The Conference of Charities and Correction, through the organizations represented in it, will have to correct those industries whose wholesale human by-product is poverty. This will be the work of correction characteristic of our century, rather than, as in the 19th century, mere effort to reform reformatory agencies.

The Consumers' League has adopted a ten years program for work for short hours, long education, and minimum wage boards. We have slowly become convinced that low wages produce more poverty than all other causes together.

WORKINGMEN'S INSURANCE—THE ROAD TO SOCIAL EFFICIENCY.

By Louis D. Brandeis.

Throughout the civilized world a developing sense of social responsibility has compelled the community to support in some manner its needy members whatsoever the cause of their inability to support themselves.

In granting this aid we are passing from sporadic, emotional charity to organized charities, and from mere relief to preventive measures. We

have learned that financial dependence among the wage earners is due, in large part, to sickness, accident, invalidity, superannuation or unemployment, or to premature death of the bread-winner of the family. Contingencies like these, referred to in the individual case as a misfortune, are now recognized as ordinary incidents of the lives of the wage-earners. And since our existing industrial system is converting an ever increasing percentage of the population into wage-earners, the need of providing indemnity against financial losses from such ordinary contingencies in the workingman's life has become apparent. So sickness and death benefits, and methods of compensation for accidents have been resorted to. But this partial workingmen's insurance has served mainly in making clear the need of a comprehensive system which shall extend protection also to the wage-earner in case of invalidity, superannuation or unemployment, and to the widows and orphans left helpless by the premature death of husband or father. In this movement to establish a comprehensive system of workingmen's insurance, Germany, Austria, France and latterly England have already advanced far.

An Essential of Democracy.

The United States must follow on the same path; for the conditions which have led to the introduction of workingmen's insurance abroad are universal in their operation. Besides, the form and aims of our Government as well as the sense of social responsibility should lead us to action. American democracy rests upon the basis of the free citizen. We accord (to the men) universal suffrage. We urge strenuously upon every voter the duty of exercising this right. We insist that the voter should exercise it in the interest of others as well as of himself. We give thus to the citizen the rights of a free man. We impose upon him a duty that can be entrusted with safety only to free men. Politically the American workingman is free, so far as law can make him so. But is he really free? Can any man be really free who is constantly in danger of becoming dependent for mere subsistence upon somebody and something else than his own exertion and conduct? Men are not free while financially dependent upon the will of other individuals. Financial dependence is consistent with freedom only where claim to support rests upon right and not upon favor.

President Cleveland's epigram that it is the duty of the citizen to support the Government, not of the Government to support the citizen, is only qualifiedly true. Universal suffrage necessarily imposes upon the state the obligation of fitting its governors—the voters, for their task; and freedom of the individual is as much an essential condition of successful democracy as his education. If the government permits conditions to exist which make large classes of citizens financially dependent, the great evil of dependence should at least be minimized by the state's assuming, or causing to be assumed by others in some form, the burden incident to its own shortcomings.

A Part of the Daily Cost of Living.

The cost of attaining freedom is usually high; and the cost of providing to the workingman, as an essential of freedom, a comprehensive and adequate system of insurance, will prove to be no exception to this general rule. But however large the cost, it should be fairly faced and courageously met. For the expense of securing indemnity against the financial losses attending accident, sickness, invalidity, premature death, superannuation, and unemployment, should be recognized as a part of the daily cost of living, like the more immediate demands for rent, for food, and for clothing. So far as it is a necessary charge, it should be met now as a current expense; instead of being allowed to accumulate as a debt with compound interest to plague us hereafter.

Few intelligent property owners omit to insure against fire. Everybody recognizes the fire insurance premium as a current expense. And yet the chance of loss by fire is very slight as compared with the chance of loss of earnings by sickness, accident or premature death. Every intelligent manufacturer makes in some form a regular charge for depreciation of machinery and plant. And yet the depreciation of man through invalidity and superannuation is no less certain, and frequently more severe, than the depreciation of machinery. Every intelligent manufacturer recognizes rent, interest and taxes as a current daily charge which continues although his plant is shut down or operates at less than full capacity. The manufacturer makes allowance for this in calculating the cost of production as an extra charge to be met from the earnings of active days. But the cost to the employer of carrying an unused plant is not as great relatively as the cost to the employee of carrying himself and family while unemployed. The manufacturer who fails to recognize fire insurance, depreciation, interest and taxes as current charges of the business, treads the path to bankruptcy. And that nation does the like which fails to recognize and provide against the economic, social and political conditions which impose upon the workingman so large a degree of financial dependence.

The High Cost of Adequate Insurance.

What sum would be required annually to provide an adequate system of workmen's insurance cannot be determined from existing data. The cost would obviously vary greatly in different occupations and different communities. An amount equal to ten per cent. of current wages would go far towards relieving in many industries the distress now incident to sickness, accident, invalidity, premature death, superannuation and unemployment of the wage earner. But it is certain that the proceeds of even so large a charge as ten per cent. of the average daily wage would, under present conditions, afford merely alleviation of and not indemnification for the losses now attendant upon those contingencies in the life of the workingman. The cost of providing complete indemnity would probably

reach an amount equal to twenty-five per cent. of the average daily wage. For the premiums requisite to secure indemnity from losses incident to sickness, accident, invalidity, premature death, or superannuation would probably aggregate fifteen per cent. of the daily wage; while the average percentage required to indemnify for unemployment due to lack of work would probably rise above ten per cent.

The Huge Present Waste.

This huge and apparently prohibitive expense should not, however, deter us from taking action now. It should on the contrary incite us to immediate and vigorous measures. Indeed it has in it elements of great encouragement. It will disclose how vast the waste incident to present social and industrial conditions is. And when the extent of that waste shall have been determined, and made clear to our people, a long step forward will have been taken on the road to improvement and resulting social economy.

Some idea of the possibilities of improvement in this connection are indicated by the following data:

Prof. Irving Fisher has compared the mortality record of the industrial life insurance companies which provide life insurance to the workingman in amounts of less than \$500 on the weekly premium plan, with the mortality in the ordinary life insurance companies, in which the policies average \$1,000 or more. The figures of deaths per year for each 1,000 persons insured are these:

Industrial Life Insurance Mortality (Metropolitan Life Experience)		Ordinary Life Insurance Mortality (English Experience)
Age 20	10.5	7.3
25	14.1	7.8
35	17.2	9.3
55	35	21.7

The conditions under which that portion of our population lives and works who are insured in the ordinary life companies are far from ideal, and leave open a great opportunity for reduction of the death rate. But here we have an average death rate among the workingmen at their most productive age—25 to 35 years—which is nearly twice as great as the death rate among those engaged in other occupations. And this high death rate of the workingman is that of the average insured workingman, not the death rate of those engaged in extra hazardous trades.

Can there be any doubt that if this heavier mortality had to be adequately compensated for by the state, or the industries, and the insurance cost paid from current earnings, its causes would be adequately investigated, and the evil conditions of living and working which produce it would be remedied? Society and industry would find how much cheaper it is to conserve than to destroy.

The Economy of Humanity.

How near at hand the remedy for high mortality lies is illustrated by the experience of the model factory village at Bourneville, near Birmingham. While the average death rate for all ages in England and Wales in the years 1902 to 1907 was 15.7, the death rate at Bourneville was 6.3; and yet the occupations of the inhabitants of Bourneville were fairly representative of the whole country. Over 50 per cent. of the workers were factory hands; 36 per cent. were mechanics, carpenters, brick layers the others of unclassified occupations, and about 13 per cent. clerks and travelers.

Prof. Fisher concludes also that on the average every American is sick thirteen days in the year.

Possibilities of lengthening lives and avoiding sickness and invalidity, like the possibilities of preventing accidents, will be availed of when business as well as humanity demands it.

William Hard quoted Edgar T. Davies, the factory inspector of Illinois, as saying that in the year 1906 one hundred men were killed or crippled for life in the factories of Illinois by the set screw, and that for thirty-five cents in each instance this danger device could have been recast into a safety device. The set screw stands up from the surface of the rapidly revolving shaft, and as it turns catches dangerously hands and clothes. For thirty-five cents the projecting top of the set screw could be set flush with the rest of the whirling surface of the shaft, and then no sleeve could be entangled by it, and no human body could be swung and thrown by it.

The South Metropolitan Gas Company, which established, in connection with its system of compensation for accidents, a system of inquiry into all accidents with a view to their prevention, reduced the number of accidents per thousand in seven years from 69 to 40.

John Calder, of Ilion, New York, tells of the reduction of accidents in an American plant from a yearly average of two hundred to sixty-four.

Can there be any doubt that if every accident had to be carefully investigated and adequately compensated for, their number would be reduced to a half or a third.

Unnecessary Unemployment.

And undoubtedly the paramount evil in the workingman's life,—irregularity of employment,—would yield in large measure to like treatment.

The New York Commission in its recent report on unemployment gives data from the Trade Unions showing "that organized workers lose on the average twenty per cent. of their possible income through unemployment," and data from the charitable societies showing that "from 25 to 35 per cent. of those who apply to them for relief every year have been brought to their destitute condition primarily through lack of work."

Some irregularity of employment is doubtless inevitable; but in the main irregularity is remediable. It has been overcome with great profit to both employer and employe in important businesses which have recognized the problem as one seriously demanding solution. Society and industry need only the necessary incentive to secure a great reduction in irregularity of employment. In the scientifically managed business irregularity tends to disappear. So far as it is irremediable it should be compensated for like the inevitable accident.

The social and industrial engineers will find much of inspiration and encouragement in the achievement of their fellow engineers of the factory mutual fire insurance companies of New England.

The Example of the Factory Mutuals.

The huge fire waste in America is a matter of common knowledge. The loss in 1910 was estimated at \$234,000,000; and yet there is one class of property in its nature peculiarly subject to fire risks which was practically immune. Some 2,600 factories and their contents, valued together at about \$2,220,000,000 and scattered throughout 24 states and the Dominion of Canada suffered in the aggregate, fire losses of about one fortieth of one per cent. of the value insured. The factories so immune were those owned by members of the so-called "factory mutuals" of New England. The cost to these factories for fire insurance and fire prevention in the year 1910 was only 43 cents for each \$1,000 of property insured. Half a century before, the cost of insurance to the New England factories was \$4.37, or ten times as great. The record of the "factory mutuals" of Rhode Island and of some other states is similar.

Now how has this reduction of fire insurance cost been accomplished? It was done by recognizing that the purpose of these so-called fire insurance companies is not to pay losses but to prevent fires. These mutual companies might more appropriately have been called Fire Prevention Companies; for the losses paid represent merely instances of failures in their main purpose. In these corporations the important officials are not the financiers but the engineers; men who rank among the leaders in the engineering profession of America. And aiding them is a most efficient corps of inspectors.

The achievement of these factory mutuals—the elimination of 90% of the fire risks—is the result of 60 years of unremitting effort in ascertaining and removing causes of fires, and incidentally educating factory owners and their employees in the importance of providing against these causes. The premiums paid represent the cost of this advice, inspection and education as much as the cost of what is ordinarily termed insurance.

The progress of the factory mutuals in reducing fire losses was relatively slow; but it has been steady, as is shown in the following table of net cost of fire insurance per \$1,000 per year in two representative companies:

	Boston Manufacturers' Mutual	Arkwright Mutual Fire
Years	Fire Insurance Co.	Insurance Company
1850-60	\$4.37	
1861-70	2.79	\$3.37
1871-80	2.54	3.00
1881-90	2.27	2.16
1891-1900	1.44	1.54
1901-1910	.68	.69
Year 1910	.44	.43

The Good of the Insurance Premium.

Possibilities no less alluring are open to the social and industrial engineer. Will the community support their efforts?

Consider how great would be the incentive to humanize social and industrial conditions if the cost of inhuman conditions were not only made manifest, but had to be borne from day to day unless the inhuman conditions themselves were removed!

Mere description of the misery unnecessarily entailed by the inhuman conditions, mere statements of cost however clear and forceful, will fail to secure the removal of these inhuman conditions of industry and in the life of our people from which this misery springs. But if society and industry and the individual were made to pay from day to day the actual cost of the sickness, accident, invalidity, premature death or premature old age consequent upon excessive hours of labor or unhygienic conditions of work, of unnecessary risk, and of irregularity in employment, those evils would be rapidly reduced.

We need a comprehensive system of workingmen's insurance as an incentive to justice. We need it: "Lest we forget."

STANDARDS OF EDUCATION FOR INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

By Miss Jane Addams.

The part assigned to me in this industrial program is that of the preparation of those who are about to enter industry. It would surely seem reasonable that the preparation of those who are to be workers, should have at least as much care and solicitude as is exercised to preserve their health and strength during their working life and to care for them in old age when their working life is over.

I should like to begin with a statement similar to the one made so thrillingly by Mr. Brandeis; that we have not regarded the child workers so much as the product of their work. Children are put into industry very much as we put in raw material, and the product we look for is not better men and women, but manufactured goods.

This state of things has come about largely because we, as edu-

cators and humanitarians, have not stood our ground, but have permitted ourselves to be pushed aside by the captains of industry. We have failed to insist upon the value of the young people who every year enter the industries. The public schools yearly expend, directly, and indirectly in the preparation of teachers, vast sums upon their education, but, as soon as the children are fourteen, they are turned out to fill such places as they can find in the industrial community and most of the money spent on their education is wasted.

Why have the American people, so enthusiastically interested in education, proud of our public schools as we are of no other institution, permitted this to happen year after year without a protest? Have we been overwhelmed by the notion of national prosperity? Have we been so caught by the desire to see our towns rich and prosperous that we have forgotten our most valuable possessions, forgotten what the whole thing is about?

The efforts we have made for child labor so far have been against premature work, but if we prohibit premature labor it is that the whole life, including the work, may be better. Some experiments have been made in Cincinnati, to prepare boys and girls for industry during the last two years of school. Something is being done by vocational bureaus, probably the most successful is here in Boston, where the interest of the child is studied in relation to the industry he is to enter. These are hints and signs of what we might do if only we regarded the child as the primary, and the industry as the secondary consideration.

The splendid minority report of the Commission in England that looked into poverty from a view point that had never been used in England before, recommended that some sort of supervision be kept over every boy and girl from the time they left the ward schools until they were twenty-one; that an effort be made to discover how many hours they might advantageously work, how much exercise ought to be given them outside of their work to correct the faults which were superinduced by the peculiar tasks required; how much education might be given in night schools, and in other ways. This sounds very drastic to Americans, and it sounded very drastic to Parliament when it was presented. But how reasonable it is when the chief product, the chief treasure we have, are the young people themselves, those for whom this legislation is desired. Why do the majority of men and women labor from day to day, but that they may keep their homes and rear and nourish their children? When we get to that basic motive which keeps the world going, we wonder that we are so careless of this precious crop of boys and girls who every year, as fast as they are fourteen, or in some favored states sixteen years old, are turned over to industry which does with them as it pleases.

It has been said that our public schools in their earliest years were captured by the ideals of the professional men; that it was assumed

that every boy was going to be a clergyman or a physician and that therefore they were taught Latin and all the other things which our colleges used to train professional men. Then, later the schools were captured by the business men; the children were taught to be obedient and prompt and accurate in doing sums, that they might be valuable in an office; now, if we do not take heed, our schools will be captured by the manufacturers, who will insist upon an industrial training that the children may be prepared to enter those industries which every town holds open to them.

Against all these things educators must take a stand. They must say that the value of education is to be tested by the results upon the child himself, and that industry must in some way or other be so modified that when this educated young person enters it, he shall not be crippled nor dwarfed; that he shall be respected and protected until he is old enough to protect himself by his own vote. In the light of what has been laid before us this evening, these things seem so simple and so reasonable that we sometimes wonder why we are talking about them. Shall we not say, we the men and women who make up this Conference, who every day see bewildered boys and girls having finished their courses in the public school and looking for any kind of a job—boys taking from ten to fifteen jobs during the first year after they leave school, and trying all of them with a sense of disappointment; girls going aimlessly from one factory to another—shall we not say that sort of thing must be stopped? If the people forming this Conference who daily see these children dropping into casual and unsuitable employment and at last joining the ranks not only of the unemployed, but of the unemployable, should speak out strongly and clearly, our united testimony ought to be sufficient to suppress that sort of thing forever and to make it henceforth impossible.

Personally I always feel that those who are close to the suffering, to the wretchedness, which comes from the mal-organization of society, those who constantly see the waste of the people, ought to testify without ceasing. The testimony should come with overwhelming power from the people who see the young destroyed and their wonderful abilities wasted. After all, it is easy to get things in America when we make an appeal in the name of youth. We are accustomed to think of large sums of money spent for education. Let us claim some enthusiasm and some money for these children, that they may enter industry better prepared and more ready to withstand its strain; and let us see that industry be so modified that it shall no longer destroy our young people whom we place in its care and for its use.

THE MINIMUM WAGE AND IMMIGRANT LABOR.

By Paul U. Kellogg, Associate Editor of The Survey.

Within the year has come the report of the Federal Immigration Commission. However we may regard the Commission's recommendations, the facts embodied in the forty volumes of findings now in press, if we are to judge by the preliminary abstracts, are not easily to be thrust aside. The sobering generalization which they clinch in is that in the United States today common labor is paid less than a living wage.

The social agencies represented at this conference have a direct interest in the consequences of immigration. Prior to 1882, the federal government exercised no control over immigration and the movement was practically unregulated. The diseased, the defective, the delinquent and dependent could enter the country almost at will. It is recorded that paupers and even criminals who had become a burden upon the public in Great Britain and some of the German states were practically deported to the United States. A centralized control of the ports of entry was needed and needed badly.

Twenty-five years of federal supervision have wrought changes. While the Congressional Commission recommended a stiffening of inspection along some lines, it gives the present immigrants a pretty good bill of health. They are not diseased and are rarely found among the victims of alcoholism; pauperism is relatively at a minimum among them. Why then should the Commission recommend restriction even though a million and a quarter came over during the year of its inquiry? Why should this conference be concerned in their coming?

The answer as already indicated, is primarily economic.

If, as Prof. Willis, the editorial advisor of the Commission states, they form the "fundamental common labor base which lies at the root of the present industrial system of the United States," and if, to use Father Ryan's phrase, their arrival at the current rate means "the perpetuation and intensification of inhuman and non-Christian planes of living for millions of America's inhabitants," then their mere presence is of more vital concern to this conference and to the public than if they disproportionately filled our almshouses and insane asylums and hospitals and jails (as they do not) or foundered all our philanthropies. My feeling is that the time is ripe for another great advance in the federal control of immigration, essentially different in kind from the selective legislation which had its beginnings in the 80's—in so far as the conditions to be dealt with are changed—yet of a sort which, once enacted, will, like that, commend itself in reason and in experience.

Mighty industrial changes have swept the country since the 80's; the total capital invested in manufactures in the states east of the Rocky Mountains has increased (1880-1905) from less than three billions to over twelve; the value of products from five to thirteen billions. The census of 1900 showed that the number of wage earners in the principal

manufacturing and mining states in this same area, increased from 2,800,000 to 5,200,000—or over 80 per cent. The labor force which increasingly has been used for this stupendous industrial expansion is drawn from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia. Whether, at the outset, this immigration was the result or the cause of the industrial expansion, the two phenomena have reacted powerfully upon each other since. Enormous impetus has been given to American industries by the exploitation of this raw labor supply. Ore beds might be limited in amount, processes might be patented and monopolized, but no such restriction has curtailed the resources of unskilled labor upon which we have been enabled to draw.

The result is that today, the basic industries east of the Rockies are manned by foreigners three to two. As a whole, there are as many names on these payrolls from East Europe and Asia as there are names of native born and second generation Americans put together. Most significant of all, nine out of ten of the common laborers are of the new immigration. Neither in language, in literacy (35 per cent. of them can neither read nor write when they come), in industrial skill (50 per cent. of them were peasants or farm hands before coming), in cohesive strength (only 13 per cent. of them are labor unionists) are they as self resourceful as the men of the immigration which preceded them, much less the men of native speech, education and industrial equipment.

It is not shown that the new immigrants have hired out as common laborers for less pay than the old did in their time. But it must be remembered that there has been a revolutionary rise in prices throughout the period under discussion, moreover revolutionary changes in process have been going forward during this period which have displaced mechanics and substituted machine tenders. Take the case of a Pennsylvania window glass town. Following a strike and the introduction of machine methods in 1904, practically all the Belgian craftsmen left the place. In their desire for immediate gain, also, the new immigrants have eagerly put up with conditions with which the men on the ground were dissatisfied. "From the employers' point of view," to quote Dr. Devine, "they are the very best labor in one particular: they can be exploited." Thus we are told of immigrant track-hands striking for the privilege of working a twelve-hour day in the Northwest; thus Mexicans are used as strike breakers in the Southwest; thus the McKee's Rocks strike of two summers ago, was an effort on the part of the older Slavs who had gained a toe-hold in the Pittsburgh district against letting their standards be battered down by fresh races, deployed by their employers for that purpose; thus the Immigration Commission charges large employers with a conscious policy of mixing races in certain departments so that race prejudices and diverse tongues shall prevent concerted action. The newcomers have at the least kept down wages and have perpetuated other standards against which the older men were ready to protest.

The trend of things in the bituminous mines of Western Pennsylvania is cited by the Federal Commission to illustrate the mighty reactions which have come with immigration. The pick miner who undercut, drilled, fired his own shots, and together with his helper, loaded the coal, was a skilled man, and a labor unionist. Today his occupation has been largely done away with, the labor organizations have been driven out, and there has been a general exodus of the old time miners from the Connellsville region to the new fields of the middle west and southwest, where the pressure of competition by recent immigrants is not so strong and where average earnings are to-day 42 cents a day higher than in the unorganized Pennsylvania fields.

Not only have the immigrants dislodged the earlier races from their footing, but their own industrial tenure is precarious. Dwellers in company houses, whole communities live by sufferance of the mine operators. Twenty years ago the men of the Westmoreland district struck; they were ousted. The men who have been on strike about Greensburg and Latrobe for a whole year past are some of the strike breakers brought in twenty years ago.* They now in their turn have been evicted. They have been living in tents the past winter. They have been enjoined from marching on the public roads. I have seen a state constable order them to furl their American flag on a country thoroughfare. A parish priest was arrested and fined for trespass, because he talked what the superintendents regarded as sedition in the company houses. Neither in their work, nor in their homes, nor in their communities have they secure footing. Imagine dislodging a county of Kansas farmers this way, and by contrast you will get the picture. With such precarious footing, small wonder that there have been few check-weighmen to tally whether the greeners get paid for what they turn out, smaller wonder that earnings have not advanced proportionately to the cost of living.

What, then, have these international laborers been able to get for themselves in bargaining with the new world and its employers. Altogether, the Commission drew on data with respect to considerably over one-half million individual workers—a number large enough to give a corrective background to their intensive studies of industries, communities and households, provided the latter are shown in the final reports to be thoroughly representative. Of the foreign heads of households, (males), tabulated by the Commission, 70.1% earned less than \$600 a year, (less than an average of \$2 each for 300 working days). The proportion among the native born was 40.7%. Of the foreigners 34.1 per cent. earned under \$400 a year, or an average of less than \$1.50 per working day (as against 12.2 per cent for the native born). Taking all males in the households studied, the proportions in these low paid groups among the foreign born were even greater.

These figures are intimately bound up with standards of family life.

*The strike was called off in June after being in progress sixteen months. No concessions were made by the operators to the men who had been out.

In only 38 per cent. of the foreign born households was the husband's earnings depended upon as the sole source of family income (as against 60.3 among the native born). Four times as many supplemented the man's earnings by taking in lodgers as among the native-born. The Commission found half the Croatians living this way; two-thirds the Roumanians and four-fifths of the Servians. Yet, even so, the highest average family income shown by any race of recent immigration was below the lowest average shown by any race of the past immigration. At these low economic grades, they live on the boarding boss system, one woman cooking, washing and keeping house for from two to twenty lodgers who sometimes sleep two shifts to a bed.

It might be thought that the immigrants' desire to save is responsible for these results. In part that is true. The single man can lay by a stocking full at this barracks life, a boarding boss can get ahead at cost of a dead baby or two, or his wife's health; a whole family can eat, sleep and live in a single room; but the foreigner who tries to settle here with his family, as our grandfathers did, must figure closer than our wisest standard of living experts have been able to do if he succeeds in making good on a day labor wage. For example, the maximum income which a common laborer can earn working every day but Sundays and holidays at \$1.50 per day is \$450 per year. The Buffalo Survey estimated that bad weather, slack work and sickness, cut this down to \$400 for a steady worker. Yet the lowest budget for a man, his wife and three children which the Buffalo relief workers would tolerate was \$560. There's a deficit here of \$160 which must be made up by skimping or by income from other sources and that deficit is as much as the man himself can earn by four months' labor. Yet this budget called for but three small rooms, for five people to sleep, eat and live in; called for but five cents a week for each one of the family for recreation and extravagance. How people make shift against such odds was illustrated by one household where in a little room, six feet by nine, a room which had no window at all to let in air, they found two cots each with a man in it, and a bed which held two young men and two girls, one of whom was thirteen years old. This was not a house of prostitution. It was a family which had taken in lodgers to increase its income. Talk as we may of causes and prevention of poverty, engrossed as we are with special good works and reforms, Mr. Folks was right last night in his Presidential address when he charged that we have yet to reckon squarely and with a will and to the uttermost—lead where it may—with this great undertow of life and labor at subsistence levels and below. It is not an accident, or an emergent case of distress, but a settled phenomena which we tolerate at the foundations of our economic life. To quote Frederick Almy:

Safe living does not mean comfortable living. It means safe for the rest of us. We could give you a long line of stories where overcrowding, mal-nutrition and neglected childhood, due not to choice but to poverty only, have brought in their wake immorality,

disease, vice and ignorance, all of which remember are contagious and expensive to society.

This, then, is the case against the wage standards of day labor in the United States—for what is true of Buffalo applies fairly elsewhere. What are we going to do about it? Are we going to total it up in our cost of living inquiries and stop at that? Are we going to be content to help up the families who break through the thin cake of income that separates them from the mire and patch up their precarious footing again? Or will we go further? What are some of the immediate remedies proposed?

First, I must mention the easy optimism of those who say that things will work themselves out. They hold that the immigrant himself profits and that such a flexible working force is a public good. They point to the fact that thousands of immigrants went back during the 1907 panic and saved our industrial districts a great load of destitution. A footloose, barracks-living type of worker may indeed be profitable to himself and his employer, but they ignore the fact that you cannot build civilization on him. They say also that this is transitional labor, and the men scatter into the country districts. But they ignore the fact that the crowded tenements, insanitary mill-town courts, construction camp barracks, and the shacks of outlying mining towns are scarcely reasonable way-stations to country life. If we were importing stock for our Western farms, we wouldn't put them through car barns and city cow stables. They say that the unskilled men work up to higher grades, but they ignore the fact that even if this were so, the group remains—60 per cent. of the whole force in steel production for instance—and that American industrial towns must bear the stamp of household life at under two dollars a day. They ignore the fact that the changes in machinery are adapted to the permanent utilization of these great masses of crude labor. The old time ditch diggers and railroad construction gangs paved the way for our city trades and train crews. They pioneered for occupations of a higher order. They were building foundations for normal work and life. The new day labor is a fixed, sub-normal element in our present scheme of production; it stays; it will continue to stay so long as back muscles are cheaper than other methods of doing the work.

Industrial removal, colonization, Canadian methods of encouraging settlement are in turn urged as the way out. Yet the French-Canadians keep coming to our cotton-mills. These movements give promise, I take it, of promoting rural prosperity; of putting opportunity in the way of those precious in-comers who even under present conditions are looking for a home rather than a quick fortune; of drafting off some of the best and most permanent families from our industrial centers. But I see no hope of their checking the inrush of the great bulk of pay-seekers who are keeping human advance at a stand-still. Indeed, even if they should succeed in drawing off such a considerable part of the present

day labor force, as to cause a rise in wages, would those wages unprotected do more than swell the tide till the pay slumped again? As Mr. Joseph Lee has strongly put it,

So long as every rise of wages operates merely to suck in unlimited thousands of the surplus population of Europe and Asia, no permanent raising of our own standard can be hoped for.

Similarly the progressive employer would go to the wall, who undertook single-handed radically to increase his common labor costs. Let me pay my tribute to what many employers have been able to accomplish in improving conditions, despite this pressure from the competition in labor cost with the man who drives his bargain with the Hunkies, the hardest. Trade unions have been bound by the same limitation and in not a few industries long since abandoned common labor to its lot.

The same force of competition—the cry that it would put an establishment or a state out of business—obstructs the way toward state action looking toward the establishment of minimum wage boards, such as those of New Zealand and Australia. Despite the defeat this winter of measures embodying this minimum wage idea before American legislatures, my belief is that these boards offer a method for improving conditions of women's and children's labor, which will gain a hearing in the United States. Yet because of this force of interstate competition, I am less sanguine with respect to the legal pay-minimums for adult males, unless we can get a method that will be binding nationally on all employers in all states.

That all parts of the United States would be affected alike is one chief justification for the proposals to reduce immigration. Let us look at the situation. We have shown that the American day laborer's pay is less than a living wage; that the bulk of day laborers are immigrants; that their numbers and industrial insecurity are such as to perpetuate these low pay levels, and to introduce and make prevalent a still lower standard of living than customary among those they come among. To these conditions, the Immigration Commission adds the generalization that in some industries the oversupply of this unskilled labor has reached a point where a curtailed number of working days results in a yearly income much less than is indicated by the daily rate paid. To check this oversupply the Federal Commission declares that a sufficient number should be debarred to produce a marked effect upon it. This is their major recommendation, and as the most feasible method to carry it out they favor the exclusion of all those unable to read or write in some language.

The literacy test has the strength and some of the weaknesses of all sweeping enactments. It would have cut off 35% of the inflow in the year of the Commission's inquiry; but, like prohibition and Pasteurizing milk, it lacks discrimination.* It is a cultural test and, as such, can

*Property qualifications and head-taxes as admission tests are open to similar objection. The alien with a full purse may yet under-bid a native for a job.

only indirectly reach the economic springs of what we have seen to be predominantly an economic inundation. On economic grounds it can be defended in the belief that the exigencies of the situation demand a swift, simple cutting off of the flood tide, such as will radically lessen the supply of labor. It implies that some more deft method for effecting the same results is beyond our American invention. As a method of obstruction it is charged against it on humanitarian grounds, that it 'would break the relationship which America has borne to the oppressed of all nations and delay that "cosmic patriotism," as Miss Addams expressed it, "which may yet move masses of men out of their narrow national considerations and cautions into new reaches of human effort and affection;" that it would shut out the political refugee from Finland and the persecuted Jew from Russia, the Spanish Protestant, the Armenian Christian seeking a religious asylum, the South Italian seeking escape from a landlordism the equal of that of old time Ireland—would shut these out if to the other oppressions they have borne these people are unfortunate enough to have been deprived of the chance to glean some little of the world's learning.

As a method of selection it is assailed on logical grounds. In Dr. Patten's words:

"It is not shown that any large class of immigrants are undesirable, or differ in any fundamental respect from other classes now coming or from those that have previously come. Nor is it shown that an education test would give a more desirable class of immigrants than those it would exclude."

In other words it is not the backwardness of a young country lad from Croatia which threatens American standards; he may be eager for night schools. As one settlement worker expressed it, "I find myself almost making a plea for illiteracy." Are we not after all wasting time in the discussion of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' immigration? My own feeling is that immigrants bring us ideals, cultures, red-blood—which are an asset for America or would be if we gave them a chance. But what is undesirable, beyond all peradventure, is the great flats of quick cash, low-income employments in which they are bogged. We suffer not because the immigrant comes with a cultural deficit, but because he brings to America a potential economic surplus above his wants, which is exploited. He comes from countries in which the goods value of our lowest money wages is large.

More important to my mind than the fact that before coming a third are unlettered is the fact that nearly a fifth have never worked for wages before coming. Without funds to stake him in the new country, ignorant of the language and to a great extent of knowledge of industrial opportunities among us, unaccustomed, perhaps, to work for pay, with labor agents egging him on and the fear of hunger dogging him if he delays, no wonder the newly landed peasant makes a bad employment bargain. What matter? He is only a greener. But multiply that

greener by a hundred thousand and you have a force more powerful to affect the wages of an industry than congress and all legislatures. Repeat that hundred thousand over and over and you have the tyranny which holds the common labor market of the country in the hollow of its great, untrained, earth-bred hand. A brick and a battered head are simple things, easy to understand, and we denounce strike violence. But this silent, un-angry, inexorable undermining of the American basis of living is a mob rule beside which the other is paltry.

Why should we leave this ruthless power in these weak hands? These newcomers are industrially immature. We tell them they must wait five years before they are admitted to the political body of America and exercise the rights of citizens. But we admit them the day of their landing to the economic body of America to bargain as they will, however it may effect not only them, but all who have come before. We do not do that with our own children, who are also industrial infants and also newcomers in industry. We say that our children shall not go to work before so many years are past, and we say that when they do they shall be guarded against exploitation,—both for their own sakes, and to protect the adult workers on whose prosperity the country depends.

Therefore, my plea is to apply the principle of child labor legislation to our industrial immigration—to draft into our immigration law the provision that no immigrant who arrives here after a specified date, shall be permitted to hire out to a corporate employer for less than a living wage until five years are elapsed and he has become a naturalized citizen. When he is a voter, he can sell his American work-right for a song if he must and will, but until then he shan't barter it away for less than the minimum cash price, say \$2.50 or \$3.00 which shall be determined as a subsistence basis for American family livelihood. I would make this provision apply also to all immigrants now resident in the United States who had not filed notice of their intention of becoming citizens by the date specified.

In other words, this legislation would not disturb the present labor force in the United States; and in that way it would not result in immediate disruptive changes of the labor market. But it would control what came after; it would transfer that control from the mob tyranny of Ellis Island to the Federal Government.

Nor would it be the intent or result of this legislation to pay new coming foreigners \$3 a day for unskilled work. It would be the intent and the result to exclude them from these industries, shunting the real settlers among them to village and farm land where there is real need and chance for them. To the common people of Europe, America still lifts to the eyes, like a great oasis of opportunity. I believe that vision is still a true one. But in the midst of that oasis are hollow desert tracts where the workaday life is like hot sand, and over these we dangle the bait of

immediate cash wages—while the seasons move slowly across the fields. Pay envelopes are to be plucked open monthly but apples ripen only once a year. Instead of a Chinese wall at our seaboard, shutting out all comers upon whom we might place the taboo, I would build dikes round these centers of depressed congregate employment. For no corporation would employ unnaturalized immigrants at \$3 a day, so long as they could get resident labor to do the same work for less.

Neither would the intent or result be to force employers over night, to pay the rate named for their unskilled labor, native or foreign born; At the outset, employers would turn to home sources from which to recruit their men, and gradually, as the overhanging glut of immigration dissolved, the common labor market would become more normal, and a fairer balance would be struck between the wage sheet and the home. The ultimate result would be to bring all labor up to a living wage and to discard such parasitic occupations as are not worth the wage. Nor would there be carloads of outsiders to dump in to break the back of the men's efforts should they strike out for better terms. The employers and employes on the ground would have to work it out among themselves; and the effect of this changed situation on the organization and pay of skilled labor would be steadying and cumulative. It would put no enterprise, or industry, or city, or state, at a disadvantage; it would bear equally on all.

I should like 'to speak at length—but cannot—on the important by-products of such a policy of immigration control; how to my mind it would tend to stave off further congestion in the centers of industrial employment, and to give us a breathing spell to conquer our housing problems, and to seat our school children; how it would help eliminate much of that secondary crime and misery which Mr. Almy attributes to a low-wage poverty; how it would tend to cut down the accident rates in industries such as mining, where greenhorns endanger their own lives and those of their fellows; how it would discourage child labor by making a man's job worth enough to be a father's job; how it would give us the ambitions of settled employes as an aid in our democratic movements to cut down seven-day work, to cut out night work for women, to eliminate trade diseases and otherwise to improve occupational standards; how it would tend to change mining settlements and mill towns from sleeping and feeding quarters to communities; how it would encourage assimilation and citizenship; how it would cut down that crowd of unemployed men on the street corner which exaggerates the seasonal trades to the point where employes are taken on and off, like twisting an electric power button, regardless of what their families or the communities suffer in the interval; how it would tend to force American managers to devise scientific methods for handling crude work. The way of social progress is to cut down the bulk of common labor; but the way of uncontrolled immigration has been to swell it. As Mr. Brandeis has expressed it:

As to unskilled labor, I think we may well contend there should be no such thing, and any movement which compels a rapid reduction of the ranks of the unskilled is, on this ground alone, deserving of commendation."

Several objections have been offered to this adaptation of the minimum wage idea to a policy of immigration control.

The first of these is that it would violate treaties, which provide for equal treatment between national and alien residents. The objection does not seem to me insuperable. We might let a Hindoo doctor into the country, but if he started to practice as a physician the county medical society would get him. In the case of Fong Yne Ting vs. the United States, the Federal Supreme Court cited with approval a passage in Phillmore on International Law that "the government of a country may prohibit the entrance of strangers into the country and may therefore regulate the conditions under which they may be allowed to remain in it."

The second objection is that such a law would be unconstitutional in so far as it would infringe on right of "life, liberty or property without due process of law." Under its powers over interstate commerce we have seen the Federal Government take over the regulation of railroad freight rates, with good results; within the past month we have heard the chairman of our greatest producing industry advocate the governmental regulation of the price of steel. Why not the minimum price of labor, especially when the contract lies between a corporation on the one hand and an alien on the other. Here, I, of course, speak as a layman, but lawyers of standing to whom I have submitted the plan, assure me that legislation could be framed which would hold.

The corporation tax law has been sustained by the courts, and sufficiently identifies corporate organizations as a group subject to congressional legislation. As corporations are recipients of special legal advantages not possessed by individuals, they could well be subjected to the imposition of this restriction in living.

With respect to aliens, congressional powers seem equally clear. To quote Mr. Bernard Flexner of Louisville:

It is held that the article in the Constitution of the United States declaring that citizens of each state are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states, applies only to natural born or duly naturalized citizens. The supreme court of the United States has extended the protection of the fourteenth Amendment (which applies to "persons born or naturalized" in the United States), to aliens in cases where a state or municipality has by ordinance, undertaken to discriminate against them. As against an act of Congress, however, there is absolutely no prohibition in the constitution.

It would not be a greater interference with the right of contract for Congress to provide that alien laborers shall not receive less than a certain amount for a specified period, and fixing a penalty for any one employing them at a less amount, than the provisions now

in effect—forbidding payment of passage to this country or to contract to employ them when here or forbidding steamship companies from attracting immigration by advertisements. If it is within the power of Congress to fix a period of three years within which an immigrant may be deported for violation of an act of Congress, it is certainly within its power to provide by law that within a fixed period an immigrant shall receive a minimum determined wage, and thus not only protect the ignorant alien from imposition, but also protect the American laborer from the low wage competition.

But it may be argued that the right to contract, is a property right, that an immigrant is 'a person, and that under the wording of the Fifth rather than of the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution his right to contract to sell his labor for what he pleased cannot be restricted unless the general welfare demand it. This has been the point of public policy argued for in laws prohibiting night work for women, and the Federal Supreme Court has upheld the restriction of contract involved. Furthermore, in the case of the United States vs. the Church of the Holy Trinity, involving the contract-labor law, the court's own language with respect to the effect of assisted immigration in breaking down the labor market and reducing other laborers to the condition of the assisted immigrants indicates that the Supreme Bench would entertain such an arsenal of facts as the Immigration Commission has gathered, dealing as they do with effects on the general welfare, far more serious and widespread than those resulting from contract labor.

Administrative difficulties have been urged against the plan: for example, that the minimum wage provision would be misconstrued abroad, that it would be bruited in the highlands and lowlands that the United States Government held itself directly responsible for the payment of \$2.50 a day and that on the chance of obtaining so valuable a prize there would be a great ingress of immigrants coming on to circle round the corporation tree which could drop such valuable plums; that employers would evade the law through connivance with company stores; that sweatshops could escape; that there would be suffering among immigrants who could not get jobs. These all seem to me obstacles rather than blockades; no more difficult than those experienced in a hundred lines of ordinary business. We are dealing, it should be remembered, with a program of control, which could be announced six months in advance, and there is no inherent reason why the Government should not advertise it at the sources of immigration as effectively as the steamship agents advertise their wares; (it could borrow methods from our educational campaigns for the prevention of tuberculosis). Moreover we are dealing with a program of control, not for a short period of adjustment merely, but for the next twenty-five years; and as most new immigrants come in response to letters written from this side, the real effects of the system would soon be known in every village of mid-Europe. I fancy the same sort of administrative difficulties, as those mentioned, would be urged in opposition if we were today introducing our internal

revenue service, or the Federal system of bank examiners. Where human labor is at stake we can at least put as much ingenuity into its conservation as the great breweries do in keeping track of the filled kegs and empties which shuttle back and forth to the confines of the continent. It should be remembered also, that such a program even if enforced in only the big and visible industries would reasonably improve conditions throughout the country. But for three special reasons my belief is that its general enforcement would be found simple. Sworn statements as to wage payments could be added to the data now required from corporations under the Federal Tax Law (and this would be an end desirable in itself and of as great public importance as crop reports). In the second place, every resident worker would report every violation that affected his self interest or threatened his job. For my third factor, I would turn to no less a counsel than Puddin' Head Wilson, and with employment report cards and half a dozen clerks in a central office in Washington, could keep tab on the whole situation by means of thumb prints.

A final criticism has been framed in this way: "Why not favor the much simpler and readily feasible plan of frankly prohibiting any further immigration of alien common labor." The answer is at once practical and sentimental. Such exclusion splits on the same rock that blocks the literacy test—it shuts off America as a haven of refuge; and ranges the exploiters of immigrant labor and the racial organizations solidly in opposition. I should hope that this minimum wage proposal would unite the humanitarian and democratic interests: those who would befriend the oppressed of all nations, and those who are profoundly impatient with the low levels to which, for the mass, our social and economic life is battered down despite all the wealth of a new continent at its disposal. If the plan were put before the country through an aggressive educational campaign, I should hope that trade unionists and no less the rank and file of foreign born Americans, the farmers' states and even the mercantile interests, would see what it would mean to them. There would be such a re-alignment of forces as would go far towards securing a constructive governmental program of immigration control.

I have no disillusion as to the rabid opposition which would come from many industrial corporations. Yet that must be reckoned with and overcome in any and every plan to cut down the flood tide of immigration. Their opposition is none the less powerful because to my mind it is economically unsound. We have been doing with human labor power as we have been doing with our farm lands. Abusing it, wasting it, shamefully. So long as the soil held out, and there were new tracts to clear and plow we were a nation of extensive farmers. A new race of countrymen is coming into their own. They are conservationists. And so, too, the exceptional employer is coming to see that a stable labor force and one which will put creative values into its work is worth more in the long run than a tractable, transient, much-bossed, under-

utilized, cheap labor supply. I wish that I could feel that these conserving employers were as numerous in the immigrant industries as those who beckon the incoming hordes with one hand (with such destructive results on the fabric of life about them as we have seen), and pray the courts for protection with the other.

How supremely the problem of immigration control affects the interests represented at this conference I have already shown. Let me in closing put the case in its bearings on two important groups even more closely concerned. The first is the rank and file of settled wage-earners; the second, the immigrants themselves. Said one of our most ardent believers in American democracy:

The machine is displacing the man; the girl is taking the man's place at the machine. Increasingly, men are going into twelve-hour work, and the immigrant crowds them there. They are too tired to think. They think in formulas in the same way that you do when you are so tired you can't sleep. They are taking these formulas from men who are angry, angry over indictments, injunctions and lost strikes. The men here in America are not getting the organizing experience which the German workmen get under their industrial funds, or the English in their friendly societies, or to a less degree, we used to have in our unions. The breaking of the cigar makers and the printers who were the back bone of the old body of trade organizations, is the most serious thing of all. The men are dead tired and growling.

We need to be fresh men, not tired ones, never sure of ourselves and our footing, men used to the discipline of collective action, if our industrial democracy is to be constructive. This sort of immigrant pressure, which has dislodged whole communities and disrupted great organizations, isn't the way to make that sort of man. We won't go far as a people if we shift the basis of our social order from homes to boarding-house establishments.

On the other hand, a Slavic priest told Miss Balch, "My people are not in America; they are under it." That is what immigrant common labor means—spiritually. They are living in cellars, which breed more cellars. Let us close those basements up. Let us start the immigrant on the ground floor of our civilization or not at all.

STANDARDS OF PAYMENT FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS.

By Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chicago.

(Abstract.)

Everywhere thoughtful men and women are recognizing the individual and social menace of the low wage earned by the thousands of working women in our country and everywhere an effort is being made to establish at least a minimum wage.

The first question that naturally comes to mind when considering a

standard of payment of wages for women and girls is: "Having destroyed freedom of opportunity through monopoly rights and special privileges; and finding ourselves under conditions demanding immediate action, how are we to determine the basis of a standard wage?" In discussing this question with employers and men and women of the general public we find them still holding some of the old time theories. For instance we are told: "Girls do not need to earn a large wage because they live at home." When this fact is given by an employer as a reason for a low wage, are not the fathers or brothers or husbands who support these girls the silent partners of these merchants, and would it not be well for the working men to ask themselves if they could not find a more profitable investment for their earnings than to furnish the means of support to their daughters when their work entitles them to a self-supporting wage?

Again we are told: "Girls do not need to earn so much for they have no one dependent upon them for support." If through the most stupid and unintelligent maladjustment of our industrial life fathers of families are thrown out of work because too old at the age of forty and their young daughters of sixteen become the supporters of the family, what becomes then of this theory? In addition, the National Report on the Condition of Women and Children in the United States makes the important statement that eighty-one per cent of all factory girls living at home put their entire earnings into the family treasury.

"Wages," we are told, "depend upon scarcity of labor;" "skill—intelligence—ability—are the determining factors in wages." Let us consider a moment. Our cities hardly present a scarcity of labor. Must we live in widely separated communities to secure a living wage, or is it not true that we often find the highest wage paid in cities?

When division and sub-division of industry and the invention and continuous invention of machinery eliminates skill in trade after trade, what are we going to substitute for the theory that skill is the determining factor in wages? Not only have we division and sub-division in such trades as the needle trades, glove making, boot and shoe making, book-binding, but carpenters, wood-workers, cabinet makers and coopers are slowly losing their trade. Everywhere invention and the introduction of machinery is taking the place of the skilled craftsman. At any cement show or machinery exhibit we will find great placards stating, "This Machine Does the Work of 10 Men"; "This Machine Can Be Run By a Woman"; "Any Child Can Run This Machine." As one of our leading Chicago labor men has said, "The only thing the machine needs is that amount of bone and sinew and brain to fill in what they could not put in with metal and other things and so the operator is put in as the last attachment." What then is the importance of that "last attachment" to the production of the whole? Is not this the question? Have we not real wisdom in Pat's answer to a gentleman who was walking along the roadside watching him trying to break a

large rock which finally gave way, "Well, Pat, which blow did it?" "Faith," answered Pat, "they all did it."

If the spark plug is missing, a five thousand dollar automobile complete in every other detail cannot move an inch. Is the value of the spark plug its individual value, or does its value lie in its relationship to the whole? Can we learn to look upon a trade in its entirety and determine the wage by the fact that the work of each individual is important to the production of the whole? Is that one way out? Or shall we change front and instead of considering the economic value consider the human value? Then we no longer see in the young girl the "last attachment" to a machine; we see in her a human being with all the possibilities of the strength and power of womanhood, with the potentialities of motherhood, with the value of citizenship. If she lives through her childhood and girlhood by the time she reaches her early womanhood she is a costly production and the State has borne a large share of that cost. The State has made provision for the protection of her health and has contributed to her education. Is it not natural therefore that the State should be beginning to insist that she cannot afford to lose out so continuously by the defeated young lives that go under in the industrial world? If it is to the interest of the Republic to give education to her people, to develop the health of her citizens, then she can ill afford to put in so great an investment at so continuous a loss.

If work is not only wearisome in its monotony and long hours, but dangerous because it calls for no development of initiative and judgment, and arouses no creative faculties, and if to this is added the still greater danger of a wage on which the women and girls cannot even live while they are working, then it would seem imperative that the Republic should take note of this fact and that we as a people should see to it that these conditions making for slavery come to an end.

STANDARD WORKING HOURS.

By Josephine Goldmark, Publication Secretary National Consumers' League.

In the lives of working people, no single factor counts as much for good or ill as the length and regularity of their working hours. Even such important matters as wages, housing, and insurance are subordinate. No reform is as important as the adjustment of work to human effort. All the possibilities of life, the worker's whole plane of existence rises and falls with his scale of time expenditure.

This sounds like exaggeration; but it is literal truth. Work any man or woman to the point of exhaustion and a higher or lower standard of living becomes a meaningless phrase. Offer what opportunities

you will to the exhausted organism, they fall upon ears literally deafened as science has demonstrated. Offer even heartier diet, ampler food, and it cannot be digested. It would be no more unreasonable to expect to cure an arsenic or phosphorus poisoned person by higher wages, a clean house, or old age insurance, while he continued daily to absorb the poison than to expect to cure an exhausted worker by those means.

This is true because the exhausted person is literally and actually a poisoned person—poisoned by the body's waste products. Fatigue is not a philanthropic or sentimental fiction; it is a chemical fact. It is the signal which gives warning that the limit of capacity is approaching. Exhaustion follows when the signal is disregarded, and the organism is pushed to further forced exertions.

For the past half century, scientists have been studying the intricate problem of fatigue and learning its laws, in the seclusion of the laboratory. During the same period working people and their friends, against the most powerful opposition, have been seeking legislation protecting from industrial over-fatigue and exhaustion. Between the two groups there has been an unbridged abyss. Those who have sought legislation year after year, so often in vain, have not even known that there were laws of fatigue, the scientific and demonstrable basis for their claims. On the other hand, scientists and physicians have studied muscle and nerve, frog jerk and pigeon flight in infinite detail, without as yet applying the laws and facts so acquired to the phenomena of fatigue in the largest classes of our population, the wage earners.

A hundred years ago in England the efforts began to obtain legislative protection for the workers. After a century of human experience, it remains true that in our country the most helpless workers are the most exploited. Men are working twelve hours a day and seven days a week in Bethlehem and Pittsburg and other steel centres; women are being worked twelve and fourteen hours a day in laundries and box factories and many industries subject to seasonal pressure. In only ten states children are protected by an eight hour law. There are more cheering facts to be considered, but for examples of the extreme overwork existing today among working men, let any one read the Government report on the steel industry in Bethlehem, reinforced by Fitch's "Steel Workers." For the overwork of women, let anyone read the Government report on "Wage Earning Women and Children," six volumes of which have now appeared; or the special Government reports on the telephone service and the work of women in Chicago just before the ten hours law went into effect.

So far as concerns women, we have every year the edifying spectacle of the powerful manufacturers association or retail merchants' association at the state capitols using all their influence to defeat legislation sought in order to make impossible such overwork as the

Government reports describe. This very year in California, Colorado, Washington, Delaware, Illinois and almost every state where legislation to protect working women has been sought, the manufacturers' association has been actively and officially in the field, opposing any laws at all where none have hitherto existed as in California and Missouri, opposing extension of the laws as in Illinois and New York, raising the well worn cry that industry will be ruined.

These powerful interests pursue a most short sighted policy, ignorant that economically as well as physically the long day defeats their own best interests and that output and productivity rise with the shorter working day. To counteract such influences we need to utilize all resources at our command. We need to make it plain that the limitation of working hours is based upon fundamental laws of physiology. The scientists have not yet devised the means of studying industrial fatigue in the workshop as they have perfected means of studying fatigue in the laboratory. The problem is far more difficult, complicated as it is, by the many psychological stimuli and motives which make up our daily life. Thus, for instance, an effort was made to study the fatigue of working girls by ordinary methods of laboratory investigation and it was found that the interest of the experiments or the excitement of the approaching closing hour made the girls seem fresher and more vigorous at the close of a long day than at the beginning. What we need are not isolated studies with inappropriate methods of measurement, but comprehensive plans for consecutive studies of the new problems.

To gauge industrial fatigue and study the far-reaching effects of overwork among industrial workers is a large undertaking. It can never be carried out adequately by existing agencies. Even medical inspectors of factories (hitherto almost totally lacking in our labor departments, but undoubtedly soon to be added) are not equipped to do this work.

What we need are institutions like the newly founded Labor Clinic for Industrial Diseases in Milan, with its regular course of lectures and investigation both in laboratory and workshop. In its program for 1910-11 the first subject for laboratory research was fatigue, and the resultant modifications of the organism. Is there any medical or scientific body of the United States engaged in such systematic study of industrial workers? There is none known to the writer.

No need is more urgent than to obtain accurate information as to the effects of occupations, as they exist to-day and under American conditions of labor. And this need of information about the effect of occupations is more important concerning working women, both because their morbidity or rate of sickness is higher than among working men, and because the absence of strong trade organizations among women makes them, more than men, dependent for protection on the laws.

These facts as to the health of the wage-earners are needed not

only for the information of the legislators who frame the laws, but for the judges who must decide their constitutionality. And here we face a more cheering outlook.

Within the last three years the attitude of the courts toward the legal protection of working girls and women has been greatly modified. Three years ago the prospects for shortening women's hours of labor looked dark. The eight hours day seemed in the remote future. Even the ten hours day was on sufferance.

The Supreme Court of Illinois had said, in 1895, that working women did not need and could not have legal protection from overwork. The effect of that decision persisted for thirteen years, paralyzing action in all the states. In January, 1908, the United States Supreme Court changed the atmosphere by asserting the right of states to protect the health and welfare of working women, by limiting their hours of labor. Within the next two years, the highest courts of three states—Illinois, Michigan and Louisiana—followed suit.

These decisions have freed the subject of women's hours of labor from narrow technicalities. The protection of women from overwork is recognized as one of the great issues of any nation, in its effects on health and welfare, on social and economic life.

The effect of these decisions has been electrical. During the first three months of 1911, three states passed eight hour laws: California, Washington and Colorado. Two states have passed nine hour laws, Missouri and Utah. Delaware passed a ten hours law, but it failed to receive the Governor's signature. Three of these states, California, Missouri and Utah, had previously had no laws protecting women from overwork except two laws about work in mines.

All these new laws, are particularly valuable in setting a fixed and definite limitation of the day's work. Eight or nine hours work is provided; there is no allowance for overtime. This is indeed one of the most important tests of effectiveness in laws limiting women's hours of labor; do they or do they not permit exceptions for overtime work, depriving women of protection at the very times when most urgently needed?

Thus, for instance, in Connecticut, Louisiana, New York, and Oregon, the laws which prohibit the employment of women in stores more than a specific number of hours, are totally suspended during the Christmas rush. When the work is most exhausting, the hours are left unlimited.

So, too, in seven states, Arizona, Connecticut, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York and Rhode Island, the laws allow the day's work to be lengthened at the employer's will, only providing a fixed limit of hours by the week. Overtime is permissible every day but one, so long as the weekly total of hours is not exceeded.

Such an arrangement encourages one of the worst evils in industry: irregularity of work. Physically the working girl is not

compensated by a shorter workday on Saturday, if she has been exhausted by days of overstrain. The rest comes too late, and as science has proved graphically and we all know by experience, the fundamental thing in rest is the time at which it comes. A muscle, artificially tired in the laboratory by a doubled amount of exertion, takes not twice as long, but four times as long to recuperate. The same is true of our total health. Fatigue is a debt to be paid not at simple but at compound interest.

So when seven states provide that work shall not exceed 58 or 60 hours as the case may be, but leave the day's work unlimited, the workers cannot be considered adequately protected.

From the point of view of enforcement, too, these lax laws are damaging. The whole test and crux of such laws—indeed their whole excuse for being—is precisely their enforceability and enforcement. We do not want laws limiting the work-day for the sake of having them on the statute books or for any academic purpose whatever. We want them purely for the sake of controlling the length of the workday.

Now when overtime is allowed after the day's work, it is almost impossible to enforce the law. When an inspector finds girls at work late in the evening, he cannot tell, without returning each day, whether a shorter compensating day is granted later in the week, to balance the overtime. Unless the inspector should remain bodily on the premises, he cannot tell when work stops.

This brings up the important subject of the fixed legal closing hour. We can realize how rudimentary our labor legislation for women still is from the fact that only three states prohibit women's night work after a specified hour. These three states are Massachusetts, Nebraska, and Indiana. And the Nebraska law is today hanging in the balance, its constitutionality on trial in the courts. Thus in contrast to the action of the fourteen civilized nations of Europe who have signed an international treaty to abolish night work for women, we have only three states, only one great industrial state, which have so legislated.

The opposition to protecting women from night work, the interests which demand such an inversion of normal life, can be gauged from the experience of Delaware last winter. A bill was introduced into the legislature prohibiting the employment of women after 10 P. M. in a wide range of industries. After great efforts of persuasion and with many amendments the bill was passed. These are the places of employment exempted from the provision against night work after 10 P. M.: laundries, canneries, telephone exchanges, restaurants, candy-stores, ice-cream saloons, and department stores between December 11th to 25th—precisely those establishments where night work and late evening overtime are notorious. Even this small measure of protection which remained was lost to the working women of Delaware through Governor Pennell's refusal to sign the bill.

The question at once arises whether such work is necessary and inevitable? Is it unreasonable to ask that working women, handicapped by the physical burdens of sex, be protected by law from work under the most exhausting conditions, that is, at night and late in the evening after the day's work? The answer is found in the experience of the past. Such work will be considered necessary and inevitable until it is positively prohibited by law. Then it is not unreasonable to expect that, as in all the previous similar dilemmas, greater efficiency and ingenuity will devise means of substitution. There has never been a single forward step in the protection of the workers, not one reduction of the hours of labor, which has not been considered difficult and even impossible until men have learned to adapt themselves to it.

For example, the laundries—the hours of labor in the exhausting laundry occupations are notoriously excessive. They run up to twelve and fourteen hours at the end of every week. It is claimed that such hours of work are unavoidable, because the laundries are obliged to return promptly linen from hotels, barber shops, restaurants and steamship companies, as well as private families. But another way out of the dilemma, and as must be apparent to every housekeeper a more efficient solution, has been adopted where linen cannot be laundered at a moment's notice. These establishments, which had previously insisted upon the almost immediate return of their linen have been obliged to lay in a larger stock. There does not appear to be any reason why such a solution should not be adopted instead of the indefensible overwork of girls and women until midnight or later. It is automatically adopted, when it is necessary.

Irregularity of work involving long days of overtime is one of the evils due to inefficient management which the new scientific management of industrial establishments will assist in reducing. It has already done so in numerous establishments. For instance, the shoe trade has long been one of the industries subject to seasonal pressure, overwork alternating with enforced idleness. One of the large shoe factories in the United States has worked out a system whereby each month's output is accurately reckoned in advance. Instead of compressing the work into several short seasons of excessive hours, it has been spread uniformly over the year. Orders must be received by specified dates, and are executed also at dates fixed in advance. Overtime has been wholly done away with. The regularity of work which has replaced it is as advantageous financially to the employers, as it is in every way for the employees.

But it is only the most progressive and enlightened employers who are far-sighted enough to inaugurate such changes spontaneously. It is so much easier, so much more in line with natural human inertia, to keep employees at work who are on the premises rather than plan work in advance, that overtime takes on the appearance of actual

necessity. But when the law authoritatively intervenes to protect workers helpless to protect themselves, the standards of the backward employers are forced upward.

An interesting example of the effect of legislation on employment in the telephone service may be seen in Louisiana. Before 1908 there was no special legislation restricting hours of labor which affected telephone operators. In that year the employment of girls under 18 years was prohibited between 7 P. M. and 6 A. M. At that time there was a large proportion of operators under 18 years of age. The Bureau of Labor's investigators reported in 1910 that the Cumberland Telephone Company at New Orleans still employed 25.5 per cent. operators under 18 years of age. But they were all on day work. They could not be worked at night nor in the evening.

In the neighboring state of Georgia, no law affected the employment of telephone operators. The Bureau of Labor reported that in Atlanta 26.1 per cent of all operators were under 18 years of age. Instead of being on the day force, as in Louisiana, 12.5 per cent of these young girls were on evening work, 15 per cent were employed at night, and 25 per cent were on the split-time force—all three being forms of employment wholly objectionable for girls under 18 years.

Indeed, the whole history of textile legislation both in England and in Massachusetts, our oldest industrial state, shows how legislation limiting the length of the workday has been enacted in the face of constant opposition, and how the industry subject to the strictest and most definite regulation has thriven.

No arguments are more telling than the fact that Massachusetts, like England before it, has had to amend its legislation steadily in the direction of greater rigidity and exactness precisely in order to get its laws enforced.

The Massachusetts textile law is the fruit of almost forty years of experience. After two commissions of investigation in 1866 and 1867, the first Massachusetts law for women was enacted in 1874. Since that date to the present day, there has been a slow movement, making the law more and more rigid and definite in its requirements, as experience proved how enforcement was hindered by the laxness of the earlier statutes. The present law prohibits the employment of women in textile mills after 6 p. m. and before 6 a. m., or more than ten hours in one day or fifty-six hours in one week. Now Massachusetts, so long the leader in legislation for working women, has been overtaken and passed by the states which have enacted eight and nine hour laws during 1911.

Indeed, the example of Massachusetts was a menace to the success of the eight hour bill in California this winter. Cotton mill owners in Oakland resented the prospect of the eight hours day and 48 hours week, while Massachusetts still allowed the 10 hours day and 56 hours week, and did their utmost, unsuccessfully, to defeat the bill.

Even stranger than the spectacle of Massachusetts as a drag on the progress of other states in the protection of women, is Massachusetts conspicuous by its absence from the list of states who protect working children. Is it not incredible that in the State of Massachusetts, as in every state where the textile industries are strong, young boys and girls on reaching their fourteenth birthday may be worked 10 hours in the day? Adult workmen are obtaining the eight hours day for themselves by trade agreement in many great industries throughout the country. Only ten states have as yet given the same measure of protection to young children, between the ages of 14 to 16 years, the most critical years of adolescence. These states are: Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma and North Dakota in the Far West; Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio in the Middle West; the District of Columbia and New York in the East.

But neither Massachusetts nor any other textile state has so legislated. This is not chance. It is deliberate design. The textile industry needs children. Shall it be allowed to work them contrary to the most obvious laws of health? Will Massachusetts be content to remain in the rear of the procession, so far as concerns her working children in the mills? Or will she return to her role of pioneer and be the first textile state to pass an eight hour law for children? Such a bill has been twice defeated, in the Massachusetts legislatures of 1909 and 1910. It has yet to be acted on by the legislature of 1911.

STANDARDS OF LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

By A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States, National Child-Labor Committee.

Legislation is almost always a corrective process, rarely a preventive. Only when a new state is formed and its constitution adopted amidst the discussion of corrective measures in the older states, is there an effort to prevent the beginning of abuses by the adoption of principles or the enactment of statutes which were designed to correct abuses in older commonwealths. Nor does the legislation or the failure to legislate tell the whole story of a people's progress. Nor is it possible to generalize save on the broadest lines concerning such an immense territory as the Southern States, the standards varying from the highest to the lowest. Over a larger part of this widely extended territory the question of legislative protection even for women and children, is complicated by the group of problems growing out of the negro problem.

I have said that legislation does not tell the whole story concerning the real protection of helpless childhood and only less helpless womanhood in the Southern States. The fact that corrective legislation is

needed is itself often a reproach to our civilization. It has only been in recent years that the South has had to take knowledge of the fact of women in industry. With the new era following the Civil War, the rapid development of the public school system gave the means for employment for thousands of the educated and cultured women of the South, who had been left in direst poverty.

What is true of the employment of women in industry is equally true of the employment of children. The first examples of child labor that I ever saw were the little boys in the glass factories of New Jersey, on a visit to my kindred there. At that time the number of cotton spindles in the Southern States could all have been confined within the walls of one large modern cotton mill. Child labor in the cotton mill industry in the Southern States might have been deemed insignificant thirty years ago when there was only one cotton mill in all the Southern States. And up to the last census, in spite of all that has been said and written about child labor in the Southern States, the number of children employed in industries outside of agriculture was comparatively insignificant. The census of 1900 shows that in Pennsylvania alone there were employed in other occupations than agricultural pursuits 101,218 children under sixteen years of age, more than those of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Mississippi combined. There were more children in the mines, mills and work shops of Pennsylvania than there were in all the Southern States put together. More in the silk mills. More in the Pennsylvania cigar factories than in Virginia, North Carolina and Florida combined, more in the glass factories than in all the Southern States put together. More in the Pennsylvania cigar factories than in all the Southern States. More textile workers, that is, seamstresses, milliners, etc., than in all the Southern States combined, and there were 10,000 more children employed in Pittsburg alone, under sixteen years of age, than in all the cotton factories of all the Southern States combined. Moreover, the proportion of children under sixteen was 22 per cent in Rhode Island, 17.5 per cent in Pennsylvania, 16 per cent in New Jersey, 10 per cent in Virginia and North Carolina and a still smaller per cent in the rest of the Southern States, Texas having only 3.6 per cent, and the percentage of such children employed in the South was only about one-half as large as in the Nation as a whole. It is only when we come to the cotton mills that the per centage is greater, about 30 per cent of the cotton mill operatives in some of the Southern States being children under sixteen years, with 15 per cent in Maine and 19 per cent in Pennsylvania. Since 1900 there has been a great expansion not only of the cotton mill industry, but of numerous others employing children in the Southern States, but there has also been the beginning of legislation, advancing by 1911 to a fairly good standard in some of the States. So while the numbers of children under sixteen have doubtless greatly increased, the percentage of the children to the whole number of workers has correspondingly decreased.

This preliminary survey of the industrial conditions of the Southern States may serve to indicate that whereas the standards of legislation for the protection of women and children are confessedly lower, as will presently be shown, the need for such protection has been correspondingly less, considering the number of women and children concerned in the South as compared with the great industrial states of the North and East.

Child Labor Legislation.

The legislative standards for the protection of working children embrace the age-limit under which the labor of children is prohibited, the age-limit under which it is regulated, the occupations under which it is either prohibited or regulated and the provisions for the enforcement of the law. Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana and Oklahoma have reached the fourteen year age-limit for the employment of children in factories, though Virginia and Arkansas allow the children of dependent parents to begin work at twelve years of age. North Carolina has a thirteen year age-limit and Texas a fifteen year age-limit for the employment of children in factories, while South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi still retain the twelve year age-limit, and Georgia alone allows children as young as ten, the children of dependent parents, to work in factories. A bill is now pending in the Florida legislature to raise the age-limit to fourteen, which will probably be successful, and will leave only the five cotton mill states with a lower age-limit.

The age limit for the regulation of the hours of labor varies from fourteen in Georgia and North Carolina to sixteen in most other states. The hours of labor vary from 66 a week in Georgia to 60 hours in most of the other Southern States, although Virginia has a ten hour day, Mississippi a 58-hour week and Oklahoma an eight-hour day. Night work is now prohibited for children under fourteen years of age in Virginia, Georgia and North Carolina and for children under sixteen years of age in Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, West Virginia, Louisiana and Oklahoma; Louisiana forbidding girls under eighteen years of age to work at night, and the ten hour day applies to boys under eighteen and to women. These regulations apply mainly to children in factories. Virginia and Georgia have begun to regulate the night messenger service, with an age-limit of seventeen for Virginia and sixteen for Georgia. The age-limit of fourteen for mines is the law in Arkansas, Tennessee, West Virginia and Kentucky, twelve for Alabama and North Carolina, sixteen for Oklahoma, and seventeen for Texas, which is one year higher than the age-limit of any other state for work in mines.

The age-limit of twelve in North Carolina and Alabama is not so serious, however, as recent investigations show that there is an insignificant number of children under sixteen in the mines of either state. Child labor regulations apply to practically all the industries where

children are employed in Kentucky, Louisiana, West Virginia, Oklahoma and Florida, and a bill to extend the application of this law to other industries is pending in the Tennessee Legislature.

When it comes to the enforcement of the law, Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma have provided for factory inspection, though the appropriations for this work are not sufficient for the adequate enforcement of the law. Nor is the system of factory inspection effective enough or the prosecutions numerous enough to bring about even a moderate observance of the law in most of these states. In North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi and Arkansas there is no factory inspection except by the officials usually charged with the prosecution of crime. Manifestly, the great work of child labor reform is yet to be done in the Southern States, the bringing up of the standard of legislation to fourteen years for day work and sixteen for night work, the shortening of hours for women and children, the application of the laws to the industries not now within their scope, and the enforcement of the law by a sufficient number of inspection officials, together with the adoption of an adequate certificate system furnishing proof of the ages of the children employed.

Legislation for the Protection of Women.

With regard to the legislative protection of women in industry in the Southern States, there is keenly felt the need of organized effort in their behalf. I could wish that some National Association, similar to the National Child Labor Committee, were formed for the protection of working women. Some of our statute books in the Southern States are wholly bare of any reference to the employment of women, public sentiment seeming reluctant to recognize the fact of the increasing numbers of women wage earners. Nearly all the states however, have the provision that the earnings of a married woman shall be controlled by herself alone.

The last legislature of Virginia enacted a law providing that every factory, work-shop, mercantile or other establishment or office in which any two children, under twelve years of age, or women are employed, shall be kept in proper sanitary condition, while a previous act provides for seats for female employees; and an old law, the repeal of which was unsuccessfully attempted by the cotton manufacturers, forbids the employment of women and children for more than ten hours a day. Several other child labor laws relating to the number of hours and night work apply to women as well as to children, and in cotton factories it is recognized that on account of the large number of children employed, the shortening of the working day or the prohibition of night work for children under sixteen, amounts to the adoption of such hours and to the prohibiting of such night work for all employees.

Alabama requires seats for female employees, as do Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina and Tennessee. Some of these

states have fairly good provisions for the sanitary inspection of factories. The only provision I can find in the Texas law is one prohibiting the employment of women in bar-rooms, and North Carolina has no provision for the distinct protection of women in industry. It should be said, however, that both women and children share in the protection of the excellent Sunday laws which still obtain in the Southern States.

With regard to the Territories, Arizona and New Mexico, now seeking admission as states, there is already some legislative protection for the working women and children in the Territorial Statutes, which have been approved by Congress. But both territories have gone farther than these statutes in their constitutional provisions. Both constitutions provide for juvenile court regulations, the erection of reformatories and for the passage of suitable child labor laws by the first state legislatures. The Constitution of Arizona goes so far as to say that "No child under the age of fourteen years shall be employed in any gainful occupation at any time during the hours in which the public schools of the district in which the child resides are in session; nor shall any child under sixteen years of age be employed underground in mines, or in any occupation injurious to health or morals or hazardous to life or limb; nor in any occupation at night, or for more than eight hours in any day." And also "It shall be unlawful to confine any minor under the age of eighteen years, accused or convicted of crime, in the same section of any jail or prison in which adult prisoners are confined. Suitable quarters shall be prepared for the confinement of such minors."

It is my own conviction that the subject of the better protection of the wage-earning women, both white and colored, throughout the Southern States needs only a small degree of agitation and education concerning the standards of other states to put them into effect. These laws will be resisted more strongly by the cotton mills than by any other industry on account of the large number of women employed, but because of the regard for womanhood, which is nowhere higher than it is in the South, the adoption of the proper standards should come much more speedily than in the case of the labor of children. There is a more wide-spread feeling or perhaps prejudice against the entrance of women into industrial occupations in the Southern States than in other parts of the Nation, and with the recognition of the fact that the numbers of wage-earning women are rapidly increasing, the need will be felt for the wholesome regulation of their employment.

STANDARDS OF SAFETY IN RELATION TO MACHINERY.

David S. Beyer, Chief Safety Inspector American Steel & Wire Company.

No one knows definitely, or even approximately, how many men are injured in industrial accidents in the United States. The government Bureau of Commerce and Labor, in 1908, estimated that there are from thirty to thirty-five thousand fatal, and not less than two million non-fatal accidents every year.

A writer in one of our current magazines makes a somewhat different statement; he substantiates his figures by a comparison with foreign countries where there is a better record of such statistics and asserts that there are one hundred thousand violent deaths in our industries every year, and that the total number of men killed, or seriously injured, is approximately five hundred thousand. He further states that the loss in the entire Russo-Japanese war, including casualties on both sides, was about three hundred and thirty-five thousand.

In 1906 and 1907 Miss Eastman made a detailed study of twelve months' fatalities in the Pittsburg industrial community, during which period she found that five hundred and twenty-six men were killed and as many more suffered permanent injury; about half of these men were married, and a considerable percentage of the remainder had relatives who were dependent upon them.*

It is not my purpose to startle you with new and graphic representations of the seriousness of the accident problem, with which you are already more or less familiar, but rather to give you some impressions of the conditions that are encountered in the practical work of accident prevention and of the methods which can be, and are being, employed to reduce such accidents.

A discussion of this sort naturally falls into two general divisions,—the Man,—and the Machine; that is,—the education of the workmen to make use of safety devices and to exercise care and prudence in dealing with the dangers to which they are necessarily exposed, on the one hand,—and the application of mechanical devices such as gear covers, railings, arrangements for quickly stopping machinery, etc.—on the other; there is a third element worthy of brief mention, as it is a serious one in some cases,—and that is the cost of carrying out safety recommendations.

Financial Considerations.

A case was recently brought to my attention where a factory inspector in one of the western states called for safety devices in one plant, which would require the expenditure of \$70,000. This would have paralyzed the resources of the small organization that owned the

*See "Children's Institutions and the Accident Problem," by Florence L. Laftimore. The Survey, Sept. 3, 1910.

plant if the order had been rigidly and promptly enforced; but an arrangement was made whereby the work could be carried along gradually, relieving, to a certain extent, the financial burden that otherwise could hardly have been carried.

Within the United States Steel Corporation, however, this consideration has not entered seriously into the task of the safety inspector. Automatic engine stops in the mills of the American Steel and Wire Company (which constitutes only about one-seventh of the entire Corporation) have cost approximately \$50,000, and its equipment of automatic stop valves in boiler plants amounts to about \$100,000 more; \$6,200 was appropriated for placing a walkway on the side of an open hearth building, to allow the crane boys to escape quickly in case a ladle of hot metal should be spilled; a subway under railroad tracks, to enable workmen to reach a mill without the risk of crossing these tracks, amounted to \$12,000. In another plant \$30,000 was appropriated for placing overhead walks and runways for the use of window cleaners and electricians.

Safeguarding Machinery.

(The speaker then described in detail some modern safety appliances, such as automatic stops for power driven machinery; ladder protection; safety hand leathers, etc., and explained that these are being installed with benefit in the larger Steel plants.)

The Human Factor.

A large percentage of our industrial accidents can be attributed to carelessness, indifference, willingness to take chances,—the same fundamental human failings and shortcomings that are found in the office and the home as well as in the mill. With the development of the complex and powerful machinery which is used in our modern industries, we have added an additional and magnified element of risk, that is lacking in the more simple and fundamental occupations. The man who hurriedly jostles against his neighbor in the street, may do so with impunity, but it is a different matter when a steam engine or an electric crane is substituted for the passer-by. In the steady, rythmical motion of a large machine one readily forgets the thousand horse power of energy back of it, in comparison with which the human body is as insignificant as a pebble to the steam roller.

It is not strange that a man who has worked day after day for several years in a blast furnace plant, without any inconvenience, should forget that the colorless, odorless gas which is present in greater or less degree all the time, can deprive him of his senses, or even of his life, without any perceptible warning,—if he happens to breathe too much of it. It takes a tragedy to bring this home to his consciousness, and even then the effect soon wears off.

Take the case of hammering tools used by blacksmiths. Almost every man who has worked at this trade for any length of time has scars, or even pieces of steel embedded in his body, caused by allowing his tools to become "mushroomed" over at the edges, so that pieces break from them and fly; such a piece may knock out an eye and leave him partially blind for the rest of his life; the danger can be eliminated if he keeps his tools properly dressed,—and yet a shop where every tool is in good condition is a rarity. Even with the system we have in vogue, where an inspector goes through each shop weekly and reports defective tools, something of the same condition is found, though in a greatly lessened degree.

It is possible to issue rules and instructions covering certain specific dangers; for instance,—we tell the workman that he must not oil, or wipe, or adjust his machine while it is running, and in order to keep this before his mind, we post signs in conspicuous places throughout the mill on which this rule is displayed; we tell the crane operator that he must not leave his cage and go on top of the crane without locking a switch, so that no one can throw on the power and catch him unawares,—and this, together with a number of other safety precautions, is printed and posted in his cage where it is always before him. We place on high voltage electric equipment a red and black marked sign with a white skull and cross bones and the one significant word "Elektrika,"—which is universally understood in all languages.

Such precautions can be taken where a certain definite and specific risk is involved,—but anyone who has made a detailed study of accidents must be impressed with the large percentage of them which are due to some unusual condition or some peculiar combination of circumstances that could not possibly be foreseen and covered by general instructions.

One of the most important agencies for avoiding accidents has been the Workmen's Safety Committees, which are established in every plant of the American Steel and Wire Company. These Committees make weekly inspections, and are urged to be constantly on the lookout for new safety suggestions, or the enforcement of those already in effect, and their personnel is changed at frequent intervals, so that a large number of men receive the benefit of this experience. More than one thousand men, out of a total of about thirty thousand employed by the Company, are thus brought into direct contact with the safety problem each year, and made to realize something of the object aimed at, and it can be readily understood what an effective agency this represents.

Committees are sent from one mill to another of the American Steel and Wire Company, as well as from one subsidiary company to another of the United States Steel Corporation, and this gives the stimulative effect of healthy competition; a committee which finds some projecting set screws in the machinery of a neighboring plant and writes them up in its report, is likely to go back home with a keener

eye for its own short-comings and a strong resolve to eliminate every projecting set screw there before the visit is returned.

I will not burden you with a description of the permanent Foremen's Safety Committee which is organized in each mill, or of the special inspectors who look after cranes, engines, shops and other more important equipment; I will not tell you of the District Safety Inspectors, who are constantly at work in addition to these local agencies, and you already know about the State Factory Inspectors, who add their quota to that which our own men accumulate.

When I tell you that there are no less than eight distinct agencies of this sort, each viewing the matter from a different angle, and all actively engaged in making inspections and piling up safety recommendations, I think you will begin to sympathize with the mill Superintendent who is responsible for carrying out the recommendations; I fear you will agree with the social investigator who alluded to this matter in a recent magazine article, and spoke of the mill man as having "safety cranks" added to his otherwise overburdened existence. The Superintendent is instructed that he must not make repairs or do any work on machinery while it is in operation,—and he is now forbidden to have repair gangs out during the Sunday shut-down, which used to be the favorite time for getting these matters cleaned up; he is not infrequently placed in a quandary as to whether a mill should be stopped and a hundred men stand idle while a safeguard is being installed, or whether he shall take a chance on an accident happening before a regular shut-down occurs.

And yet, notwithstanding all this, the work is being done as fast as the recommendations are turned in,—as many as three or four hundred individual suggestions are carried out monthly in some of the larger mills; special "safety gangs" of from two or three up to twelve or fifteen men are constantly at work on present equipment in each of the plants, and new installations are being designed and erected so that adequate safety provisions are made from the start.

General.

Much is being said these days about "Workmen's Compensation" and "Employers' Liability,"—and, as you all know, new legislation of this kind is now being drafted in a number of states. But who could ever hope to enact a law big enough and broad enough to specify all the positive constructive activities of a social community?

And so it is with the accident problem; positive constructive work, that does not confine itself to the mere limits of legislation is the thing that is necessary, if we are to realize anything like the full possibilities of accident prevention.

Illinois now has one of the most rigid factory laws in the United States, and its staff of inspectors is probably equal to that of any

other state; about a year ago one of the State Inspectors, in going through an Illinois plant of the American Steel & Wire Company, stated that he considered it the best equipped from the safety standpoint of any of several hundred plants which he had visited. He made no report of recommendations for further improvement,—and yet each one of our own inspectors who are at work in that plant is making continual additions to its list of safety recommendations, and we have been spending,— and shall continue indefinitely to spend,—about \$1,000 per month on safety work in this particular mill.

Some time ago an Ohio inspector visited one of the Company plants in Cleveland, and in commenting on conditions, he said that it was the first plant that he had ever inspected in which he did not make some recommendations; a little later another mill was added to the same honor roll. And yet our local inspectors are busy in those plants, and a constant volume of safety work is under way there at all times.

I cite these instances because they cast an interesting side light on the extent to which the work of progressive accident prevention out-distances legislation.

And, notwithstanding the indifference that is sometimes manifested in this direction, I feel that a note of optimism is not out of order at this time; the energy and resourcefulness of some of the most efficient industrial organizations of the world are now being directed upon the problem of accident prevention. I have made frequent mention of the United States Steel Corporation and there are other agencies, such as the American Museum of Safety in New York, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Accident Insurance Companies, and various engineering and trade organizations which are taking an active interest in accumulating and scattering abroad information on this subject, and rapid strides are being made in the general improvement of safety conditions.

The problem is not so much that of the large manufacturer,—who is used to looking at such things in a broad way,—as it is with the owner of a small plant where only a few men are employed;—to him the cost of protective measures looms up like a threatening cloud on his financial horizon.

Yet there are ways in which the small employer must inevitably be reached, sooner or later. The wave of legislation that is spreading over the country will help bring the matter home to him, through the heavier penalties that will be imposed, and because these penalties will be made unavoidable, instead of leaving so many loop-holes through which he may escape.

The pioneer work that is being done by some of the large concerns which I have mentioned will aid immeasurably, by demonstrating the practicability of all sorts of safety devices, and by arousing greater interest in their use. There are many dangers which are commonly considered as “unavoidable trade risks,” where it can be demonstrated

that they are not unavoidable, and that they can be almost completely eliminated if the necessary effort is put forth. Such is the case with the blacksmiths' hammering tools, the wire drawers' hand leathers and the ladder accidents which I have described.

But before much general interest can be aroused, it is necessary for someone to show conclusively that a given safety device is practical, and that it will not cause too much interference with the necessary actions of the workmen. This is being done on a large scale by the United States Steel Corporation, and the benefit of its experimental work is being passed out freely to all who apply.

As regards the question of cost,—it is my personal opinion that this can be made to take care of itself; I believe it can be proven that the large expenditures which are necessary to carry out a broad policy of protection, will pay not only a good rate of interest on the money invested, but a sinking fund as well, so that what seems to many people like an unproductive outlay of money, can be shown to be a paying investment.

Conclusion.

Conservation is a subject that is now receiving a large degree of attention, and when we listen to the appeal of the men who would preserve our forests and conserve our public lands, we are almost convinced that this is the paramount question before the public today. A human life is something that cannot well be valued in dollars and cents, but I have seen estimates of the economic loss in the United States as a result of industrial accidents, varying from \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000 per year. I will not attempt to corroborate these figures for you, as there is necessarily a large amount of guesswork in such approximations. I do not believe their evidence is needed, however, to convince you that the conservation of the heads and hands of our workmen is at least as important as any of the other conservation movements now under way.

Millions of dollars are being set aside and powerful organizations and influences are being brought to bear on the establishment of "universal peace;" but we have seen that the loss of human lives in the greatest war of recent years is out-distanced by that of twelve months' peaceful industrial activity in the United States.

The country at large is just beginning to awaken to the seriousness of the accident problem and is turning in haste to legislation, which, to many people, is the panacea of all social evils. But I tell you the condition is not one that we can correct by mere legislation,—any more than we can legislate selfishness out of the minds and hearts of mankind. Impulsiveness is a trait of human nature that is not confined to the American people, but it is one that they possess in no small measure.

What is needed in treating with the problem of industrial acci-

dents is quiet, thoughtful, intelligent effort before the catastrophe occurs, not an outburst of strenuous, but short-lived activity after each successive disaster,—with an occasional act of legislation “by way of good measure,”—but the same careful, thorough, systematic study of conditions and overcoming of obstacles, that would be used if we were building a bridge or digging a canal.

The issue is largely a moral one. It is possible to force a certain device into position through the agency of legislation or some other form of authority, but unless the man who has to use this device accepts it in a friendly spirit, he can make it of less than no value for the accomplishment of its purpose.

So in concluding, this is the thought that I would leave with you. There is an accident problem,—and it is a most important one—from the social and economic standpoint as well as that of human happiness. Much can be done to improve conditions, and rapid progress is now being made in overcoming the practical, legitimate difficulties and objections that are encountered. Legislation of a mature and intelligent kind will add a certain contribution, and tend to equalize the benefits that may be obtained. But finally,—and of more importance than all the others, is the necessity for a thorough-going study of the causes of accidents, and an effective demonstration of the preventive measures which are possible in each particular industry; when this information is put before them, we can depend on the men who are responsible for carrying on these industries to do the rest.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.

By Alice Hamilton, M. D., Hull House, Chicago.

The title of my paper really should be “A Neglected Branch of Medical and Social Science,” for I believe you will agree with me when I say that there is no one subject at the present day which has been so generally neglected by American sociologists and physicians as the subject of occupational diseases. It is not because it is new, for it is centuries old. I think it was Pliny who first spoke of the diseases of slaves, meaning by that phrase, lead poisoning, mercurial poisoning and the consumption of potters and weavers. The study of industrial diseases sank into oblivion after Pliny’s time, as did all medical studies, but it was revived with the revival of medical science and has kept pace with it. There is now in Europe a very comprehensive literature on the subject, a literature which is partly medical and partly sociological and the two aspects of the subject are shown in the name which is now given to it: industrial hygiene. Only in our country does one find an almost complete silence on the subject.

And it is not because we have no industrial diseases. There is

a very general idea in this country—I am always being confronted with it—that conditions here are immeasurably better than in the older countries; our methods superior; our working people stronger; but we have no facts to support this vague impression. Indeed, we have no facts at all to speak of. There is the greatest contrast between the attitude of the general American public on this question and that of, for instance, the English public. Take the pottery industry. Every intelligent English person seems to know that there is lead poisoning in the potteries and where the potteries are, and how important an industry it is, and, just as a conscientious American woman will tell you that she buys Consumer's League underclothing and follows the Audubon Society in the matter of plumes, so a conscientious Englishwoman will say that she always insists on a leadless glaze when she buys pottery. Now, there are great numbers of potteries in Ohio and New Jersey. One little Ohio town has no less than twenty-two; and the white lead manufacturers tell me that they sell carloads of white lead to these potteries. But I cannot find that the people of Ohio and New Jersey know anything about the industry; certainly they are quite bewildered when one asks them about lead glazes and whether pottery making is unhealthy. Nobody has ever explored these isolated places, which are apparently in our midst but which actually might be down in Mexico for all we know about them.

I have puzzled a great deal over this curious blind spot of ours and I can find only one explanation for it and that not altogether satisfactory. In England, and to a certain extent, in Germany, the work people are of the same nationality as their employers and they usually form a stable part of the community. Here in the poisonous and dusty trades, at least, they are largely foreigners and form a floating migratory population. I was impressed by an instance of this a few months ago when I was driving to Dixon, a charming Illinois town on the Rock river. Outside the town is a Portland Cement works and it was easy to see from the walls and windows that it was as frightfully dusty as such factories usually are. I said to my driver that I could not imagine how people in prosperous Dixon could be induced to work in a place like that and run the risk of ruining their health. "No Dixon people work there," he said, "you could not get white people to do that work, for it eats out their lungs. The help is all Pollack or Dago, and they live up in those shanties." And there on the hillside above the works was a typical, isolated industrial colony of Polish and Italian nomads, temporarily housed in ramshackle, wooden shanties, working at a trade that the so-called white people of Dixon were too wise to touch, and probably sickening here and there from the dust and departing, those who could, to the old country in search of health again; those who could not, to easier, sedentary trades, such as home finishing, the general refuge of the tuberculous, and always a stream of still more recent immigrants com-

ing in to take their places. But I doubt if the people of Dixon know that there is pneumonia and tuberculosis on the hillside so near them; certainly they do not know it as they would if the sufferers were of their own town, had gone to school with them, belonged to the same church or to the same lodge.

This gulf between the non-English-speaking immigrant workman and the American community of which he is nominally a part can be seen at its widest in certain southern Illinois towns, where there are great lead smelters. I do not believe that in any country the distance between peasant and noble is greater than is that between this army of homeless Greeks and Slavs housed in the company shacks of the smelting works, and the American citizen householder of the little town barely a mile away. The only connecting link between the squalid sheds and the prosperous homes is a long line of saloons with foreign names over the doors. Perhaps this isolation of the industrial worker is not the only reason for our ignorance about the diseases of industry but certainly it is one reason.

A year ago last March the Illinois Commission on occupational diseases began a study of the question in Illinois. It was a good commission, with Professor C. R. Henderson as its secretary and a pathologist and a chemist of national reputation among its members. The commission had an ample appropriation and very wisely decided to spend as little as possible for accessories and to devote the greater part of the money to the payment of investigators. The question of selecting the field of study came first, and, as we discussed it, we seemed to be looking out over a vast almost unexplored country with here and there a tiny outpost of civilization showing where some hardy pioneer had ventured out and reclaimed a little of the wilderness. The largest of these outposts was, of course, Dr. Andrew's study of phosphorous poisoning and we envied him for having appropriated the one industrial poison which is used in but a single trade and which causes an absolutely characteristic form of disease. There were certain other isolated studies, chiefly of some of the dusty trades, and a few of the excessively damp trades, but none of them in Illinois—there the outlook was unbroken.

The dusty trades are undeniably the most important disease producers because so vast an army of men and women are engaged in dusty work of various kinds, but we decided not to choose them. It is not easy to prove the causal relation between respiratory disease and any particular trade, because other disease-producing factors enter in, such as poor housing, family infection, insufficient food, alcoholism and over fatigue. In the poisonous trades, on the other hand, the connection between disease and occupation can be much more clearly proven. Sometimes, as in the case of phosphorus, lead, arsenic, mercury, the symptoms of poisoning are characteristic and indubitable. So we chose the poisonous trades beginning with lead, and going on to

brass, zinc, carbon monoxide, turpentine, naphtha and benzine, varnish removers, hydro-fluoric acid, nitrate of silver, the chromates, the cyanides. Mrs. Kelley has asked me to give a sketch of the experience of the Illinois Commission because it is probably such as will be undergone by any group of people who undertake to study the industrial poisons in any of the states.

When I began on the lead trades, a year ago last March, the Commission gave me a perfectly free hand and told me to employ all the help I needed; but while I had a fair knowledge from books of the lead trades in Great Britain and on the Continent, I was absolutely ignorant as to the lead trades in Illinois and for more than six weeks I could not employ an assistant because I did not know enough to be able to instruct anyone. In the first place, nobody knew what were lead trades in Illinois beyond a few well known ones, such as white lead, lead smelting, painting and printing. The factory inspectors could not tell us for there is no chemist connected with the department, and they do not know what substances are handled in the different trades. Foreign authorities were of some assistance, of course; but several trades which are notorious sources of lead poisoning over there proved not to be so in Illinois, such as file making; making cheap tinware for kitchen use; making glass, pottery and enamels and India rubber. File making by hand seems unknown in Illinois. Our cheap tinware is, unless all my informants are liars, quite free from lead. Illinois glass is not lead glass and almost all her pottery and enamel is lead free, while the comparatively harmless lead sulphate has taken the place of white lead in Illinois rubber works.

This sounds simple enough, but I must confess that I spent the larger part of three months verifying these few points and I consulted thirteen commercial chemists before I succeeded in finding out the constituents of the pottery glazes used in Illinois, and almost as many before I got the rubber question settled. Information from workmen was valuable only in the skilled and organized trades; the unskilled workman has little idea what he is handling. For instance a newly arrived Roumanian Jew went to work in a storage battery works and was severely poisoned after ten days, because having no idea that the red lead paste he used was poisonous, he habitually wet his fingers in his mouth as he worked.

From the unions we got valuable information as to the effect of different varnish removers, turpentine substitutes, cyanides and chromates, and as to the most dangerous parts of the painters' and printers' trades. From employers, one may get trustworthy information and one may get information that is false. On the whole, it is better not to approach an employer until one knows all about his trade. Then he will often give one valuable information as to other trades.

No one method of investigation can be adopted. One must simply grope and catch at anything which offers the least help. All sorts of

hints came to us accidentally. A manufacturer of patent covers for milk bottles put us on the track of car seals and can seals which proved to be a rather large industry, attended with lead poisoning. The electrical workers' union set us to studying lead poisoning among the layers of electric cables underground. In one way or another, we found about seventy industrial processes which are productive of lead poisoning in Illinois and we inspected the hygienic condition of 304 establishments in which lead is handled.

Then came the problem of ascertaining the morbidity rate of these trades and that is a problem on which foreign authorities could shed no light. It is all so beautifully simple over there. In England one can ask to see the records of the Home Office and there one finds recorded every case of lead poisoning which has come under the care of a physician and one can trust the record, for a government expert has verified the diagnosis. In Germany one can go through the statistics of the workmen's sickness insurance. In Illinois one must simply grope again and one must carefully check up and control every bit of information one gets.

Union sick benefit records are valuable but most of the lead trades are unorganized; and the insurance companies, commercial and non-commercial, have almost no available information although Dr. Frederick Hoffman of the Prudential Company is the individual who has given us more general information than any other.

We were driven to hospital and dispensary records and the greater number of the 578 cases of lead poisoning on our lists came from these sources. But we have no idea how near the truth this figure comes. In Germany they estimate that one sick working man in four goes to a hospital and so they multiply by four the number of lead poisoned painters or printers or storage battery workers found on the hospital books and take the result as the actual number poisoned. But who knows what proportion of our working people go to hospitals? I wish there were any way of finding out.

The hospital records threw light on a number of trades which we had known nothing about, such as litho-transfer work, zinc smelting, polishing coffin handles, manufacturing wall paper, selling wall paper, making leaden picture frames, finishing cut glass with putty powder. And yet those records were a source of great irritation for they might have been so much more valuable than they were.

There are two serious criticisms to be made of hospital records and history sheets. One is the superficial diagnosis. At the Brussels Congress on Industrial Hygiene last fall, a Frenchman said that to most physicians, lead poisoning always means colic or paralysis and went on to say that it would be just as sensible for a physician to hold that alcoholism always means delirium tremens. Of course many men die of alcoholism without ever having delirium tremens and many men die of the effects of lead without ever having an attack of colic or

becoming paralyzed and when one looks through a hospital admission book and notes the numbers of men engaged in lead trades who are entered as suffering from neuritis, lumbago, muscular pains, arterio sclerosis, Bright's disease, apoplexy, gastro-enteritis, one cannot help believing that the doctors in charge were content to ascertain the actual condition present and did not care to look for its cause.

The second criticism has to do with the almost universal ignorance as to industrial processes and indifference to industrial hygiene on the part of physicians. In one City Hospital 92 cases of lead poisoning were treated between April 1910 and April 1911. In order to find out the trades responsible for poisoning those men, it was necessary to have a university student visit the homes of all but 8 of them, for no statement as to occupation was made except the single word "lead-worker." In the records of the Cook County Hospital, "lead-worker" may mean a man emptying white-lead pots or working in a smelter. "Electrical worker" may mean a maker of storage batteries or a man who lays electric cables. An "engraver" proved to be a mechanical artist working with white-lead paint. A "novelty maker" was making lead picture frames. "A brass-worker" was polishing brass and lead alloy, and a labeler, which sounds like a harmless occupation, proved to be working in an atmosphere of white-lead dust. These are only a few instances of that inaccuracy which more than doubled our work, making it necessary for us to follow up with great difficulty cases about whom the records should have told us all we needed to know and, unfortunately, at least one-third of the cases can never be found.

I do not think I need say any more to convince you that if we wish to know of the harm done physically and economically by the poisonous trades we must begin at the bottom and slowly build up a system of record making. The first step toward this would be, I believe, that which has just been taken in Illinois by the new law which requires the employer in the poisonous trades to engage a physician who shall examine at stated intervals all of the men exposed to the poison. This has already been tried in quite a number of factories and the results have been very illuminating, not only to the gatherers of statistics but to the employer himself, who is often amazingly ignorant of the condition of his men. The second logical step has also been taken in Illinois, namely, requiring physicians to report to the State Board of Health all cases of industrial poisoning.

I have spoken of the ignorance of many employers concerning industrial poisoning in their factories. Our experience with one factory is fairly typical of this and of the difficulties we encountered in making out our morbidity statistics. It was a place which employs regularly between 70 and 80 men and it was easy to see that there must be a good deal of lead poisoning among these men because of the lack of some of the simplest precautions against it, but absolutely no information

as to this could be obtained on the premises. The workmen were Slavs and could not speak English. The superintendent, the foreman and the yard-boss insisted that there was not a case of lead poisoning among the men and never had been; and they called upon a much startled Slav workman to corroborate this statement, which he promptly did. This is the foreman's attitude in almost all instances but it is usually not the attitude of the employer. As a usual thing, we found the man at the head not only approachable but very reasonable and often eager to receive suggestions. In this case we went to the head of the factory; he was pleasantly incredulous; he knew his factory was beautifully clean (which was quite true); he remembered the time when the white lead industry was enormously more dangerous than it is now, and he simply would not believe that, with all the improvements he had instituted, there could be any lead poisoning among his men. Finally he agreed to this bargain; if we could prove to him that there was lead poisoning in his factory, he would appoint a physician to make a regular weekly examination of all his men.

We found that it was no easy task to keep our part of the bargain. The factory was in the city and drew its workmen from all over the west and northwest sides. There was nothing to do but to visit Slavic and Greek physicians and to search the hospital records. From the physicians, we heard that there was a great deal of lead poisoning in this factory and that they saw many cases in their practice; but general statements like that could not be used and, unfortunately, few of them could remember individual cases. One Polish physician said he was sure he saw four or five new cases a month but he could not remember specifically any but the last three and therefore we could add to our list only three cases instead of fifty odd. We did finally collect a list of eighteen recent cases for our employer and, later on in the fall, eleven more. As a result of that, there is now medical supervision of this factory and a very well equipped lavatory and lunch room for the men, and the same reforms are extending to the ten additional factories in other cities over which this same employer has partial control. Once convinced, he showed himself entirely ready to correct the most crying evils and this has been true of many other employers. Their willingness to do the right thing is only equalled by their fathomless ignorance that anything needs to be done. One of the most genuinely humane employers I know told me last June that he had no lead poisoning in his factory. I spoke to a negro working outside and asked him if he had ever had the colic. "Four times," he said, in the eleven months he had worked there. A friend of his had died of the lead just the week before, but he had been at it for a year and a half. "We all get it," he said, "if we stay long enough." Later on that employer also decided to have a doctor look over his men once a week and when some five months later I visited him again, he handed me the doctor's records showing that one man in eight then employed

was leaded and three out of five of those who had been in the factory as long as one year. This employer is now taking better care of his men than any manager I know in the lead trade. It is not always the owner's fault that he fails to discover when his men are poisoned. In looking over some hospital records I was struck with one case of lead poisoning contracted in a well known white lead plant. The man was an Irishman and was stated to have been married three times and to have seventeen living children. The next day I was in this factory and the manager was describing to me, as managers always do, the men in his employ who had worked many years and were in perfect health. He said, "I wish you could see one Irishman who has been with us for years. He is a big husky fellow, he's been married three times and has seventeen living children, and he has never once been sick." Evidently that man had said nothing to his employers of his sojourn in the hospital.

Our study of the lead trades in Illinois convinced us that those authors and practical men who assure us that we have less lead poisoning than the older countries are very much mistaken. Let me give a few comparative figures, and please remember that while the English and German statistics are as accurate as possible, the figures I give you for American factories may be under the truth, but are never in excess of it. With all our efforts we cannot discover all the cases. In a Dusseldorf factory, employing 150 men, two cases of lead poisoning were discovered in 1910 by the examining physician. In an American factory employing 142 men, 25 cases were sent to the doctor in 1910 with lead poisoning. In an English white and red lead factory employing 90 men, there was not one case of lead poisoning in five successive years. In an American white and red lead factory, employing 85 men, the doctor's records for six months showed 35 men leaded. Another English factory employs 182 men and did not have a case of lead poisoning last year. An American factory with 170 men had 60 poisoned during this same year.

These figures are startling but I did not select them with a view to making an impression; they are simply typical instances chosen because the number of men employed in the American factories nearly matched the number employed in the foreign factories. It may be said that the American figures are open to criticism because the white lead trade in this country employs a very shifting class of labor, so that a factory with a payroll of less than 100 may actually employ from 200 to 500 men in the course of a year. It is an open question among the white lead men in this country whether or not this rapid change of workmen is an advantage. In some factories it is deliberately encouraged and the managers pride themselves on their humanitarian effort to protect their men against the severer forms of lead poisoning. Such factories make little effort to protect the men in any other way. On the other hand, those places in which the policy obtains of render-

ing the work as safe as possible, make a point of retaining their help. Europeans have no doubt at all as to the relative dangers of these two systems. They claim that German and English statistics show that lead poisoning occurs in direct proportion to the number of casual workmen employed in any one factory. As about 20% of all men are unduly susceptible to lead and become poisoned in a very short time, from a week to a couple of months usually, a factory which is continually taking in new recruits will also continually send out poisoned men, while a factory which strives to keep its men, can weed out the over susceptible and settle down to a steady and fairly resistant force. It is also only with a steady force that one can ever attain a proper standard of cleanliness and careful work. No foreman can be expected to show much solicitude for a gang of Poles or Italians whom he expects to lose after a week or two.

We cannot give any statistics as to other lead trades, but we are convinced that in lead smelting, the making of storage batteries, of paints and dry colors and in the painting trade, our country falls as far behind in the protection of workmen as it does in the white and red lead industry. Lead poisoning in the painters trade is a matter of grave concern to all civilized governments except our own, and though no country has gained complete control of it, all are working toward that end. In France the movement against lead paint is almost a century old, and now in three years' time the use of such paint in France will be completely interdicted. No other country is as radical in this matter as France, but Belgium forbids the sale of ground white lead to any except a few accredited manufacturers of colors, and will not allow painters to sand-paper dry white-lead paint. Germany regulates the use of lead paints in many ways, and insists that the building contractor shall provide for the use of his painters a warm, clean place with running water, soap and towels. If he can rent such a place, well and good, if not, he must build it. In neither Germany nor England do they use the process which is the most fruitful source of lead poisoning among our painters, the dry sandpapering of lead paint. They use a wet process. We found that twelve men were sent to hospitals with lead colic in Chicago in 1910, who had contracted the poison while sandpapering the white walls of the lavatories of Pullman cars. These little, closed in, spaces would get full of the fine white lead dust as the men sanded the walls and ceilings, and it took only a few weeks for most of them to become leaded.

I do not wish to give the impression that the Illinois Commission studied the lead trades only. That was a part of the work which I had in charge and therefore I am more familiar with it, but the study of the brass trades and of carbon monoxide poisoning were no less interesting. Eighty-nine brass foundries were inspected and it was found that 63 were acknowledged centers of trade sickness, and seven more were apparently as bad, while of the remaining 19 only four were

undoubtedly well enough equipped to prevent industrial disease. Brass workers suffer not only from the characteristic brass founders' ague, but also from the effects of lead, phosphorus, arsenic and antimony, all of which are present in the alloys handled. One hundred and eighty-seven men, representing 40 plants were examined and 146 were found to be suffering from some ailment attributed to their work. The effect on longevity is seen in the fact that only 17 of 1,760 men were over 50 years of age; only 180 over 40 years.

The inquiry into carbon monoxide poisoning was made at the great steel works of the Illinois Steel Company in South Chicago and Joliet, where thousands of workmen are exposed to this gas. It was easy enough to obtain records of acute gas poisoning, but the investigators were more interested in discovering whether this acute poisoning, which much resembles that caused by either or chloroform, causes any permanent effect and whether there is a chronic carbon monoxide poisoning. The results of the investigation are given with caution and amount briefly to this: A careful physical examination of 240 workmen, who were frequently exposed to the gas, showed that very few men were in good physical condition, but the physicians were uncertain how much of this to attribute to alcoholic excess, for 70% stated that they used alcohol to excess, and to unhygienic living and long hours of excessively hard work. One constant and suggestive feature presented itself, namely, a decided loss in muscular power, which was shown by comparative tests made on these men and on workmen not exposed to gas. If this should be confirmed by further study, it means a large economic loss in those industries in which workmen are exposed to carbon monoxide. The investigators also noted that the majority of the men exhibited sluggish mentality, and recommend further study in this direction, for it is well known that long exposure to this gas has a profound effect on the nervous system.

To return again to the subject of lead poisoning. From the questions often asked of me, I have an impression that people in general do not know just how serious a matter lead poisoning is, although many charity workers undoubtedly are familiar enough with its effects. I might give some extracts from hospital history sheets and thus guard myself against the suspicion of exaggeration or sentimentality, for nothing can be more cold blooded than a hospital history. The cases are selected as typical of certain forms of lead poisoning.

J. S. Philadelphia, a colored man of 32 years, worked in lead for nine years. He came to the hospital with heart disease, hardening of the arteries and profound anaemia, the coloring matter in his blood reduced to one-third of normal and the red blood corpuscles to one-quarter.

F. S. Pittsburg, Pa., a Hungarian 36 years old. He came to the hospital with his third attack of lead poisoning. He had the usual pain, vomiting and headache. In addition he was pale and emaciated, he looked like an old man; was dull and apathetic, his muscles soft and

wasted. His arteries were hard and he had a hemorrhage into the retina of one eye. He left the hospital hardly at all improved and three months later the Associated Charities, finding him still a physical wreck, decided to send him home to Hungary.

J. S. Philadelphia, an Irishman, 48 years old, who had worked in lead for five years. He came to the hospital with violent colic and with paralysis of both hands and partial paralysis of the legs. He was unable to feed or dress himself and had difficulty in walking. He was sent to the almshouse where he remained for almost three years with little improvement; then another acute attack came on and he died at the age of 51.

V. O. Chicago, an Italian 30 years old, was an unusually susceptible case. He went to work in white lead at a very dusty job soon after he reached this country and being unable to understand English, he was given no instructions as to the care of his person. It is hardly likely that he would have been told anything anyway, for he was working in one of the factories that changes its help continually and pays little attention to the men. Vincenzo ate his lunch among the white lead pots and without washing his hands. He had no respirator and he wore his dusty working clothes home and slept in them. On the 37th day of this work he was suddenly struck to the ground by a pain so violent that he almost lost consciousness. He was taken to the hospital, recovered partly, came home and relapsed, went back to the hospital and finally, at the end of three months, he had recovered strength enough to look for work again.

Another over susceptible workman was J. M. of Philadelphia, an Irishman. He was a tall, powerful looking man of 47 years and up to this time had never been ill except in childhood. After eight weeks in the lead he had an attack of colic and then an increasing pain and loss of power in his arms and pain and weakness in his legs. After four months' treatment he left the hospital still pale and emaciated, with paralysis of both hands and difficulty in raising his feet.

One might multiply such instances indefinitely, but these five are enough to show you what lead poisoning means.

I have not said anything about the economic significance of industrial poisoning for on that point I believe my audience is better informed than I. It is, of course, this aspect of the case which has especially appealed to the Germans, and the importance in their eyes is easily estimated by the great mass of legislation they have passed in order to protect their workmen from the disabling effects of the poisonous trades. Whether we approach it from this side, or from the side of preventive medicine, or from that of pure humanitarianism, we must all acknowledge that it is a great and sadly neglected problem of our day.

STANDARDS OF SAFETY FROM FIRE IN FACTORY BUILDINGS.

By Peter Joseph McKeon, Consulting Engineer on Fire Insurance and Prevention.

At this time when there is a sudden haste to safeguard factory buildings, it is well to remember that, almost from the beginning of fire insurance, these have been noted for many fires with great destruction of life and property. The insurance companies have protected the financial risks by charging high premiums, but the life danger has been practically ignored. It has indeed required the death of one hundred and forty-five girls and women under distressing circumstances, to arouse the interest of the public in the fire danger. Probably this sacrifice has not been entirely in vain. It has roused a new interest and led to the creation of a new activity to deal with the fire problem, as similar organizations deal with other social and economic problems. Hand in hand with apathy and neglect has gone ignorance. Yet in the present crisis, many well intentioned persons who, before this fire, hardly knew a fire pail from an automatic extinguisher, are prescribing remedies and calmly laying down technical recommendations as if they had devoted their lives to the prevention of fire.

It is necessary, therefore, to sound a warning accompanied by a suggestion. Give the expert a chance to be heard. In a case of plague or epidemic we should turn to the physicians and hospitals. In any other great emergency we seek specialists and trained workers for advice and assistance. Similarly, with regard to fire danger, we should call upon the experts for a solution of the problem. The first standard to be established for safety from fire in factory buildings, therefore, is the employment of competent persons.

Fire prevention is today an applied science with engineers equipped and ready to put it into practice. It has been in existence for nearly forty years, having had its origin in New England. It will no doubt be a surprise to many who know of the late Edward Atkinson in connection with political, economic and charitable affairs, to learn that he is entitled to be called the founder of the science of fire prevention. As the owner of a cotton mill, he was a member of the Factory Mutual Fire Insurance Organizations. When in 1878 he became President of the Boston Company, and studied the conditions of that company and of the mutual system as a whole, he realized that it must be re-organized or that it would fail. It had been conducted on a purely empirical basis for about thirty years, depending principally upon the memory and judgment of one or two men for its theories and methods. A number of serious fires convinced Mr. Atkinson that something better must be done and he undertook what was probably the first scientific study of the causes of fire, for this purpose conducting a laboratory in Boston, probably the first fire laboratory in the world. He applied scientific research to the problem and secured the help of engineers in his re-

search. In justice to Mr. Atkinson's associates, and because he himself was unsparing in giving them due praise for their work, their names should be mentioned along with his own. They include the late William B. Whiting, who was the insurance man of the group and the inventor of one of our standard fire prevention appliances, namely, the use of wood covered with lock-jointed tin; C. J. H. Woodbury, the first technically trained man that Mr. Atkinson called in, his chief contribution being the drafting of electrical specifications and specifications for automatic sprinklers, which are almost unchanged today; John R. Freeman, an authority on water supply who investigated that subject for fire purposes and, with his associate F. L. Pierce, designed the standard underwriters' fire pump; Joseph P. Gray, an engineer who worked with Mr. Atkinson and is his successor; the late Prof. John M. Ordway, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who conducted the original fire research; John R. Francis, the Hon. Byron Weston, and the late M. M. Tidd.

Mr. Atkinson with his associates, worked out the standards for fire prevention for mills and factories upon a basis so fundamental that they can be applied to all classes of buildings. As has been stated, the first of these standards was the employment of an expert who makes a study of the building, applying the recognized principles of fire prevention to the existing conditions and in his report includes specifications for making the property safe.

The second standard is that of safe construction. It is easier to say that a building shall be safe than it is to have people grasp the principles of safety. It is not to be found in any one type of structure or in the use of any one kind of material, as has been proved by the many disastrous fires in so-called fire proof buildings. The Washington Place fire, with its toll of one hundred and forty-five deaths, occurred in a fire proof building that was better than the average, indeed, the very type of building that many people have been demanding for years, and for which many of the newly proposed theories are calling.* It is, therefore, to be hoped that this fire, among its other benefits, will kill the belief that safety lies in type of building or form of construction. Fire-proof materials are valuable as far as they go, but they can be so used as to create danger by providing a false sense of security. The buildings of the factory mutual system, for example, are not fire-proof in the common acceptance of the term, yet they are the safest buildings of their class in the world. Many of them are entirely built of wood, but even these are far safer than some over-rated fire-proof buildings. The secret of safe construction is the design and the use of materials to prevent the starting of fire and its rapid spread. Mr. Atkinson and his associates laid down the rule that wood used in factory construction should be plank and solid timber, with no flimsy pieces arranged to feed the flames or permit fire to burn through the floor.

* The above certainly does not apply to the exits of the building.—Editor.

Another of their rules was that all stairways, elevators and other openings through the floors should be enclosed.

The building is the locus of the fire and its importance, therefore, can not be over estimated, but it is not the only factor. Fire is a phenomenon that for efficient control requires prompt discovery and prompt application of extinguishing measures and the provision of retarding or confining measures.

The third standard of safety, therefore, is the equipment of fire appliances. These, in many cases, are self operating, in other cases are to be used by the occupants. For the discovery of fire, thermostats, which are automatic fire alarms, self operated by heat, give signals to the fire department or to persons in charge of the building. Besides these, we have the employment of watchmen who regularly patrol the building, visiting each part during each hour. These watchmen are simply human fire alarms and, being human, they are expected to fail in their duties more or less, so that a system of control has been established for them. Their movements are recorded by watchmen's time detectors, of which there are three types in use. One is the portable watch clock, which the watchman carries with him; another the stationary watch clock, located usually in the office; and the third is the central office system, by which the records made by the watchmen are transmitted on a regular schedule of time and place and, if the signals do not arrive at the appointed time, the central office despatches a runner to find the reason. The automatic fire alarm and the watchman are especially fire detectors. Another appliance is the automatic extinguisher. This is self-operated by heat, a temperature of 155 degrees Fahrenheit being sufficient. It is so sensitive that it can be operated by holding a lighted match underneath the appliance. The extinguisher consists of sprinklers hung close to the ceilings of the building, supplied from elevated tanks or connected to the regular city mains, if they have sufficient pressure.

Besides the automatic extinguishers, there is available a number of appliances to be used by hand. Among these is a pail of water, the first, simplest and cheapest fire extinguisher and the most generally used today. Another common form of hand fire appliance is the chemical extinguisher, a small copper tank holding a few gallons of water, in which has been placed some bicarbonate of soda. A small bottle of sulphuric acid is suspended in the tank with a loose stopper, so that when the extinguisher is turned upside down, the acid mixes with the soda solution and produces carbonic acid gas, which itself is an extinguishing agent and puts pressure upon the water. Besides these, there are hand grenades, glass bottles of chemical solutions to be thrown at the fire; dry powder extinguishers, which contain material which forms a gas when heated by the fire, and others.

Fire hose attached to stand pipes is in reality a fire department auxiliary and should properly not be considered an appliance to be used

by the occupants of buildings under ordinary circumstances. If a fire cannot be extinguished by pails or chemical appliances, it is in all probability too large and too dangerous to be attacked by others than trained firemen.

After fire appliances have been considered, there are additional safeguards available in the form of confining or retarding devices. These are particularly fire doors and fire shutters or fire windows. As they are elements of construction, they belong under the operation of the second standard, that of safe construction. A brick wall is the best fire stop yet invented, but its openings must be protected, one of the earliest steps in the working out of fire prevention was to devise a door, not only fire resistant, but also arranged to close by itself in case of fire. Iron doors were originally used but, while they stop the flames, they soon become red hot, transmit great heat, and bulge and warp at the corners, thereby permitting the entrance of sparks and flames. The present fire door is made of wood covered with tin, applied with lap seams lock-jointed. After discovering the suitable material, the next requirement was for easy closing. This was found by the invention of a sliding door, hung on rollers or inclined overhead tracks, and requires simply to be released, when the force of gravity causes it to close. An automatic release was invented by Mr. Atkinson, who used a lever arrangement, held in place by a piece of fusible metal. Mr. Atkinson used the fusible alloy which was invented by Sir Isaac Newton. It is a link consisting of two pieces held together by solder, which is melted by the heat of the fire.

The perfection of the fire door provided for the problem of openings in the interior walls of a building or in partition walls between buildings. There remained the problem of protecting openings in exterior walls, that is windows, in order to stop a fire from a neighboring or adjoining building extending. This is technically called the "exposure danger." Window fire shutters were originally made of iron, later on of tin clad wood, usually on the outside of buildings, but sometimes placed on the inside walls. The great development in window protection has been made possible through the invention and manufacture of wire glass. This consists of a sheet of glass with a wire mesh embodied within it. Originally designed to prevent breakage of glass from ordinary blows or shocks, its use for fire protection was really an after thought, but it is today more widely used as a fire retardant than for its original purpose. It has made possible ideal protection for window openings, because it can be fitted into ordinary window sashes with the frames made of incombustible material. They are manufactured in the usual types of windows, that is sliding, swinging or pivoted. The pivoted window can be left open, yet will be closed if a fire occurs within the building, or is trying to enter from outside, being held open by a chain in which is set one or more fusible links of the same character as those used for closing fire doors and

opening sprinkler heads. The fire door and the fire window are the two principal devices for confining or retarding the spread of a fire. It is also a practice to install fire stops in the shape of walls or partitions, which sub-divide each area into smaller, safer units of space, or confine a particularly dangerous process or operation to a single room or a reduced section of the building. Such fire stops are elements of safe construction, usually installed when the building is erected, but they are frequently installed in older buildings which were originally erected with little or no regard for fire safety.

The statement of the standards of safety has been made according to the order in which they would come into play in the case of a new building. That is to say, it is presumed that the fire expert would be called in to pass upon original plans and specifications; to advise in the selection of materials and to indicate the necessary equipment. A particular step which should be taken when the building is being planned is the proper installation of heating, lighting and power apparatus, as well as the precautions or safeguards against other inherent fire dangers which may be a part of the use for which the building is designed. A fourth standard of safety, therefore, is the proper consideration for such precautions and safeguards. While this standard is placed fourth numerically it is really first in importance, because if a fire can be prevented, it is obviously the logical thing to do. The prevention of fire as a particular and special function, means the removal of all known causes or, if there are certain causes present which cannot be removed, then the safeguarding of these. While it is true that there never has been an adequate scientific study of all the causes of fire, it is a fact, none the less, that most of the common causes are perfectly well-known. Those of fire that we know are so numerous that it is not difficult to find a plausible cause for nearly all the fires that occur. If we would take care of the common every day causes, the number and extent of our fires would be so largely reduced that the remaining unaccounted for causes could be treated as a negligible quantity. It is in the causes of fire and their removal or safeguarding, that the fire expert performs his most tangible and self evident service. He can examine a building and point out very definitely conditions that mean the starting of fire sooner or later, and he can follow up this fire diagnosis by prescribing a course of treatment.

The standards so far described have dealt with the construction of the building, processes of operation and the use of appliances or systems. These would suffice if our building were uninhabited, but as it is to contain people there is presented the human factor. Fire produces excitement and fear. The presence of smoke sets people into a panic, even if there is no real danger from the heat and the flames. It is not only girls and women that lose their heads when fire occurs, but men as well and even trained firemen are not proof against panic.

Hence the value and necessity of fixed rules of action to be applied when fire occurs.

A method of handling a fire emergency is sometimes called a fire-drill and this indeed is stated as the fifth standard of safety. A fire-drill, as installed in school buildings and many other places, is usually only a system of marching and seldom meets the full requirements of the situation. The drill, to fulfill its purpose, should provide for all the contingencies that are part of the fire. It should include provision for sounding a warning to all persons in the building, for the forming of the people into ranks and the marching under leadership to the exits; it should provide for sufficient safe exits to discharge the people within a safe period of time; it should assign to competent persons the duty of using the fire appliances, both in extinguishing or checking the fire, in informing the fire department, and in co-operating with the firemen when they arrive. In brief, it should assign to every person in the building a fixed duty and leave nothing to chance or haphazard.

It follows from this statement and purpose of a fire-drill that it should be installed by a fire expert who can anticipate the start of fire, indicate its probable extension and provide for unusual conditions that are bound to arise.

The last standard of safety is regular inspection. We all recognize that a well designed and well built machine is of reduced value if provision is not made for keeping it in effective working order. The principle of maintenance is just as necessary in dealing with the problem of fire as it is with anything else. Eternal vigilance is the price of safety as well as liberty. Fire inspection, to be effective, should be both self-inspection and super-inspection. The owner of a building and the employer of labor should be sufficiently informed about the fundamental requirements of safety to be able to be sure that they are being observed. The actual work of examining the fire appliances and the precautions and safeguards may be delegated to a subordinate, provided some degree of personal supervision is exercised. This can be done by the use of a detailed fire inspection report or blank, which includes questions and answers on the practical examination and tests made by the subordinate. Self-inspection is valuable and necessary as a proof that the occupants of the building are themselves concerned about the fire danger and are personally taking steps to provide for their own safety. It is human nature, however, to relax care and vigilance through constant familiarity. For this reason it has been found as a matter of experience, that super-inspection by an outside and disinterested agent is essential. The super-inspector, as he might be termed, visits the building at unexpected times. He comes to it with his perceptions fresh and keen, so that he is in a position to notice defects and errors that are overlooked by persons in daily contact with the conditions.

The Church and Social Work

Report of the Committee by Rev. Washington Gladden, Columbus, O.,
Chairman.

The Function of the Church in Social Work; Should it Inspire, Interpret, Guide or Administer It?

"The Function of the Church in Social Work" is our theme for the hour. It is quite possible that to some ears this may sound like a disturbing innovation. "What business has the church with social work?" they will be asking. "Let her stick to her proper vocation of teaching religion and saving souls." Others may be quite differently affected. To them it may appear that the church has no other function than social work; the question may sound like discussing the function of the loom in weaving cloth, or the function of the bee in making honey. We shall not try to mediate between these critics, but to those who believe the business of the church is the establishment on earth of the Kingdom of God, the latter conception may, perhaps, seem a little nearer the truth. To any one who is familiar with the narrative of the first three Gospels, it appears strange that there should be any question as to whether the church which assumes to represent Jesus Christ is invested with a social function; and to those who have studied the Hebrew prophets, it would be equally clear that the religion of which they were the expounders was a religion whose credentials were found in its fulfilment of social functions.

Nevertheless, the fact confronts us that between the churches of the land and this conference which represents the charitable and philanthropic organizations of the land there has never been, until this year, any organic relation. References to the churches have been made, of course, in the discussions of this body, and occasionally, as last year, a section meeting has been held at which the relation of the churches to the philanthropic work of the nation has been considered, but the churches as such have not had any integral part in the program of the assembly until this year.

Whose fault this is I cannot say; possibly there has been blame on both sides. The professional social workers may have had some distrust of the church, because its methods of charity often have been more sentimental than practical, and there may have been fears lest ecclesiastical and sectarian jealousies would disturb the harmony of these associations. Such apprehension may have delayed the officers of the conference in extending to the churches a cordial invitation to participate in their work.

On the whole, however, I am inclined to put the blame on the churches

themselves. I don't think that we ought to have waited for an invitation. From such work as is going on here we had no right to hold ourselves aloof. The interests that are uppermost in the deliberations of this body are the interests with which we are immediately concerned; and we ought to have been knocking at the doors of your assemblies, and crowding your consultation rooms, and gathering up the facts which your investigations bring to light, and availing ourselves of the experience of your trained workers, and seeking for ways in which we might put ourselves into helpful co-operation with all these efforts to succor and help the needy and the unfortunate. The churches, by their representatives, ought to have been so much in evidence in all your meetings that it would have been quite impossible for you to ignore them.

In fact you have been depending in all your work on members of the churches. I dare say that if a canvass were made of the registered members of this conference it would be found that four-fifths—perhaps nine-tenths of them—are members in good standing of Jewish or Christian churches. In all our cities, the great majority of philanthropic workers are church members. But, unfortunately, the churches, as organizations, do not, as a rule, connect themselves closely with the public and private philanthropies of their communities. Members of the churches volunteer for such service, but the churches themselves do not as a rule take any active part in it, or consider themselves responsible for it. And it must be admitted that, with some noble exceptions, the churches have very imperfectly grasped the truth of their social obligations. The prevailing conception has been (at least this is true of the Protestant Christian Churches) that the chief function of the church is to prepare people for another world, not to make a better world of this. The poor who are members of the church have been cared for,—not always very efficiently; but the poor outside the church have been considered as the proper beneficiaries of the city authorities or the benevolent associations; and the vicious and degraded have been regarded more as the objects of punitive law or converting grace than of neighborly interest.

Thus it has come about that between organized Christianity (at least so far as the Protestant Churches are concerned) and organized charity, there has been a wide separation. Between the churches and those classes to whom the Founder of Christianity gave most of His care, there has been no very close relation. Christian work, in the current nomenclature of the churches, has been one thing, and social work quite another thing; to teach in the Sunday schools, to attend the prayer meetings and the young people's meetings, to promote sociability among the church members, and to influence men and women to join the church was Christian work, and upon this the emphasis was laid; while to work as a visitor for the Associated Charities, to help in the Charity Kindergartens or the District Nursing Association; to serve on the Governing Board of the Social Center, or to teach in the Sewing School was social work, and commendable of course; but as a means of "acquiring merit" far less effective than those

other occupations directly concerned with the edification of ecclesiastical organizations.

I do not need to dwell upon this tendency, which has long been operating, to the specialization of the ecclesiasticisms in interests narrowly concerned as spiritual, and to the separation of them from the philanthropic activities. That this has been attended with great loss on the part of the churches I cannot help believing, and it is not impossible that the philanthropies also have been the losers in the operation. It seems very clear that the program of Jesus Christ did not contemplate any such separation between religion and philanthropy; one does not like to think of what His judgment would be upon this tendency, to exalt sentimentalism and undervalue service. It was a tendency not far removed from this that drew from Him some very bitter words.

It is evident that the churches of all names are beginning to feel that this position is indefensible, and are seeking to escape from it. There can be no justification in these days for any institution calling itself a church which is not pledged with all its resources, with all its convictions, with all its loyalties, with all its enthusiasm to the work of helping the weak, of defending the oppressed, of comforting the sorrowful, of lifting up the lowly. The time has passed for any religion that means less than this. And there are encouraging symptoms of a growing purpose to bring the churches of the land into their proper relations not only to the multitudes who need their love and care, but also to the public and private agencies which are at work among these multitudes. And therefore I am hoping that there will be tonight some serious consideration of the question before us: "The Function of the Church in Social Work—Should it Inspire, Interpret, Guide or Administer It?"

I am rather inclined to change "or" to "and" and answer "Yes." It should do all these things as soon as it is qualified and as well as it can. It should inspire, interpret, guide, and administer social work. There is no part of this program from which it can creditably excuse itself. Nevertheless our churches—if we speak of the local institutions—would not, at present, all of them, find themselves fully equipped for any of these kinds of service. Some of them are far better equipped than others. There are churches which have been for many years so well instructed and led that they might take up any or all of these functions and discharge them with credit to themselves and profit to all concerned. In fact there are quite a number of churches which are doing all these things and doing them well. But a great many of our churches—probably the great majority of them—are at present ill qualified for any of these kinds of work. So that, speaking of our churches in the mass, it is evident that the first thing for them to do is to fit themselves for these great tasks. This means, in many cases, quite a revolution in the idea of what the church in the world is for. It means quite a new direction of the ruling idea of the church as an organization. It means a recognition of the fact that it is as much the primary obligation of the church as of the individual Chris-

tian to seek first the Kingdom of God; that it is an instrument and not an end; that it must keep its eye upon its task, which is the Christianization of the community in which it stands, and not upon its own aggrandizement; and that its first business in the community is with the neediest people in the community. Speaking as a Christian, that, I think, is the Christian conception of the business of the church; and the acceptance of that conception would work a revolution in the life of the great majority of our churches. But it is quite essential that the church should get this conception before it undertakes any social tasks, whether of inspiration, interpretation, guidance or administration.

Practically the first thing for most of our churches to do would be to make themselves acquainted with the field which they are sent to occupy. Churches in the country districts and in the small villages may be supposed to know their neighbors; churches in the large towns and cities are apt to have very inadequate knowledge of those of their neighbors in whom they ought to be especially interested.

Here, to begin with, in any considerable city, are the people in the city prison, or it may be the county jail, and the people in the workhouse, and the poorhouse, and the children's home, and the charity hospitals; the people who are daily appearing before the police court or the juvenile court—a considerable section of the population is in these groups. These are the church's neediest neighbors. There are churches which concern themselves about these poor neighbors, but how many? There are individuals in many of our churches who care for these people, but we are talking about the churches, as organizations. How many of them, in their social assemblies, in their plans and consultations about Christian work, ever take these poor neighbors into consideration, ever feel themselves, as organized bodies, to be charged with the welfare of their neighbors whose need is the direst? I am not making any accusations; I have no statistics on which to base them; I am only asking questions.

Then there are, in all the large centers of population, large numbers of people not in any correctional or charitable institution, but poor and sick and out of work and strangers, many of them speaking other tongues, many of them living in very insanitary conditions, many of them in sore and bitter need of friends. Have the churches in great cities any care for these people? Yes, some of them have. From many of the churches little groups of Good Samaritans sally forth into the neglected districts, find or build a mission chapel, and gather into it these needy neighbors of theirs, ministering to them in the name of the All-Merciful, and fulfilling to them in many ways the offices of genuine friendship. All this is admirable; and while fault may be found with some of the practices of these philanthropists, I, at any rate, am not a fault finder; any serious attempt on the part of the church to put itself into vital relations with the people who need friends is a reason for thanksgiving.

Some of the churches have broadened these missions into settlements and social centers, in which, not only on Sunday but on every day in

the week, bands of paid and volunteer workers bring the resources of intelligence and good will and neighborly sympathy into the lives of multitudes. And this, too, is work that deserves our highest praise.

The difficulty is that these enterprises are so few, so scattered, so disconnected that they scarcely touch the fringes of the great need. Only a small proportion of the churches of a large city have any organized work of this kind, and such efforts are apt to be more or less ephemeral, falling into neglect when the support of one or two enthusiastic promoters is withdrawn.

It must therefore be said that when the social contribution of the churches of any large American city is placed by the side of the moral and social need of that city it is visibly inadequate. Here is an enormous mass of crime, of poverty, of ignorance, of vice, of degradation; here is a vast congeries of evil causes at work to destroy health, to pervert character, to make labor inefficient, to disintegrate the social order, to hinder, in short, the coming of that Kingdom of God which the church is pledged to seek and build; and the churches are not, as a rule, very much concerned about it; very few of them are giving any attention to it, and the few that are working devotedly and heroically are not united; so that the church, as a whole, is not envisaging its greatest task; is not conscious of its supreme responsibility; is not working with any definite purpose to meet its highest obligation.

The first thing for the church to do is to envisage its task. And this cannot be done by any single congregation, exploring the field by itself. No single congregation can do this work of exploration; it can only be done by the united efforts of all the churches. They all need the knowledge which this thorough study of the social conditions surrounding them would give them; it seems, indeed, a little strange that they should be trying to do business as churches without this knowledge. They need to know accurately and definitely about the people in the prisons and the workhouses and the infirmaries and the children's homes and hospitals—about the people in the slums; they need to know the sanitary and moral conditions by which they are surrounded; about the immigrants; about the unemployed; about the social evil in all its phases; about the devastations of drink; about the extent of poverty and the methods of poor relief. These are the elementary facts respecting which the churches all ought to have full and reliable knowledge. It is much more important that they should know these things than that they should know where the Perrizites lived or what the Nicolaitans believed. They can only obtain it by a united and systematic effort to make a careful survey of their field.

In this survey they will find that their field is already occupied; that many institutions and organizations are already at work in it; that a large part of the work which they might naturally have been expected to do has fallen into other hands. It might be interesting to inquire whose fault this is. It is part, I think, of that false specialization of

functions, by which the church has stripped itself of some of its most vital and essential activities, in order to confine itself to interests mainly metaphysical and emotional; leaving thus many of its most gracious ministries to be performed either by the state, or by voluntary philanthropic organizations. But whether wisely or unwisely counselled in this, the thing has been done; and it would be very difficult, at the present time, for the church to recover these specific functions which it has permitted to pass out of its hands. The practical question is what attitude the churches will take toward these agencies, public and private, which are doing the philanthropic work of its field.

In many cases the church can well afford to sit down at their feet and learn of them. The business of the church, we often hear, is saving souls. Souls are people, I suppose, men, women, and children. And these charitable societies are doing a great deal of this kind of work. It is very interesting to see how much genuinely Christian work is being done by these philanthropies, not merely in the way of relieving want and suffering, but in the way of conversion,—for that is the right word—in the way of getting a new hope and a new motive and a new ideal and a new heart into men and women, and leading them, by influences purely spiritual into a new life. If our churches could all learn this art of saving men by a genuine friendship, by the opening of new opportunities and the touch of life upon life, they would have less need of the sensational evangelisms.

The attitude which the church may be expected to take toward these agencies which are occupying its field is then one of sympathetic co-operation. For a good while it must occupy the stool of the disciple; it has much to learn. After being so largely excluded for so long a time from the field in which its great work lies, it must return to it in a teachable temper. It must study these problems, sympathetically. It must put itself into the most helpful relations with those who are carrying forward this work.

It ought to be able to inspire them. It has great ideas, great examples great hopes and promises to impart. If it can bring all its resources of life and love to the service of these men and women who are engaged in social work, that will be a great service. If the church can truly know the God of Amos and Isaiah and Hosea who is not other than the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and can bring that knowledge home to the men and women who are carrying these burdens of social work, that will be a great service.

It ought also to be possible for the church to interpret these social endeavors to those who now stand aloof from them. A good deal of interpretation is needed in these days. The work of the Charity Organization Society constantly needs to be interpreted to men and women who see it dimly and judge it crudely. The work of prison reform needs to be interpreted not only to crude moralists but also to belated criminologists and uninstructed jurists. The work of housing reform, and child labor

reform, and workingmen's compensation acts, and tuberculosis hospitals needs interpreting to many whose views on all these themes are more or less benighted. A great deal of interpretation of this nature needs to be done in and for the church itself by its enlightened leaders.

The work of guidance, also, it may safely assume, as soon as it is sure that it knows the way.

And the work of administration is not beyond its powers, when its powers are well trained. There are a good many churches in which administrative work in charity is carried on very effectively; it ought to be possible surely for such a body of men and women as is gathered in one of the great city churches, if they will put their minds and consciences to it, to learn how to administer charitable relief intelligently and usefully. The church ought to take care of its own poor, and ought to take good care of them, but it ought not to pauperize them. I am afraid that even this is sometimes done, that I have helped to do it myself. Even church members can be sponges, and the best kind of Christian charity will not encourage men and women to lose their souls in that way.

As a rule it is better that the general outdoor relief of the city be organized and administered by an independent association, with which the churches should loyally co-operate.

Summing up the whole discussion let me say that the great business of the churches, so far as social work is concerned, is first to get acquainted with the social needs of the community, and then to get acquainted with the institutions and agencies which are working to supply these needs; to take upon their own hearts the burden of the poverty and sickness and degradation of their neediest neighbors, and to join their own forces as helpfully as they can with those who are at work in this field. Such an exploration of the social needs will no doubt indicate to many churches openings into which they may enter, wants which are not now supplied by any agency, and will thus set free some of their unused forces in valuable social service. But most of the additional labor which would be called forth would go to reinforce the agencies already at work, many of which greatly need the resources of love and money that the churches could easily supply.

It seems to me that it would be a great thing to get our churches to envisage their supreme task, and to address themselves to it unitedly and intelligently and resolutely. It seems to me that they might all come together, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, in this great service of human need. I believe that such a purpose as this would give new life to the churches; that it would add courage and hope to the noble army of social workers; that it would lift up the hearts of the miserable and the lonely and that it would strengthen the bonds of good will on which the social order depends.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK.

By Very Rev. Monsignor William J. White, D. D., Supervisor of Catholic Charities of Brooklyn, N. Y.

It can hardly be said, in view of the recent generous output of books and magazine articles on the relation of the Church to Social Work, that no attempt has been made to define this relation and describe these functions. Points of view are various, and the conclusions arrived at differ widely. Perhaps it was this knowledge that has prompted the Conference to state the subject in a general way. It is assumed that the Church has some relation to social work. Discussion will bring out the nature of this relation. In offering my views, I will endeavor to state what I conceive to be the attitude of the Catholic Church to social work, basing my conclusions upon traditions of social work, the facts of history and the positive declarations of Pope Leo XIII whose Encyclicals are a luminous resume of the social teachings of the Church.

Perhaps it may be unnecessary, indeed it may be looked on as reactionary, to sound a note of warning at the beginning and to tell social workers that they must not lose sight of the limitations of their work.

More than one voice has been lifted up to chide the Church for Her seeming indifference to the material needs of man. She has been occupied, we are told, in pointing the way to heaven and has forgotten that the way lies through a vale of tears, through the valley of the shadow of death; that in caring for the immortal souls of men, She has neglected their mortal bodies. This is not the place to answer such an objection, but we will say that the question of man's material needs and the social work required to satisfy these needs; the adjustment of social forces so that there may be less inequality between economic development and the ideal of liberty and equality in political life must be considered not as a question by itself, but as part of a larger question. What is the function of the Church in society? Why was it called into existence, what was in the mind of its Divine Founder when He gathered the band of apostles about Him? We have that function defined in His own words, "Go therefore and teach ye all nations to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you," or again, "Preach the gospel to every creature."

This is the primary business of the Church, to get men to seek the kingdom of God and His justice, to get men to be occupied about the one necessary thing, the salvation of their immortal souls. She is the attorney for the human soul at the bar of the world. The attitude of the Church to social work must be determined in the light of this larger question and social workers will make a sad mistake if they do otherwise.

Specialists in any line are constantly in danger of magnifying the importance of their particular work, and losing sight of the relation of that work to the whole. Where the power of concentration is strong the sense of perspective is sometimes weak. We have abundant examples

of this phenomenon in the world of science. A good biologist may be a poor philosopher and a man who has almost creative power in directing the forces of nature may not have even a child's knowledge of the things of the soul.

Social Science is to the fore just now. It occupies the place that physical science held two decades ago. Emphasis is laid on the organized life of man and there is danger that social workers may become as intolerably dogmatic as were some of the scientists of an earlier age. Indeed, it is implied in some recent reform movements that man is so thoroughly a creature of his environment that social peace and salvation will come through public baths and libraries, through high wages and sanitary dwellings, through abundant leisure, and equitable taxation.

The Church will therefore do a world of service to the social movement by reminding social workers of the need of keeping constantly before their eyes the relation of their work for man's material betterment to the larger question of man's spiritual nature and his eternal destiny.

Social work needs the doctrinal teaching of the Church to keep it sane. Philanthropy and radical reform are in constant danger of splashing into a false idealism.

For example, the Church teaches the doctrine of original sin; that in consequence of the fall of our first parents, the mind is darkened and the will weakened; that in the mind of man a conflict is constantly going on between his higher and his lower nature, between the animal in him and the angel. She teaches that human nature is neither essentially corrupt nor is it in this world capable of perfection. Education, therefore, in its broadest sense is not going to perform the wonders some radical social reformers hope to see it perform. No matter how many social wrongs we may be able to right, or how many social inequalities we may be able to correct, no matter how many economic opportunities we may be able to offer, we have got to reckon with a greed for wealth and a thirst for pleasure, which will make men poor in the midst of plenty and unhappy in a palace.

The social worker as such has no remedy against these evils, no magic medicine that will heal the wounds of sin.

What is true of the Church's teachings about sin is true of her teaching about the essential dignity of man, made in the image and likeness of God, and redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ. Slavery went down before this teaching of the gospel and manual labor was hallowed and lifted up in the name of religion by consecrated men and women to its rightful place. This is no mere rhetorical figure of speech, but a sober utterance justified by history, the record of a fact that we need to keep before our minds to-day when our whole system of education, by implication at least, seems to belittle the dignity of toil and the nobility of the man who labors with his hands.

I take it therefore that a function of the Church is to interpret social work in terms of the gospel, to keep before the minds of social

workers the relation of social science to other departments of life, to show that there can be no true solution of the problem of social maladjustment, without taking into account spiritual forces. To some who have been brought up on the promises of an ill-disguised pagan Sociology, this conclusion may sound reactionary and oldfashioned. But the Catholic Church has been a long time in the world, has seen some startling changes in the social fabric, has had to meet situations like the breaking up of the Roman Empire, and She knows the value of social remedies; the power of social movements. She can draw from her experience treasures old and new, and interpret these movements in a way that will keep social workers from an ill balanced idealism on the one hand and an irrational pessimism on the other. Two classes of reformers have reproached the Church with failure to adjust our institutions to our ideals: those who would make her a sort of glorified social reform club, with few other than economic and ethical functions; and those who accuse the Church of discouraging all initiative which does not originate in the teaching body. Both objections are without force. They are founded in a misconception of the mission of the Church. Wisely and patiently She proclaims principles and wisely and patiently She awaits their development. The Church, for example, defines the positive side of the command, "Thou shalt not steal," to be the giving to each man what belongs to him. But She leaves to the customs and the institutions of the age to define what the phrase "*what belongs to him*" means. The Church proclaims principles, the age determines the content of definitions.

It is in influencing customs and developing institutions that individual initiative finds its field of action. The religious orders of the Catholic Church, vast social institutions called into existence to emphasize some of the teachings of the gospel, were not founded by the Popes but by individual laymen, priests or bishops. The initiative came from below and if the institution thus called into being was in harmony with the teaching of the Church it received Her approbation and encouragement.

Thus Leo XIII in his Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which the late Carrol D. Wright called the Magna Charta of Labor, teaches that the working man has a right to a wage that will support him in decent and frugal comfort. Catholic social writers with this principle for a starting point have interpreted this social doctrine in terms of wages and comfort. It is necessary to keep this action of the Church in mind when earnest but impatient social workers blame her for lack of interest in economic, industrial and social questions.

But does the Church stop here? When she has enunciated principles; when she has inspired men and women to throw themselves into the work of social reform and warned them to take into account the spiritual no less than material forces in the world, does her work in this particular field cease? It would seem not, if history is to be our guide. Pope Leo XIII in more than one of his encyclical letters particularly insists on these two points. First that the Church has a mission to defend the

weaker social classes, and again while having for "her immediate and natural purpose the saving of souls and the securing our happiness in heaven, yet in regard to things temporal She is the source of benefits as manifold and great as if the chief end of her existence were to ensure the prosperity of our earthly life."

In other words the great Pontiff holds that the Church not only interprets social movements but under certain conditions, inaugurates and directs them. From the days when the order of deacons was instituted to handle the simple economic problems of the nascent Church and Paul not only preached but begged alms for the needy brethren, down through the long centuries we find the Church in the way just described calling into existence one institution after another to meet the social needs of the hour; or if she found an institution ready to hand, consecrating it with the spirit of religion. Hence the Benedictine monks hardened their knees with prayer and their hands with the spade. The Trinitarians in their own way grappled with the slave traffic, and the guilds, the labor unions of the middle ages, were saturated through and through with a religious spirit so that at times we are in doubt as to their real purpose, whether the guild of shoe makers, for example, was organized to keep up a standard of workmanship and to keep down competition or whether its only purpose was to worship God and honor its patron St. Crispin.

The pawn shop, as an institution for helping the needy, has a religious origin although it must be confessed that St. Bernadine of Sienna, its founder, would hardly claim as his religious brethren some of those who to-day make their living in the shadow of the three golden balls. At any rate it is evident that the Church has felt that Her mission logically leads her to defend the weak and the poor, not only by preaching, but by institutions that would embody and give permanent form to that preaching. In the light of this claim to direct at least certain forms of social work she approves or disapproves of humanitarian movements originating outside of her jurisdiction.

Leo XIII holds that in as much as "it is only by the labor of working men that states grow rich" justice demands that the interests of the poorer classes be carefully watched over by the administration, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits which they create, that being housed, clothed and enabled to sustain life, they find their existence less hard and more endurable." Hence we find the Pope pleading for the right of workmen to organize, their right to a living wage, to proper hours, to decent homes and the right to rest on Sundays and holidays, for "rest combined with religious observances disposes man to forget for a while the business of his every day life, to turn his thoughts to things heavenly and to worship, which he so strictly owes to the Eternal God-head." Movements, therefore, like the Anti-Tuberculosis Crusade, or the National Child Labor Committee, or the warfare on Congestion of Population, or

the Civic League for Immigrants, or the struggle to obtain a decent standard of living, have the approval of the Church, although particular methods may be open to criticism, and the value of certain remedies exaggerated.

The other claim made, that the Church *de facto* has rendered important service to the material prosperity of society, is not hard to substantiate. "Every civilized community," says the Pope, "must have a ruling authority, and this authority, no less than society itself, has its source in nature, and has consequently God for its author." The Church has always preached the doctrine of respect for authority whether the ruling power be vested in king or president. Further, she has stood for the firmness and solidity of domestic society and the need of virtue and individual morality without which the work of the most earnest social reformer will be of little avail.

To sum up: the Church interprets Social work in the light of her mission to mankind. Her doctrinal teaching keeps it sane and consequently effective. She has never been content merely with inspiring men and women to dedicate themselves to the service of mankind, but has at special times and under special circumstances created the institutions through which their labor might be most effective.

She teaches that the State has the direct obligation to procure the temporal happiness and well being of the laboring man and She blesses any movement that is inaugurated in justice to procure this result.

Finally, She boasts, not without reason, that in proclaiming the sanctity and indissolubility of marriage, the solidity of domestic society, the divine origin of authority and the need of virtue and morality in the private citizen, she has given the social worker a back ground for his reforms, a solid foundation upon which to build that city of God which every earnest social worker sees in vision, labors to bring down from the clouds and which in a thousand centers of teeming humanity is slowly becoming a reality.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK.

By Rev. Samuel McChord Crothers, D. D., Cambridge, Mass.

I was greatly cheered, on hearing Dr. Gladden's report, to find that he did not think it was necessary for the church to choose just one of those functions which he mentions and throw out the rest, but that the different churches may freely exercise any one, or even all four of them, as they find themselves inclined to do. Any authoritative doctrinal declaration as to what the church as a whole should do or should not do in regard to social matters is clearly impossible. Before we could make such a statement it would be necessary to call an ecumenical council to consider the matter, and then, after the

council had adjourned, about eighteen hundred years would elapse before the question would be really settled.

For our purpose this evening all religious institutions, Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jewish, are churches. The question which is before us is how these historic institutions, which, in one way or another, interpret the great tradition of religion, should and do stand in regard to the work which such a conference as this has before it, the manifold expressions of modern social life and social effort.

I think you will find that in a great many things we are all agreed. In many ways all the churches have been exercising their power for righteousness. The church has been doing its duty according to its light. What has happened recently is that a new set of lights has been turned on and the church sees more duties than it had bargained for. In regard to these newly revealed duties, for a moment it stands blinking. It is a little dazzled and does not see quite clearly, but its heart is all right. Give it time to become adjusted to the vision which the new light offers to it, and it will be able to see its way to do a great many things which have not been done before.

It is evident that the specific activities of each church will be determined by its own history, its own view of its duty, and especially its own broadening power. The world may take it for granted that the great Catholic church will continue, not only to inspire, but to direct and to organize great social activities, as it has been doing. The Jewish church again has great social functions because it has not only the idea of the church, but also that of the nation behind it.

It is evident that the exact work of a church in a country town must be different from that of one in a large city. There are communities, especially in the country, where the church is the natural center of the social life of the people. But that this shall be effective, we must unify the church association; we must throw aside all superficial sectarianism. Such a centering of social influence and life could be made more positive if we could clean out all the churches but one. If this were done, then the country church would be one of the finest instruments in the world for social reform and for the social worker. Several years ago I gave that idea in the way of advice to a young man who, as the minister of a country church, had become indoctrinated with social reform. He said he was going to preach and lift up the community and keep hens in order to support himself. I told him I had preached and I had kept hens and there were difficulties in both. But opportunities for doing good to a community are manifold to a country minister properly equipped.

I happen to live in a district where everybody reads the "Survey," and I cannot give out any social doctrine from the pulpit without all my congregation knowing just where I got my information. In that community there has not only been an awakening of the social con-

science, but it sometimes seems as if the social conscience had become so wide awake that it was going into a state of permanent insomnia. There may be some danger that the social conscience will make neurasthenies of us all. I like to cultivate that kind of conscience, but I would wish also to avoid neurasthenia.

In communities which are highly organized socially there is another function which we can work out, a function which is in exact line with the recommendations of our Chairman this evening. It is possible not only to enlist the individuals of the church, but we may also enlist the church itself as a unit, in the scientific social work of the community. This we try to do, not by building up institutions of our own, but by treating all the institutions of our community as if they belonged to us. We simply annex them all and they seem to be very willing to be annexed. They like to have a society of people meeting every Sunday and saying to them: "Here is certain work that we as a church want to do; you are our instruments for that work; we would like to work through you. You want help, sympathy, volunteers; come to our office in the church and we will see what we can do for you." In this way, by degrees, a certain community of interest has developed. We do not attempt to direct or monopolize the work, but we endeavor to co-ordinate it with our work, to make it our own. Eventually the Supreme court may call such a merger unconstitutional, but I hope the rule of reason may prevail. I believe it is best in every highly organized community for all the churches to be organized into all the charities, and for all the charities to look upon all the churches as their natural source of supplies.

If I had to choose just one of the four things which have been presented as those which the church may do, I think I should select the idea of inspiration. The church will do most for you and for the community when it is most a church and most full of the spirit which belongs to it, most certain of itself. So on that test it is not direction, but inspiration that is its clearest function. But when I have said that I want to be very quick in saying the next thing, and that is it must know something about inspiration. It must learn that an army never gets its inspiration from the rear. If you want to inspire a group of people you have to be where those people are and just a little ahead of the main body.

The idea of the church as a place of worship has something in it that gives rest and peace and joy of the spirit. It is that which makes it real; without that it is nothing. I like to think of the function of the church in the form we have in the Old Testament, where we are told how Jehosaphat organized worship. He appointed singers unto the Lord. Where do you suppose he put those singers? They were to praise the beauty of holiness as they went before the Ark, saying "Praise ye the Lord, for His mercy endureth forever." If you are going to set out to praise the beauty of holiness, be sure you

are in front and not in the rear of the army of the Lord. It is so easy for a person to be pious when he ought to be righteous. It is so easy to take all the life and vitality out of religion. Did you ever see the old New England catechism with that legend:

"Young Obadiah,
David and Josias,
All were pious."

That great churchman, Cardinal Newman, telling his experience, said: "Time was I did not do the right for fear of what was wrong." How many people we have who do not do the right for fear of what is wrong, or for fear of what other people will say is wrong. I love the story of municipal righteousness which is given in the Book of Nehemiah. He wanted to build up the walls of Jerusalem and, when he announced his civic work, the bosses of Jerusalem, Sanballat and Tobias and Geshem, laughed him to scorn. It grieved them that a man should come to seek the welfare of the children of Israel. Nehemiah tells how, as the work went on, Sanballat and Geshem got a new idea, which they brought to the attention of the pious people of the town. They said: "Nehemiah is not spiritual enough; he is out there building the walls of Jerusalem, which is rather dangerous. Can't we get him to come into the Temple and stay there? He is safer in the Temple." But Nehemiah has a most delightful account of his experiences. You can almost see him and feel with him. He says: "I went to the house of Shemaiah, the son of Delaiah, who was shut up and he said, 'Let us meet in the House of God within the Temple and let us shut the doors of the Temple lest some come and slay me.' and I said, 'Shall such a man as I flee? Who is there being as I am would go into the Temple to save his life. I will not go in.' And I perceived that God had not sent him to prophesy to me, for I perceived that Tobias and Sanballat had hired him. Therefore was he hired that I should be made afraid. My God! think upon Sanballat and Tobias and on the prophetess Noadiah and the rest of the prophets that would have put me in fear." He was afraid that this base fellow would have made him afraid and he looked upon it all as something standing in the way of his real work.

What we want, as a church, is to do with all our might whatever our hands find to do, but to do it with the inspiration of the church ideal, the church life, the church faith, so much as in us lies. We are going to do it when we stand, not at the side of but as part of every great movement for civic and social advance.

I like the picture giving the way in which the gospel came to Norway under that great missionary, King Olaf. It is of the time when the pagans brought out their idol, ready to give battle to the missionaries of the new faith. We are told that King Olaf took with him Kolbein the Strong, and he gathered the people together just

before daybreak and the idol was standing by their side, and King Olaf turned to Kolbein the Strong, with his club steadied, and said: "Wait till the people turn from the idol, then with a great blow of your club strike down the idol." And suddenly King Olaf called to the people: "See, see, look to the east! The light, the light, our light comes!" And at that moment Kolbein with his club smote upon the idol and it fell asunder. That is the way all great movements go forward. There is need both for the preacher of the spiritual life, and for the stern reformer breaking down the idols. The great moments are when the two stand side by side. The preacher of the spiritual life looks forward with his eyes aglow and says, "the light comes." Then the reformer strikes his blow at the idols which were worshipped in the darkness.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH.

By Rev. Frank Oliver Hall, D. D., Pastor of The Church of the Divine Paternity, New York.

It is evident that the church is passing through a critical period in its career. Some think that the church is about to pass off the stage entirely. We are sometimes told that the church is a transitory institution, destined ultimately to disappear from our social life. Sometimes it is argued that religion is something that belongs to the child age of the human race; that as men come to think and to know more they care less about religion; that bye and bye religion will take its place with the belief in fairies, among things outgrown. I do not fear that any more than I fear that the home is going to disappear. The home will endure because its foundations are laid deep in the necessities of human life. As long as the heart beats, as long as man looks into the face of woman to find his inspiration for heroic conduct, as long as the sweetest music to a woman's ears is the laugh of her little child, the home will stand. It may change its aspects to fit the varying needs of humanity, but it will measure its duration only by the duration of humanity's life. So with the church. It will endure because it has come to us not out of the sky; not out of the sea; not out of the earth, but out of the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, the sacred aspirations of humanity's sacred life. As long as man stands gazing into the heavens and asks the question, Whence; as long as man stands by an open grave to say the last farewell to some tried comrade called to go apart—alone, and asks the question, Where; as long as man stands amid the tangled paths of life and knows that all his happiness depends upon his choice, and asks the question, Which; so long will religion find its place in the life of humanity. "If we search the world over," said Plutarch, "we may find cities without walls, without

kings, without letters, without schools, without coin; but a city without a temple or that practiseth not worship, prayers and the like, no man ever saw."

And no man has ever seen that city since and we have explored a large part of the world since Plutarch's time.

Still there are some among us who are convinced that the church is so steeped in other worldliness that it can be of no possible use in this world; that it is so wedded to fantastic ritualism and irrational theology that the best thing to do with it is to root it out of human society, that it may give place to something better. There are thousands outside the church who would rejoice to see it permanently overthrown, believing that it is an encumbrance, a perversion of power and a hindrance to the development of modern society. There are even some inside the church who feel that it is past saving and if one is to do really effective work he must abandon the church and go elsewhere. I am constantly meeting men who have done just that. One of the best and most sincere men that I ever knew used to say to me, "The trades union is my church." He was a preacher of righteousness but his pulpit was the platform of labor unions. Another says, "My lodge is my church." Another, "The hospital is my church and to heal is my religion." There are hundreds of men and women in the charity organization societies, the social settlements, the civic clubs, leaders of the great reform movements, men who work for better prisons and reformatories, better houses for the poor, playgrounds for the children, hospitals and sanitariums for the sick, splendid soldiers of the Lord Jesus, who are outside the church and if not actively opposed at least indifferent to her welfare.

Now, what is the explanation of this state of things? Why this, as it seems to me, at least in part. Until recent years life has been so miserable for most of humanity that their chief interest centered not in this world but another. Most people in the past never got enough to eat. Many do not now, but at least they know that there is enough for all and to spare if it could be properly distributed. Most people in the past were cruelly oppressed, slaves, living under the lash, in perpetual fear, food for powder. The history of the race almost to our own time is a prolonged horror, a long-drawn story of bloody battles, tortures and persecutions, incessant struggle against the hardships of nature and the cruelties of men. You ought to thank God every day of your life that you live in the twentieth century and a civilized community. No wonder that the people of the past thought that the world was a wreck, and looked only for a life-boat to come and take them off to some decent locality. Little wonder that the church estimated its functions to be to get as many passengers off the old hulk as possible before the water-logged wreck went down.

But recently the world has taken on a different aspect. Life for the first time is worth living. Humanity is getting enough to eat and

has tasted of freedom and education. Life is interesting and not horrible. Men begin to see that the world is not a wreck but raw material out of which we may build such a ship as never sailed the seas. Men are beginning for the first time to realize what Jesus meant when he taught us to pray, "Thy Kingdom come on earth." So instead of the interest of humanity being centered in some other sphere it is being focused here. But the church for the most part is still talking about the other world, still seeking to save souls from catastrophe in another sphere of existence. The hymns that we sing are about "Jerusalem our happy home," rather than about a happy New York or Boston or Philadelphia. Salvation means going to heaven rather than building heaven on earth. The strongest, bravest and wisest men of our time are intensely interested in social improvement and to that extent are not interested in the old-time message of the church. That is one reason why the message and work of the church seems less vital to-day than formerly.

Now what are we going to do about it? What are we going to do about these hosts of men who meet every Sunday afternoon in their trades unions and cheer the name of Jesus but hiss the name of the church? What shall we do about the immense congregation that meets every Sunday night at Cooper Union to listen to some preacher who will talk straight righteousness and justice and let theology alone, but who could not be dragged inside the church? What can we do about these splendid men and women who are working for a better social order in the multitude of institutions with which our cities abound, toiling and sacrificing for the coming of the Kingdom for which Jesus prayed, but who have no use for the church? Must we let them go? Shall we continue to sing our hymns and recite our prayers and comfort one another with sweet visions of the golden city beyond the grave, while these other men are in the forefront of the battle fighting to build the golden city here in America?

For one, I vote, No! I believe that the time is ripe for the reorganization of the forces of Christendom and the harnessing of the tremendous energy represented in the churches of the world for the performance of the work that Jesus wanted to have done. For the first time since Jesus died for humanity the whole world is astir with the hope and confident expectation of splendid things that are going to happen soon and happen here. For the first time since the Master said, "The poor have good tidings preached to them" men are beginning to talk about the abolition of the curse of the poor, which is poverty. For the first time since he commissioned his disciples to heal the sick, and said, "Ye shall do even greater things than I have done," men are beginning to say, "There is something greater than healing the sick, that is the abolition of sickness. We will wipe out tuberculosis. We will wipe out the yellow fever. We will wipe out typhoid and diphtheria and meningitis. We will kill the cruel monsters that for centuries have

slain the world's children. We will build preventoriums instead of hospitals. We will abolish the plague by conforming to the laws of sanitation, by giving the people pure water, pure milk, pure food." As never before in the history of the world men are organizing for the purpose of securing social justice for the oppressed, schools and playgrounds for the children, decent homes for those who do the world's work, and the overthrow of that most satanic of all evils, the standing army of organized warfare.

Men and women, do you realize the mighty power for good that God has given into your hands? Do you realize that there are 34,000,000 members of churches and synagogues in the United States? However much they may differ in other respects, however far apart they may be in their theological creeds, all stand together for the principles enunciated from this platform. These millions of church members possess 215,000 edifices valued at more than a billion dollars; barracks, armories, rallying places from which should go forth these millions of soldiers enlisted to fight for the cause of humanity. The immense wealth controlled by these men and women makes the biggest fortune possessed by any individual among us seem insignificant in comparison. What could we not accomplish, if we would once unite our forces and direct our energy toward accomplishing the tasks which our consciences command and commend? Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils, preach good news to the poor, raise the dead. By the grace of God will you begin to talk now—now, when the day is dawning—about the dying of the Church?

For nineteen centuries the world has been getting ready for this hour to strike. Oh, the long, long struggle, the blood and the suffering and the poverty and the sacrifices that men have endured in order that you and I might be brought to the present power and possibility. Men had to grow out of a mob into an army, out of a crowd called together into a church organized. They had to grow through ignorance and superstition; they had to be educated and disciplined; they had to fight against tyranny and oppression; they had to conquer the wilderness and drive out wild beasts and build their cities in the desert places. They had to battle against disease and outgrow the savagery which they had brought with them from the beasts. And now, through the heroic labors of men who have gone before, we are on the heights. Now we can look over into the promised land. Now we have reached the point where the voice of God cries, "Go in and take possession."

Now for the first time we are an organized and disciplined army. The pioneers have gone on ahead and explored the territory and brought back word of the beauty and the glory of the land which the Lord our God has promised us. And now comes the proposition that we shall disband our splendid army, disorganize our forces and go back to wander forty centuries more in the wilderness.

I call upon you to resist that desolating proposition. I call upon

you who affirm your loyalty to your lodge, or union or any other organization, to be loyal to something larger and which embraces them all. I do not disparage your local loyalty, but the church ought to be to these smaller things what the nation is to a village, all that any fraternal order is—and more; all that brotherhood is—and more; all that any philanthropy is—and more. If it is not all that it ought to be the responsibility is upon you, the people. It is not my church but yours; not the priests' church but the people's church. The clergyman is only one of the assembled men and women who are the church. You, the people, can do anything you please with the church. Here is a powerful instrument at your hand. I call upon you to use it for your own good. I call upon you to take your stand on behalf of the church, in the church, to become a part of its organized life that we may at last put it to the use which the Divine Wisdom foresaw and foreordained from the beginning. I call upon you to give yourself, your love, your possessions, if necessary your life, in this most critical hour of the world's history, when it is being decided whether the race shall go forward to glory or back into barbarism, to strike hands in fellowship with all those who love their fellow men, that together we may build the Kingdom of God on earth.

THE PREPARATION OF MINISTERS FOR SOCIAL WORK.

(a) *The Preparation in the Seminary.*

By the Rev. Charles Stelzle, Supt. Department of Church and Labor, the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

In discussing the relation of the theological seminary to social work, there are three or four fundamental facts which it is well to bear in mind. In one of Dr. Gladden's recent books, he quotes those who say that "the message of Christianity is to the individual." "Yes," Dr. Gladden replies, "but here's the message:—you are not strictly an individual any more than your hand is an individual. You do not live for yourself. If you try to save your life you will lose it, but if you are willing to forget your individuality you will be saved." It is not a man's business to save his own soul, but to save somebody else's soul. The message of Christianity to the individual then is the social message. We are told that "it is the business of the Church to convict men of sin." True, but this refers not merely to sin in the abstract. It must have reference to the sin of child labor, the sin of the sweat-shop, the sin of under-pay and over-work, the sin of insufficient protection from fire in a shirtwaist factory, the sin of killing little children with a tenement-house, the sin of an economic system which deprives men and women of their rights.

The mission of the Church is in behalf of the men of to-day. When

a minister preaches about the social life of the Israelites, the Jebusites, the Hittites and the Hivites, his congregation listens to him with great interest; but when he studies the social life of the Chicagoites, the Brooklynites or the Pittsburghites, and preaches about it in precisely the same way that he would preach about the social life of the Amelikites, for example, some good brother will calmly remind him that he might better preach the simple Gospel. It is much easier to give the facts concerning the Chicagoites than it is to give them with regard to the Amelikites, and the Chicagoites need our message very much more because the Amelikites have been a long time dead. The theological seminaries are largely responsible for this ridiculous attitude with reference to the comparative value of the study of the social conditions of the ancients and the people living in the twentieth century. The President of a leading theological seminary said, the other day: "I do not take a great deal of stock in sociological clinics. If a man wants to know about sin, let him search the inner recesses of his own heart." This is assuming quite a good deal, so far as the theological seminary student is concerned. "It is not our business to seek the social re-generation of the world," he continued, "but to save men's souls. It is not necessary for a teacher in a theological seminary to have had practical experience among men. It is better to catch him while he is young." And such are the men in many of our theological seminaries who are supposed to teach the student how to grapple with the practical problems of life!

At a conference composed of men who are interested in aggressive Christian work, the President of one of the most important theological seminaries in the United States made the statement that his seminary had now been doing business for nearly one hundred years, and that it did not propose to make any changes in its curriculum or in its methods of work. He was quite satisfied, he said, with things as they are. And this was spoken in all seriousness. There is no other institution in the world which would dare make such a statement concerning its work or its methods. Should this be said of any other school, that school would at once lose its prestige as well as its students, and cobwebs would soon cover its walls, and dust its book-shelves. But a theological seminary may take such a stand, and with self-complacency ask men to endow its scholarships and its professorial chairs. The theological seminaries in this country have unquestionably graduated vast numbers of preachers who have made a success in the ministry. No doubt much of their success has been due to training received in the seminary; that is, some of the training. But literally hundreds of successful ministers have declared, both in public and private, that it required about five years to unlearn much of what they received in the seminary before they found it at all possible to get down to the real business of life. Such a declaration concerning an engineering school, a lawyers' school, a physicians' college, or any other school which prepares for the professions would at once raise an inquiry and a searching out which would not rest until the school had cleared

itself of so serious a charge. But not so with the average theological seminary—an institution which, of all institutions, is supposed to deal with the most vital problems of this world and the next.

Is it any wonder that Bishop Williams of Detroit should write in this month's *American Magazine* as follows: "Religion to-day is vitally concerned with the fundamental questions of social righteousness, industrial equity, political and commercial honesty and honor and economic justice. Great movements, essentially religious, for the establishment of these ends are sweeping over the land. But the Church, as an ecclesiastical body, is out of touch with these movements. She does not hitch the big motives of her faith to big enough jobs of service. She uses a Corliss engine to run mechanical toys. Her charities are munificent, her institutional churches often render a noble service. But the criticism suggests itself that she deals too exclusively with the symptoms of our social disease and unrest and does not touch their causes. She is forever mopping up the floor, but does not try to turn off the spigot. She sends out her corps of red-cross nurses to minister to the wounded in our unequal economic and industrial conflict, but she does not address herself to the causes of the strife. She pours oil and wine into the wounds of the half-dead traveler on the Jericho road, but she does not lend a hand to rid that road of thieves and robbers, or, better still, to reform the system which inevitably produces thieves and robbers."

It doesn't require a very observant student to note the fact that the church is slowly, but surely, losing ground in the great centers of population. The census returns indicate very clearly that the cities will dominate the nations, not only this nation but every nation, for this growth is due to certain social and economical forces which are bound to control human life. If the tendency of the Church to lose in the city continues, it doesn't require a prophet to foretell the inevitable result.

"But why hold the theological seminary responsible for the situation?" somebody may ask. For the same reason that I would hold the medical school responsible if physicians were improperly trained for their life's work. The theological seminary can square itself in this matter only upon two propositions: first, that its students are inferior to the students in other professions, which is not true, for the students in the seminaries are equal to, indeed superior to the students in other professional schools; second, that the message which it teaches is insufficient to meet the modern situation. It must be willing to confess that the Gospel which it teaches is not a universal Gospel—that it is applicable to the foreigner only when he lives in his own native land and when that Gospel is exported to him. It must be willing to confess that the Gospel which it teaches is not the greatest solvent of the social problem because the Church is practically making this confession when it deserts the people who are hardest pressed by the facts of human life in the tenement and the factory. The only alternative is for the theological seminary to frankly admit that it has failed in its business of preparing specialists

for the particular task of applying the Gospel of Jesus Christ to modern social conditions.

I recently wrote to 184 theological seminaries in the United States, asking such questions as the following:

Please state what practical social service experience students receive while in the Seminary?

Do you have a course in social teaching?

What is the total number of hours devoted to all lectures during the year, and how many of these hours are given to the study of social problems?

Is any attempt made during the course to acquaint the student with social conditions at first hand either in the city or in the country?

Would you introduce more sociological study if you had the necessary money?

Have your students asked for additional courses in sociological subjects in the seminary?

Is the student offered special inducements in the form of scholarships, for example, in order that he may take additional sociological work?

What is your general opinion of the value of sociological training for the theological student?

It is impossible to give you the results of this inquiry excepting in a popular manner. Of the 184 seminaries written to, 80 replied. Among these were the leading seminaries, and presumably practically all that could say very much about sociological studies. Here are some of the leading conclusions to which I came after studying this material.

First: Practically every seminary President answering the questions was convinced of the value of sociological training of the theological student, although there were some notable exceptions.

Second: Perhaps two-thirds of the 80 are offering some kind of a so-called sociological course, but with most of them this means merely the old-fashioned study of the Mission Sunday School, the Rescue Mission, Hospital Mission Work, and similar philanthropic or religious enterprises. The average time given to such study is one hour per week. Comparing the average theological school with the medical school, it appears that theological seminaries limit their students to the study of medical agencies. The average seminary makes no provision worth mentioning for courses corresponding to diagnosis, or physiology, or hygiene, or clinical practice. A medical school without these courses would be condemned by the law of the state.

Third: Not more than one dozen seminaries have anything like an adequate curriculum in the matter of sociology. Some of these schools are splendidly equipped for the training of students in sociological matters, but I would make this criticism of most of them; at the very outset they handicap the student who is especially interested in social problems by declining to give him any kind of a scholarship. The scholarships are given to the students in Hebrew and Greek, the languages of the dead.

While I am myself a conservative in theology, I am frank to say that the professors and students who seem to be most effective in their approach to the people in their most difficult social problems, are those in the seminaries that teach the so-called modern theological view. One of the most effective preachers in the Labor Temple in New York, where the audiences are the most heterogeneous in the city, is Dr. William Adams Brown, who barely escaped a heresy trial at the last Presbyterian General Assembly.

Fourth: Many of the seminaries declared that they would like to give more work in sociology, but they say they haven't the money. It is quite evident that there are too many poorly equipped seminaries, in this country. It would be better to combine some of these seminaries especially those of the same denomination, and thus give the students a better chance for a finer equipment.

Fifth: Comparatively few seminaries have courses in the social teaching of the Bible. In many of the seminaries the students are asking for added courses in sociology. The interest in this subject is very keen, especially among the college graduates, but the course in sociology offered in the average college is insufficient for the student in the theological seminary.

You may have read the story of a strike in one of our leading seminaries during the past year because the faculty declined to introduce studies in sociology. Therein lies our hope. These men, fresh from the field, most of them from the ranks of the common people—for most students are the sons of workingmen—have the social spirit. Sometimes it is not very clearly articulated, but if the seminaries would give these men half a chance they would vindicate their profession, and give the whole Gospel a chance to breathe.

THE PREPARATION OF MINISTERS FOR SOCIAL WORK.

(b) The Preparation in Life.

By the Rev. Frank Mason North, D. D.

Our Chairman, Dr. Gladden, has compressed the entire argument and the conclusion of this topic in one pithy phrase. In his lectures on *The Church and Modern Life* he says: "We get our preparation for great work in the work itself."

There is, it is true, as we have just heard, the training of the schools. The need of it can hardly be overstated. Back of the school is the social preparation, undirected by human purpose, in the occupations and environment of the boy life. One of the most scholarly leaders in the social movement, a clergyman, writes: "As a boy I was reared in the home of a wage-earner." The artisan's experience enters largely into the power

of one of the most effective mediators between the church and the industrial world—a speaker on this platform to-day. A pastor in a crowded city repeatedly has been a successful arbitrator between employers and employees because in the early years he had known the toil and peril of the mine. Out of a merchant's home where he learned that honorable losses were less to be feared than doubtful profits, came another whose unconscious training then, determines the principles of action now.

The significance of this antecedent training, in home and school and occupation, a training which is shared with all others by those who become ministers, needs a new emphasis. Professor Rauschenbusch says most truly that "the recruits for the ministry come chiefly from the middle class, from the families of farmers, small business men, and the better grade of artisans;" that, "students for the ministry rarely come from the homes of the very rich or the very poor." The social worker, whether minister or not, should be caught young. Let him have, in the period when convictions crystallize and prejudices become fixed, sane ideas of life, some clue to the intricacies of human relationships, a hint, at least of the nature of those forces of which later he will be either the victim or the director. Here should be an unconscious preparation which the stress of the conflicting interests into the discord of which, as a minister, he is bound to come, should not mar, and which even the academic teaching of the schools should not be able to obscure.

But the training for life's work is in life itself. One learns society not from books, but from experience. If in any school the present tendency away from text-books and toward research is preeminently rational it is in this school of life. Consider, for a moment, the extraordinary facilities for preparation in social work which are at the minister's command. For determining the text of the volume of life what an amazing *apparatus criticus* he has! In its interpretation why should he not be a master?

I have in mind not those chiefly who have become leaders in the large sense,—personal factors in great movements by force of conviction, circumstance or eloquence; but rather those—over one hundred and sixty thousand of them—who in city, town, village, countryside, concentrate their energies upon the nearby task to which they are appointed. To them John Wesley's wide, outlooking motto, "The world is my parish," is reversed; they say, "My parish is a world." Social themes become concrete in community events. These men are pre-occupied by the practice of goodwill. They deal not with formulae but with facts. It is theirs not to suppose cases but to look after them. Whether the parish lies in the center of some babel-tongued city where only a selection of conditions can ever be fully mastered or in the sparse settlements of some new or deserted rural section this man, whom we call the minister, is at the heart of it and can know it with an intimacy possible to no other. Whatever the modern and more scientific contrivances for social service he is still the most positive personal force for altruism yet devised or dis-

covered. He is called to kindness. He is a commissioner of peace. To help is as natural for him as to pray. Not only is he drawn to service by the insistent appeal of need but he is impelled to it by an inner compulsion which he accepts as law—or, better, as a Divine command.

By the very conditions of their ministry these men are close to the reality of every social and industrial problem about which the books are written. Often they smile at the surprise of others who are discovering facts which they have known for a lifetime. With delight they read the description of scenery which is as familiar to them as the sunrise. They welcome the scientific analysis of the task which they have accepted for years as they accept their daily bread. Is it child life or labor? Their business is with children. Is it housing, pauperism, wages, hours of labor, commercial honor, education, the lure of vice, the prevention and penalty of crime, class feeling, race prejudice, thrift, administration of charity? Few subjects discussed on the platform of this Conference cannot be illustrated and illumined from the notebooks of these tens of thousands of ministers as from no other vital records in the land.

But while all this may be claimed and conceded, the discussion of the preparation of ministers for social work is most pertinent. In the life itself there are the ample opportunity and equipment for training, but the reduction of ministration to a true science with the heart left hot, or its elevation to an art with the spiritual touch still present, requires a definite schooling. Let us admit that not all ministers are expert in social work.

To what ends, then, should the preparation be directed?

Clearly, first of all, to the definiteness and fulness of ideal.

A minister can never be a mere social opportunist. He is bound to have a theory of life here and hereafter which must determine motive and conduct. By his very commission he is required to look not only upon "the things which are seen but upon the things which are not seen," to remember ever that the things which are seen are temporal, the things which are not seen, eternal. If his ideals narrow him to the devotion of the altar and tell him nothing of apostleship, if they substitute services for service, and leave him imprisoned in the stately architecture which he has himself planned, if his aims are restricted to the expansion and prestige of the special Ecclesia into which he has been "called out," are not vital with the energies of that Kingdom of God—that eternal reign of the Almighty Father in this and in other realms—toward which the whole world moves, he will fail to interpret the life of which he is a part and its mighty currents will sweep by him unmeasured and unseen. Some conviction must possess him like that which placed Frederick Denison Maurice in the mighty succession of the prophets. Said he:

"The Kingdom of God begins within, but it is to make itself manifest without. It is to penetrate the feelings, habits, thoughts, words, acts of him who is the subject of it. At last it is to penetrate our whole social existence, to mold all things according to its

laws. So there will be discovered beneath all the policies of the earth, sustaining the order of each country, upholding the charity of each household, a city which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God."

The ecclesiastical provincial does not belong to this age. His place is in history, with the ascetic and the bigot. Large standing room is not essential for the world-wide outlook. Reading and travel, denied to few intelligent men in our time, level barriers and lift horizons. It requires no technical instruction in sociology and economics to bring into a man's mind the world facts and movements which should afford the material for his thinking. A minister, even if he have no scrip, may travel beyond his community, his land, his denomination, his generation. It will do him no harm if books, humane, scientific, technically non-religious, crowd from his table some of the ephemeral literature of his town or of his sect. Beyond all men it is his right to hold that to him "nothing human is alien." The thresholds of his mind should be on the level of the world's great thoroughfares. His doors must be open to the streets as surely as his windows are open to the skies. The traveler worn with the journey, the child eager in his play, the vagrant lost to home and self, the woman haunted by her own moral misery, the millionaire with the full treasury and the unhappy soul, the workman hunting for a job and for his rights, all the restless, the reckless, the discouraged, the morbid, the deprived, the depraved, the children of want, the victims of success, the human products of what we with unconscious irony call civilization, belong to him. He will get his vision and his training from the common contacts of his life. Out from the experiences of some city's street, or some narrow cell, or some remote hillside—with the Spirit of God—the Hebrew prophets ranged the centuries. From the daily contacts of the common life Jesus demonstrated that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand. In the humblest parish wherein a man sees a world and ministers, not to the few or to the selected, but to all, there is the revelation of the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom that includes all life and transcends all horizons. To the Christian minister this preparation of his ideals is one with being schooled in the mind of his Master,—the thinking as his Master thought.

But this preparation has to do with feeling as definitely as with vision. The true heart is as necessary as the right mind. The minister is deemed to be a sympathizer *ex officio*. Misfortune and injustice concern him and a right attitude toward both is taken for granted. In him, it is assumed, is a fair deposit of Benjamin Kidd's fund of altruism and he is expected to draw his check upon it for a substantial amount at a moment's notice. It is but fair to recognize the tendencies of human nature which even ministers may not wholly escape. The rest of the teacher who is constantly dealing with mental dullness is itself sometimes dulled; the physician becomes so accustomed to the sight of pain that it is not uncommon for him, at times, to need a reminder of its acuteness. There is a peril in helpless emotion. Where service seems futile the

nearest refuge is the expression of feeling in professional terms. From such dreary hypocrisy true men may be usually saved by the deep sense of the spiritual meanings of life and by a fair working theory of the brotherhood of man.

But for the wider social work the emotions must be trained. Sympathy must find its broader basis. In the sense of need must be included not only the epileptic boy but the urgent father and, perhaps the heart-broken mother at home. Pity for the child whose only playground is the street or the fire escape must be taught to embrace the mother in her two room house, the father in his twelve-hour-a-day toil, the neighbors upon whose narrow privileges of light and air and privacy even the meagre home encroaches. Emotion must be constrained to go beyond the individual and to burn with righteous anger at corporate wrong or to fashion weapons against social injustice. If the pulpit be the minister's throne of power, he must move away from it at times and, disguised if need be as a man, move *incognito* among those to whom he deems it his function to preach. As he comes to know he will learn to feel.

Perhaps there is no greater need than the deepening of the conviction that the emotions—sympathy, indignation, pity—are not class feelings. They are human. It is not only injustice to the members of our own clan that should stir us. Sympathy with the unfortunate of our own cult ought not and must not exhaust our heart resources. Many a man fails to fulfil his mission because he accepts a call to be the pastor of a church instead of a commission to be a minister to a community. When this larger conception of his mission dominates him an inevitable tendency toward reality marks his work. He delights to find that his house is "by the side of the road" and he "becomes a friend to man." In official position a certain church claims him, but in fact the community owns him. He finds a thousand ways, above ground, underground, through the air, for extending to the people's life in all its phases, the resources of an ever broadening heart experience. Here are at once the opportunity and the discipline of the feeling for social work. Here again for the Christian minister is the simple rule of imitation, for when his Master "saw the multitudes" He "was moved with compassion."

Once more the minister's preparation for social work must include with his ideals and his feelings, his practice. Usually the minister is not an expert in modern methods of ministry. He has not been scientifically trained. In the main, outside of his own church, he is an individualist. He is his own committee, chairman, secretary, and much of the time, treasurer, in one. He fails at times in the diagnosis. He is apt to treat symptoms rather than causes. His impulse is to relieve the victim rather than to remove the victimizer. This is not true of some ranges of his ministry. In the temperance reform he is commonly to be found seeking, with an equal ardor, the recovery of the drunkard and the destruction of the saloon. But in prison reform, the protection of childhood, in the care and cure of the sick, in the abatement of poverty, in the removal of

the curse of worklessness, in the administration of charity, in the development of the principles and practice of industrial righteousness, he has not always found the point of contact with other forces which would give to his own energy its greatest efficiency. This may be admitted despite facts which cannot be ignored. Throughout the centuries the world's largest asset of mercy has been the unrecorded social service of the ministry. In the program of the foreign missionary movement, of which, in the main, ministers are the engineers,—a movement whose influence on conditions of life is now gratefully recognized by diplomats and publicists throughout the world, social work is an imperative factor. The Church in this home land has much to learn from the social service spirit and methods of its own representative in the foreign fields. But that there is immediate and commanding need of a discipline in social work which will give to the ministry a larger share in the great co-operative movements of philanthropy, reform and social betterment, has become a fact of consciousness.

It is this that interprets the organizations for social service which, in recent years, have been formed in the leading communions. By this is explained the welcome given to the establishment of the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which is now in a position to act in the name of over thirty denominations and seventeen millions of communicants, and whose program of principles has been accepted throughout the land as a just and comprehensive statement of the Church's true attitude toward social and industrial questions. It is this that has created the beginnings of that noble literature which is springing, fresh and strong, out of the heart of the ministry of our time. Lecky says that, "any impartial observer would describe the most distinctive virtue referred to in the New Testament as love, charity or philanthropy," and that "the Gospel is a proclamation of the universal brotherhood of man." The virility of the righteousness of the Hebrew prophets is in the moral purposes of the Church to-day. The ministry meets the new conditions of society with open mind and with unshaken courage. Social service is its birthright. It asserts Benjamin Kidd's striking conclusion: "First; That the process of social development which has been taking place and which is still in progress in our Western Civilization is not the product of the intellect but that the motive force behind it has had its seat and origin in that fund of altruistic feeling with which our civilization has become equipped. Second: That this altruistic development and the deepening and softening of character which have accompanied it are the direct and peculiar product of the religious system on which our civilization is founded." It holds to its inheritance and eagerly seeks the best methods for its use.

These methods in the local and general field are becoming daily more distinct. They will include the closer association of the ministry with the administration of charity and of the larger organized movements for

social welfare. They will give the minister his natural place in the direction of Charity Organization Societies, Civic Federations, Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Child Labor Committees and the like. He will bring to such organizations the enthusiasm of his own deep purpose and the practical experience of his own first-hand touch with the people. He will himself learn the motive and measures of those, who, through agencies but informally related to the Church, are also seeking the "Kingdom of God and His righteousness." Such intimate contacts with organized social work will make for breadth and efficiency and will tend to that concentration in force upon the entrenched evils of our social organization which is an inalienable part of the purpose of the Church and of its ministry.

The modern classic in all this matter is that heroic personality, Thomas Chalmers. Carlyle had watched him as he worked for the betterment of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Said he, "What a wonderful old man Chalmers is! or rather, he has all the buoyancy of youth. When so many of us are wringing our hands in hopeless despair over the vileness and wretchedness of the large towns, there goes the old man, shovel in hand, into the dirtiest puddles of the worst part of Edinburgh, cleans them out, and fills the sewers with living waters. It is a beautiful sight." Still there are shovels. There are multitudes in the ministry who count their hands neither too holy nor too dainty to handle them. But while they work and by their working prepare themselves for better work they hear Mrs. Browning's gentle words,

"What's the best thing in the world?
—Something out of it, I think."

Toward that "best thing in the world" which is "something out of it," the minister in all his preparation must steadily look. For him it must ever be more significant even than training. His methods may be unscientific, but his heart must never be cold. In a peculiar sense it is his privilege, in his pulpit and in his parish, to see that the precious fund of altruism is continually invested and re-invested, but more, to see that it is constantly replenished from its high "Spiritual Source. There is always supplication as well as service in his outstretched hands. He is a minister, not alone because men need, but because God asks. He works in part because his brother works, but more because his Father works. For him, at least, is there an unrelenting necessity of loyalty and faith and love, with every out reach toward the brotherhood of men, to tighten his own hold upon the strength of God.

WHAT THE CHURCH CAN DO AS AN ORGANIZATION IN LINES OF SOCIAL WORK.

By Rev. Samuel Van Vranken Holmes, D. D., Westminster Church, Buffalo.

I shall assume that what is desired in the treatment of this subject is practical suggestion only. After what was said before this conference last evening, it would be sheer waste of time to point the obligation resting on the church to take a hand in the great work of social service. That obligation is generally recognized and all but universally confessed. Our churches are already aware that services, sermons and conventional parochial activities do not by any means meet the challenge of the times. Important and useful as these are, they are felt to come short of the demands of our age. The real problem of the churches lies in their admitted ignorance as to precisely what to do and how to do it.

Within the past fifteen years, and in the course of his duties as chairman of the committee on co-operation in the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, the writer of this paper has come into contact with about one hundred and forty churches of various denominations; and, while here and there a minister has declared it to be no part of his business to engage in social work, the greater majority have asked in bewilderment: "What wilt thou have me to do?" Moreover, even after the work and the way have been pointed out, there has yet remained a disheartening amount of practical ignorance as to the real purpose and procedure of organized charity, and of lethargy due to that ignorance. Many of the ministers of the church today, uninstructed in the scientific principles and methods of social work, feel themselves under serious handicap in undertaking service which they recognize as important. And frequently it happens that this handicap is increased by the critical and sometimes contemptuous attitude of certain social workers toward the churches' helplessness.

Personally I feel that the need of the present is not so much to prove the obligation as to point the way. In most instances of failure on the part of the churches to deal competently with social problems, the fault is the fault of ignorance rather than that of indifference. This paper has been prepared not as an apology for the churches;—but rather as a plea for more light and less heat in discussion.

In social work, as elsewhere, the way to begin is to begin at the beginning;—and whenever a church is ready to act as an organization it should be encouraged to deal primarily with cases of individual distress. Work with individuals constitutes the foundation of effective social service. Before attacking bigger and more complicated problems, let the church become definitely responsible for the care of a few needy families;—only let it be brought to understand that care is not limited to material provision, but includes personal friendship and continuing

counsel long after the crisis of immediate need is past. For suggestion and instruction as to methods the church ought to be able to turn to some local bureau of charities, through whose trained workers it can be helped into an intelligent and effective performance of its task. To be sure such service as it is able to render at first is apt to be more or less bunglingly done. The work of most beginners is bungling work, until experience is acquired;—but it is only through acceptance of definite responsibility for definite work that any church is likely to gain knowledge, skill and enthusiasm.

The Law School of that ancient and honored university in the shadow of which this conference is gathered, introduced many years ago what is known as the case system of instruction. Under this system the student does not commence his studies with abstract discussions of the principles of the law, but is set the task of getting at those principles through an examination of their concrete application in actual cases that have been before the courts. It is through the study of special instances that he comes to an understanding of broad legal principles, and acquires the ability to apply those principles to fresh facts and circumstances as they arise. Experience has justified this system and has shown it to be the wisest way into the science of jurisprudence. In a similar manner experience has established the case system as the most effective method of bringing the church into intelligent and vital relation with social problems and of educating it in correct methods of social service.

In the city of Buffalo we have in operation what is known as the Church District Plan, under which churches assume responsibility for all cases of poverty occurring within their accepted districts. These cases are referred by the Charity Organization Society as rapidly as applications for aid are received. No one knows better than the writer that the direct results of this plan have often been far from satisfactory. In many instances the church visitors have been neglectful of families referred to them, and their methods of relief have frequently been unwise and even stupid. Much patience has been demanded on the part of district agents, and often their work has been increased rather than diminished by a promised co-operation which failed to co-operate. On the other hand, however, the pedagogical value of the plan to the churches has been exceedingly great. They have been held up to their responsibility and, despite the permanent failures of certain of the churches, many of them have learned in this way, as possibly in no other, the secret of service and the blessedness of social ministry. On the whole the Church District Plan has proved a successful device for giving the churches an effective schooling in methods of social work; and we in Buffalo believe in it for what it has led to in this regard, even more than for what it has accomplished in ways of actual relief. It has reacted organically on the local churches, by stimulating their

social enthusiasm, by deepening their sense of social responsibility and by clarifying their social vision.

But when a church has become thus identified with work among individuals, it cannot be long before it finds itself face to face with neighborhood and community problems. In undertaking to alleviate poverty, it is confronted with the causes of poverty; and, in seeking to remove these causes, it quickly comes to discover that they are closely interwoven with the social structure. Then it is that any church composed of earnest, thoughtful people begins to realize the deeper significance of the service upon which it has entered and the enlarged opportunities that have thereby been offered for doing good. Unless its financial resources are altogether inadequate it feels the necessity of establishing a permanent social center through which it can minister more effectively to neighborhood needs. Many churches would find the maintenance of such centers quite within their means, and they should be encouraged to organize them if only in a limited way at the first.

In frequent instances the social center would develop into the social settlement; and the settlement is probably the most direct, practical and effective agency through which the church as an organization can engage in social work. Only it ought always to be the easy and natural outgrowth of such careful service to the individual as has just been outlined. For any single parish, without preparatory experience, to say: 'Go to,—let us open a settlement,' and forthwith to erect a structure of brick or stone into which there have been built none of the deep experiences, the growing convictions and the glowing enthusiasms that come of the years;—This is to invite disaster and to await foredoomed failure. On the other hand where the evolution has been slow and sure, and where community work has been taken up simply because it could not be ignored in the light of experience with the individual, the settlement constitutes a natural channel through which the social activities of the church can be safely sent.

I am aware that the so-called church settlement is sometimes subjected to criticism. In comparison with a settlement of people ecclesiastically unattached and specially trained to service of this sort, the church settlement has seemed to some unscientific in its methods and narrow in its aims. But, whatever may occasionally be lacking in scientific social efficiency and in sound economic conviction, there are usually discoverable compensating gains in the closeness and warmth of the human relationships there established, in the intimate interchange of points of view and in the personal friendships thus cemented. Social science is not the last word in social service. There is a dogmatism among social workers no whit less offensive than the dogmatism of theological thinkers. Certainly it means much if, through the agency of a settlement, the church and the unchurched, the rich and the poor, the cultured and the ignorant can be brought together in per-

sonal fellowship and made each to know how the other half lives and how it looks on life.

Moreover let the direct value of such work as is thus done by social amateurs be called in question as it may, the reaction on the church is worth all such work costs. No parish can develop its activities along these channels without receiving more than it bestows, and without an ever-deepening sense of social responsibility and brotherly love. Only the church must be soundly instructed by its pulpit to regard any service thus rendered as truly religious. Too often it happens that churches feel that, unless their settlements support a preaching service or a Sunday School, their religious obligations are not met. If a church settlement be placed in the midst of a neighborhood where it can wisely and effectively preach and teach the truth in which it believes, it ought by all means to do so. It should never withhold any gospel from which it draws its inspiration and life. But if, on the other hand, as is often the case, a church settlement be located where there are churches and schools in abundance and where the formal sermon and the Sunday instruction are not needed, it is a fatal mistake for the supporting church to regard its work as any the less religious or Christian in the absence of formal religious teaching. All that is finest and best in social work is fundamentally religious. Speaking for the Christian religion, I can say that it stands always and everywhere for economic justice, social righteousness and the complete well-being of God's children in all their earthly relationships. Nothing that anyone can do in fairness to promote those ends is to be considered as non-religious. It is the fundamental business of the ministry today to instruct the members of the churches that whatever be done individually or through the agency of the settlement to make conditions of living more bearable for their brethren is as truly religious as the making of sermons or the operation of parish machinery. Of course the spirit is more than the body and the church must not neglect its rich spiritual ministry, but no more must it minimize the distinct religious value of aught that it can do for the enrichment of lives that are stunted and meager in their interests and opportunities.

But there is still another matter to which reference must be made before this paper is finished. The church as an organization needs to pass beyond the problems of the neighborhood where it is directly at work, and to inform itself as to the social facts and forces discoverable in the civic community and in the world at large. While the limited area of its special service is a microcosm in which society may be seen in miniature, there is always a danger to be guarded against, the danger of seeing things from a single point of view. In a city, for example, it is rare that any separate church is sufficiently familiar with municipal conditions at large, with social facts outside the limited area of its activity or with the bigger social forces that invite co-operation or that challenge opposition. But, as the church passes on from dealing

with the individual to a study of the needs and a solution of the problems of the neighborhood, it should not pause until it has come to still broader and more comprehensive knowledge.

In the city of Buffalo, if you will pardon another local reference, Westminster Church has for three years past conducted a social study seminar; and during the last two years this seminar has been maintained in co-operation with three other local churches, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Unitarian. The object of the seminar has been the wider study of social conditions in the city as they exist beyond the neighborhoods where these churches support settlements. An attempt has been made to see our city as it really is; to survey our large foreign population, their occupations, housing conditions and standards of living;—to look into the general conditions of labor in factories and mercantile establishments, and among women and children,—and to ascertain what the city government is doing and might do for public health, education, recreation, employment and morals.

All this study has been of great educational and inspirational value to the churches engaged in it;—for it has opened their eyes to the wide scope of social problems and has given them data for subsequent service and intelligent social activity. It has pointed the way into that vast area of preventive work, until recently so little recognized; and a territory still unexplored and unmapped so far as most of our churches are concerned. Happily the stress of social work is coming to be placed just here, and the Christian ministry is commencing to see a light, as in the case of Rev. F. B. Meyer of London, long known as a writer of devotional books, and who recently said with a touch of humor: "I used to live in a little hut on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem, so that I could help travelers who had been beset by thieves. But lately I have moved up into Jerusalem itself, and I am hammering away at Caiaphas and Pilate to send a company of soldiers to root out the whole nest of robbers." Moreover it has revealed the unsuspected amount of good and faithful service being rendered by several of the municipal departments in the interests of the people. And I take it that the churches need information full as much on the constructive work that is being done as on the evils and abuses that are permitted to flourish. So many ministers of religion seem to feel that, unless they are attacking somebody or something and ventilating civic grievances from the pulpit, they are making no contribution to social welfare. Whereas, as a matter of fact, far more is constructively accomplished by hearty co-operation than by heated criticism;—and blessed is the city where pulpit, press and public officials can pull together towards definite goals of social accomplishment.

Of the reaction of such study by the churches on the social spirit of the whole city too much cannot be said. It helps to create, often in ways so subtle as to defy analysis, an enlightened public sentiment and a quick readiness on the part of the people generally to identify

themselves with good causes and to help out in good work. A knowledge of social facts begets social enthusiasm, and enthusiasm is always contagious. It gets into the air, and gets things done that ought to be done. It deepens the sense of public obligation to serve, and instructs and stimulates the social consciences of men. No church can possibly have excuse in these days for failure to face and to study the facts, and in such study any church may find employment for a rich and abundant social service.

I believe most profoundly that the chief business of the church, as the custodian of our common religious life, is to furnish spiritual power. It is commissioned to inspire men to live the highest life and to serve the noblest ends. Its inspirational value to social workers is immeasurably great and important. But of that others will speak. I was asked to tell what the church might do directly as an organization in lines of social work, and this I have told you, briefly and inadequately, to be sure, but as I trust practically, and certainly as best I know.

HOW THE CHURCH CAN HELP OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

By Rev. John Howard Melish, Rector, Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn.

For the purposes of practical efficiency we may consider the church to be divided, like all Gaul, into three parts: (1) the parish, (2) the denomination, (3) co-operative parishes of different denominations.

The Parish.

The organization of the parish church must be taken into account in any consideration of what the church can or can not do for other agencies. In the vast majority of parishes, the only paid workers are the minister and the sexton; in many others there is a paid choir; in some others there are one or more assistant ministers, deaconesses or sisters. All the other workers are volunteers who, with here and there an exception, give and can give only a portion of their time and energy. Any work which the church does must be done by some one, and if it is to be well done, it must be done by some one who is not overworked. In taking on new activities in this social era, therefore, to whom may we look within the church to do them? To the minister? I do not doubt that many ministers could do far more than they now do, especially in the smaller parishes and smaller cities. But in any parish of considerable size, if the minister is conscientious in preparing one or more sermons a week, in pastoral visitation, in the education of the children, he has all that any one man can do well. I have seen many attempts to put on to the minister additional responsibilities both social and ecclesiastical, and only disappointment and failure resulted. Shall we

look to the assistant minister to do these things? In most places no pastor gets an assistant until the work of the church demands additional leadership. In many places assistant ministers could do some social work, but, as a rule, they are birds of passage, here this year and gone the next, and are broken reeds upon which to place any work which demands continuity. Deaconesses and sisters are much more dependable church workers and though they too have duties within the church which take most of their time and strength, yet these duties bring them into relations with the charitable agencies, and they can be counted on for some leadership along social lines. This leaves as the workers within the parish, as at present organized, volunteers of the pews, and they for the most part are uninformed, without leadership, without initiative. Now if we wish to be practical these facts must be taken into consideration, and many a fine scheme has come to nothing because its legs never reached the ground.

It is possible, however, for the parish as at present organized, to co-operate with other agencies in several effective ways. The preacher, for example, can inform himself of the work of those agencies, the situation which they attempt to meet and the way they meet it. Then in his sermons he can impart this information and inspire his people both to give financially to their support and to volunteer their services where such service is desired. The majority of the subscribers to all philanthropic agencies are members of the church and synagogue, and so are the volunteer workers in all these agencies. I suppose that both subscribers and workers have been secured for the most part by the agencies themselves rather than inspired to such service by the pulpit, the pulpit assisting only indirectly. If present results are obtained by this left handed alliance between pulpit and philanthropic organizations, what may we not expect from a direct effort on the part of the socially minded preacher who sets out deliberately to inspire his people to give and to serve in this way? One of the deeply felt needs of to-day is a co-ordination between religion and social service, an elimination of the false distinction between secular and sacred in community work, and what can bring this about so effectively as preaching which inspires men and women for high and spiritual motives, to serve in these miscalled secular agencies? When religious work, church work, can be done in and through the Bureau of Charities or the Socialist local a new idea and spirit will dominate both church and society. The paid workers of the church can co-operate with these organizations more than they are doing. Every parish worker meets the problem of distress. Why should they investigate those cases for themselves when there is a central agency in the community which can do that more effectively? Frequently, the needy person goes the round of all the churches, and when all investigate before they give, a growing procession of church workers set out for the same address. Even when these workers have called they must judge by the seeing of the eye and the hearing of the ear, and then have no way of really helping except

by sending them to hospital, home, labor-yard or other agency. Therefore, all these church workers should have a central agency through which they can avoid duplication, waste and in some cases serious harm to the needy. In other words they should aim to co-operate with all other organizations. In many churches are laymen and women who, without any assistance from preacher or paid worker, have generously supported and diligently worked in charity, settlement, trade union league, or reform organization, drawn there by the work itself or the cause for which it stood. The church is not religion and the spirit like the wind bloweth where it listeth, and one can not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. Moreover, these fine spirits are just as much the church as are the officials, but much contemporary criticism of the church overlooks them altogether. The church is doing much therefore for all other organizations in one way or other.

If now the church is to go forward into this new era of "get together" and do in the future anything like what it has done in the past, it must adapt itself to the new situation. The simple organization with the preacher or the priest, the person or parson adapted to simple life of village or small city, is not adapted to the complicated and highly organized life of our modern cities. There is something pathetic in the way great parishes search the world over for men to fill their pulpits, going on with the same methods and never realizing that the world has changed. We need to-day a new diaconate, not a new apostolate, a body of men and women trained and equipped to serve tables, to minister to widows and orphans, to organize the parish for social service and to lead in this service. I am not saying that we do not need the preacher; in my judgment we need the prophetic voice as much as ever, for without the vision the people perisheth. But in addition to the pulpit the pew needs leadership in communal undertakings. Such leaders should be in close and vital relations with the preacher but of co-ordinate importance in the organization of the church. The ministry must be specialized into the preacher and the worker, the inspiring voice and the effective hand.

Let me illustrate by an experiment which is now being made in a great city. In a certain parish are two men, one a preacher, the other a worker; the preacher is the ordinary garden varley; the worker is the Burbank species. The task set the worker is to organize the pew and to relate it to agencies of community betterment. Is there need of "big sisters?" The need is stated on Sunday morning, a meeting called of all interested, and the volunteers offered to the society which does that work. Does the Bureau of Charities need friendly visitors? The work is outlined, an invitation given, and a group is formed and set to work under the direction of the Bureau. Do the Settlements need workers? The church calls for them of its young men and women and sends them to meet the need in the name of religion and the church. The leader of social work holds from time to time meetings of these groups which keep

them up to their task by making them feel the church is behind them, and also gives to these workers an opportunity to pass on to other members of the parish the information, sympathy, point of view, enthusiasm, which they have gained. Every Sunday night a conference is held, open to all members of the parish and all others, at which men and women speak, who are leading in various community undertakings. Does the labor unionist feel that the church is indifferent to the problem of the toiler and believe that he sees a way by which the church and the union can co-operate? He is invited to address the church in this conference and speak his mind freely and unhindered. Does the socialist feel that the church is the bulwark of the *status quo* and ought to become the leader of the social advance? He can tell the church what he thinks to its face in open meetings. Does the head of the Children's Aid Society see a new opportunity to improve Child Welfare? The church welcomes him. By means of a new diaconate leadership, with the support of the young people especially, the church can adapt itself to the new day and serve more effectively than she is now doing, without sacrificing either the prophesying or the worshipping or the teaching which she has been doing in the past and ought, in my judgment, to continue to do in the future.

(2) The Denomination.

What can any denomination as a denomination, do for the organizations of philanthropy? Collective action on the part of a number of parishes either in a city or state has possibilities of usefulness. To utilize these possibilities, the denominations need additional machinery, and we see many denominations attempting to improve their organization by adding the social service committee. So far these committees have done little or nothing, as they have neither program nor effective organization, but they are indications of a new spirit within the church. One of the results of this Conference and of the meetings of the churches held in connection with it, may be a formulation of a policy for these social service committees of the various denominations. It would seem possible for the denominations to co-operate in the investigations which are made from time to time by the state or private foundations. Social information is frequently acquired at great expense and then shelved for lack of channels of publicity. The social service committee may well take this knowledge and hand it on to the parishes by means of reports and addresses.

The Church Mission of Help has recently studied the problem of the wayward girl who belongs to the church, a study evidently based upon the work of Miss Maude Minor, and has handed that important information on to the parishes with helpful suggestions to the ministers and deaconesses as to how to meet the cases which arise in every parish and to prevent them by furnishing legitimate amusement and sex knowledge. The work of Rev. Charles Stelzle in getting fraternal delegates into the

central labor unions in our trade union centers, is an attempt to work out some co-operation between one great denomination and the organizations of labor. Such work is undenominational in character, but we should remember that the people of the various churches look at life from different points of view, and in many respects speak a different religious language. A report written for Episcopalians, using such terms as confirmed and confessional, needs revision of its terminology if it is to be effectively used with Presbyterians. Not only by disseminating information gained by other organizations and by maintaining a bridge of approach between the church and labor and other agencies, but also by effectively expressing the social will and thought of the denomination will the churches aid other organizations. These organizations from time to time desire to know what Episcopalians think, what Methodists feel, how Presbyterians regard this and that matter. A committee of social service would naturally try to ascertain, if it did not already know, the public opinion of its church on such questions. A recent well meant attempt to meet the race track evil in New York on the part of a certain reform organization might have saved its promoters much time, expense and mortification of spirit had that organization conferred first with such organs of church feeling as a social service committee. Every denomination, therefore has it within its power to form and maintain some agency by which it and other organizations can work together for mutual enlightenment and helpfulness and for the welfare of the community. Without such an organization a denomination may be counted on for a single battle but not for a campaign.

(3) Co-operative Parishes.

One great class of organizations with which the church can and should co-operate is the so-called social service departments of the municipality, especially health, education, tenements, police, charities. I say "so-called" because every department of the government is concerned with the service of the community; a clean street prevents the disease which the clean hospital cures; an equitable system of taxation relieves the poor in more democratic fashion than the department of charities; all the agencies of the common life need the criticism, the sympathetic understanding, the support of the community. They can be no wiser or better than the people whose life they express. If they are not used by all the people they will be used by the few. If the forces of righteousness do not act on them the forces of evil certainly will. Many a high-minded head of a city department has found himself deserted by the good and stormed at by the bad and has lost faith and courage. If the churches intend seriously to enter social service, they must influence the community through the regular channels of the community, the departments of government.

Now in co-operating with the city departments, for purposes of prac-

tical efficiency and influence, the united churches of the city or a certain section of the city will have more weight than the single parish or denomination. The denomination has one or a few parishes and has no machinery for this work; the individual parish is no more fitted to meet the situation than is the individual saloon. If the forces of evil in any community find it to their interest to unite in associations for mutual defense, the forces of good, churches and civic organizations, ought to unite for the common good. It is possible for the churches of the community to unite to better the housing conditions. In a section of New York City there is such an effort which divides among the parishes of different denominations areas of responsibility which are visited by representatives of the churches. Violations are noted and owners' names ascertained, and then pressure is brought upon owners through moral persuasion and upon the departments through letters and calls. The same organization works for parks and playgrounds, hospitals and prisons, and aims to unite all the religious forces in the support of the civic forces. It is the experience of these churches that they can do more together under a representative committee for the betterment of their community than they can do separately or as denominations. It is also their experience that for effective and continuous service a salaried executive secretary, giving either part or all of his time, is absolutely essential, thus confirming the contention with which this paper began, that the church is inadequately organized and that if it is to meet the opportunity and demand of to-day, it must create the organization with which to do it.

This paper assumes that the churches have indirectly and in many instances directly, done much for all other organizations. In so far as the church itself is religious and exerts a religious influence on its members and those who associate with them, it influences the organizations of philanthropy, labor, or reform to which church members belong and in which they work. The church fosters in the community an atmosphere of hopefulness, sympathy, unselfishness, altruism, idealism, in which all other institutions live and move and have their being. But it holds that the church must now do more: that it can relate its members to other organizations directly; and that through such co-operation as herein suggested it can give to them money and workers who will influence those organizations and their usefulness in proportion to the spirit by which they are moved, their ideals, enthusiasm, faith, courage, hopefulness, character, sympathy.

What our age needs is unity in the service of the community on the part of all the forces working for the community. The church should not compete with other organizations, forming agencies of its own to do similar service, as is the policy of one great denomination, it should co-operate with other organizations. The church should not claim a monopoly of religion, calling the unecclesiastical secular and the ecclesiastical spiritual; it should recognize love, charity, service wherever they are found, in a charitable society, a labor union or a

socialistic propaganda, as evidence of the spirit. The church by co-operation with all agencies of the private philanthropy, the foundations, the city departments, the labor movement, the radical reforms, and considering them as manifestations of her spirit and means of her efficient work, will not only give to but get from these organizations. For of the Church, the corporate religious will, as of the individual will, the saying of the Master holds true, "he that loseth his life will find it."

THE VALUE OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL WORKERS.

By Frederic Almy, Secretary Charity Organization Society, Buffalo.

(Condensed).

The leaders of the church in all denominations are not only recognizing the value of social work in itself, but they are also recognizing that the church needs it. Whether social workers are equally recognizing that social work needs the church is doubtful. Wonderful as the progress of social work has been in the last thirty years, there is nothing, in my opinion, which would so advance it as to have the church give it the same unreserved backing and co-operation which the Protestant church has given to the work of the Young Men's Christian Associations. With these Associations the control has been lay, and the churches have not directed the work, but their participation has been intimate. If social workers generally now invite the same participation from the church, I think they will find it willing to assist their work without taking it over; and if through this alliance the modern social movement, with its gospel of adequate relief and opportunity, sweeps the country as the Young Men's Christian Association movement has done, it will mean such a solace and uplift for suffering and neglected humanity as will go far towards social reconstruction.

Modern organized charity has a more universal appeal than even the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, for it is not limited to the Protestant denomination, or to young men and women, but reaches all creeds, all ages, in short, all lives. Modern social work is also vitally religious, though it has neglected the religious appeal. It is in fact religion applied to life. Its success depends largely in my opinion upon whether it can reach the hearts as well as the heads of the American people; upon whether it can make its essential religion recognized; upon whether it can get itself adopted by the church in every hamlet and cross roads.

The social gospel is being preached to-day from every sort of pulpit. It is preached from the church, from the stage, from the pages of the novel, from the magazine, and from the daily press, until it is a wonder that the public will stand so much of it; but there are some signs of a reaction, and I fear for the future unless social work becomes less utilitarian. It is attacking the old enemies of mankind—ignorance,

disease, and sin—with such sledge-hammer blows that they are weakening visibly; but its agencies are too material, and social work needs unspeakably the poetry, the passion, the inspiration, and the interpretation of its message which the church is able to give.

That social work and the church have not been sufficiently allied is to a large extent the fault of the social workers. More than one pastor has spoken to me of a certain bumptiousness or self-sufficiency among social workers, a certain aloofness, a feeling that the ministers, in spite of good intentions, will do more harm than good in social work if they are not under the direction of the social worker.

It is well to recognize, however, at the outset that we have outgrown the simple unorganized world we used to know, where both religion and charity were mere natural human impulses, expressing themselves almost unconsciously. Religion is now almost over-organized, with its congregations and pews, its stated times for worship, its creeds, and its set prayers, in public, made by a minister for his congregation. Organized charity has some of the faults of organized religion, and is conscious of them, but I hope there will never be a creed of charity, or at least none that will not change with each day's new knowledge.

The minister recognizes that although the practice of religion is open to all men, the conduct and guidance of an organized church is a matter for experts. The minister does not so clearly recognize that although the practice of charity is open to all men, the wise administration of it is beyond the knowledge of amateurs. A modern executive secretary needs to know about minimum wage laws, standards of living, employers' liability, industrial insurance, sanitation, preventive medicine, theories of education, occupational diseases, penology, pauperism, inebriety, mental disorders, and much more which can be taught but which cannot be apprehended by the light of nature. Even a district visitor for a charity organization society cannot do her work intelligently without knowing the laws in regard to child-labor, compulsory education, tenements, tuberculosis, probation, non-support, wife-desertion, eviction, chattel mortgage and a long list more. With this must go a knowledge of human nature, for, as Dr. Cabot puts it, the chief work of modern charity is the study of character under adversity. Above all must be the consecrated love which makes social service a ministry rather than an occupation.

It is easy to make a fetish of this special training, but it is dangerous to neglect its importance. It takes ability and knowledge as well as consecration to mend broken lives and to change social conditions, and as I have said once before at this conference, no competent society will employ incompetent people to help the incompetent poor. The social forces which affect the lives of both individuals and communities are dangerous in the extreme. They must, therefore, be handled by people who are competent for danger. It is, of course, absolutely necessary to play with fire if the machinery of the world is to move. If the fire does

not burn the wheels will not turn; but children should not be allowed to play with fire. The social engineer, who stokes our dangerous social fires, should have a license.

The present century is often called material. All centuries are material, and ours, perhaps, as much as the rest, but I think it will be most known as the age of charity. In being charitable it is also essentially religious. I do not think the world has ever been so religious as today, not in the sense of forms and creeds, but in the sense of loving its neighbor. There has been a renaissance of this religion, both in the churches and out of them, but even today the church does not seem to realize fully its opportunities and its duties towards the new and often bad social conditions which an age of machinery and science has brought upon us. Meanwhile from the loins of the church has sprung the great army of social workers; and modern charity, sometimes denying its parent, the church, and sometimes disowned by it, is attacking the great enemies of mankind.

There still exists a feeling that charity undervalues religion. This is very far from true. The bottom cause of voluntary poverty is not intemperance, not indolence, not ignorance, not inefficiency, not disease, but something behind all these—a lack of character; and through the centuries religion has done more to build character than any other force. If we thus admit the effect of character upon poverty, and the influence of religion upon character, we cannot fail to recognize the vital value of the church in charity. Moreover, lack of character among the rich causes quite as much poverty as lack of character among the poor.

Modern charity is the very child of the church, faulty no doubt in its heady youth, jubilant and perhaps a little intoxicated with its fast growing strength, but never in more need than now of its eternal parent. Charity, with the church, can change the world.

The church perhaps has felt that modern charity has claimed too much for itself, and has recognized the church too little. Good men strove to lift the world through social work centuries before the special profession or occupation of social work was ever heard of; but the point remains that we have now in the world for the first time a special life, a new calling, an occupation or profession, as you please, the object of which is to help mankind not through seclusion and withdrawal as with the earliest monastic orders, but through a militant attack on the causes of human sin and misery.

The charitable social worker has perhaps ungenerously appropriated the name of social work, but we realize that all professions and all occupations are becoming socialized. It is the blessed privilege of the social worker to be able to do all day what his friends can do only in their spare hours. The social use of life is becoming established. The lawyers and doctors vie with each other as public spirited useful citizens. Religion is giving us a social church which thinks more of the miseries

of the poor and how to cure them, than of the dogmas of theology, and the history of Palestine. The church makes good men, and good men make a good world, but being good means more than it used to, and the church now teaches both by precept and by example that a man is not really good unless he lends a hand.

In the last thirty years, not only through the efforts of charitable social workers but through the social use of life generally, ignorance has been so reduced that in our better states illiteracy among the native born is practically extinct. Disease is so reduced that in New York City the death rate last year was 30 per cent less than it was forty years ago. It is said to be now 16 1-2 per thousand, instead of 25, a saving annually of 400,000 lives in New York City. Sin and vice are so reduced, thanks both to the character-building of the church and the intelligent work of modern charity and penology, that there is less violence than a century ago; adultery, drunkenness and gaming are less practiced and less tolerated in society; commerce is more honest on the whole; and the standards of political life have been raised perceptibly. We need eloquent tongues, however, to point out our gains as an encouragement to more gains, and to point out also the horrors which still surround us. "If my father and his friends only saw these things they would remedy them," said an incipient millionaire of my acquaintance when he saw the hours and conditions of unskilled labor in Buffalo. The church can unseal many eyes.

I do not mean that I should like to hear the church preach social sermons. A sermon directly on a social topic often repels me, especially if it is statistical. I like better, as has been often said, to see the church the dynamo which generates social power, than the engine which employs it. Gradually the Protestant church has given over education and the care of the sick to the laity, though the Roman Catholic church keeps its parochial schools and hospitals. There are still Protestant church schools and denominational hospitals, but they are now the exception. Whether charity also will become lay is now the question. In administration it has the very great advantage that Catholic, Jew and Protestant can and do unite, as they cannot in church charities. Where there is a lay organization therefore, the churches might well co-operate, and even where there is none the church might help to form one.

In the past the church has concerned itself more with individual than with social sins. The church took up anti-slavery slowly, and temperance almost as slowly. It is now preaching against tuberculosis and child-labor, but there are burning social questions which are more doubtful than these. One New York church preaches against the tariff and the Standard Oil Company. A deacon left it because he said he did not like a creed which included the price of oil and the eight-hour day. Is it not better, however, for the churches to divide on forty live issues than on forty dead ones, as they are doing now? What real principle now separates the Protestant denominations? There is often

a word of God which needs to be spoken bravely to the vested interests in the pews in behalf of labor and the poor.

The social use of life seems to be gradually pervading the whole community. The labor unions, the Young Men's Christian Associations, and the Chambers of Commerce, as well as the churches, are working for sanitation, housing, play grounds, pure milk, and against tuberculosis and child labor. When all are at last inextricably engaged in social work the social workers may have nothing to do except to organize, so far as they can, the work that is going on around them.

To some it seems an important question who shall lead in this work, and the activity of others raises a fear lest the social workers so-called will lose some of their present standing. Perhaps I should rather say a fear lest the work will be less well done by those who have had less special training, in schools of philanthropy for instance. I am not concerned about this. There is still so much work to do that there is more than room for all. Let us offer our aid to all good agencies, and if we are not needed it will be, I think, our fault in not making ourselves indispensable. As the work proceeds, it will want organization, and I imagine that we shall find ourselves much wanted if we are modest and equipped. Let us have charity in charity. I hope that the churches will send their best workers to serve on lay committees, and that the charity organization societies and settlements will send their best workers to serve on the committees of churches and Chambers of Commerce. If all will strive for service, and none will strive for glory, the world will gain, and the question of organization will practically take care of itself. The question is partly one of local conditions. I would rather follow a strong pastor in social work than a weak secretary. I know of one place where a six hundred dollar secretary, who was worth it, complained because the ministers of the city would not follow his lead. What is essential is that the church and charity shall feel that they are allies, and that they are fighting heartily side by side in a combined attack on both individual and social sin and misery.

Families and Neighborhoods

Report of the Committee by Porter R. Lee, General Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, Chairman.

The Social Function of Case Work.

The report of the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods is an attempt to consider the processes of charitable and neighborhood work in relation to the whole movement for decent and normal living, the various phases of which make up the field of this Conference. A sharp change in the dominant emphasis of the discussions of this Conference began to appear about twelve years ago. This change in emphasis reflects a similar change in social thought and activity. Since social work ceased to be concerned only with the more obvious needs of the poor and the unprivileged and began to seek a wholesome life for all men, social workers have transferred their attack from these obvious needs alone and are challenging every menacing force in the social order. The result has been deplorable to some, bewildering to many, but, inspiring to most. New protests against stagnant charity, new objectives, new processes, new commissions, new societies have developed more rapidly than we have been able to invent names for them. The boon to humanity which this development portends is no longer theoretical. Organizations and individuals who fail to bring their purposes into harmony with it must be considered obstacles to human welfare.

The report of this committee at the last National Conference, however, raised a practical question which this emphasis upon prevention and conditions drives home to every organization whose work is primarily with the needs of individuals. Such are the organizations which compose this section of the Conference. "Is our task limited or is it broadened and dignified by these new developments?" was the question asked by this section last year. The discussion which followed brought out the essential relationship between retail social work in family and neighborhood rehabilitation and wholesale social work in preventive campaigns. The Committee's program this year, and especially at this evening session, has been designed to carry this discussion a bit further along the same line. We hope to reveal case work as a necessary factor in our social equipment and to formulate a standard of case work which is needed as a foundation for our social program as a whole.

What is Case Work?

The term itself is unfortunate and repellent, but not more so than others which we have invented to describe processes whose purposes are very human. We are more concerned with facts than with names, however, and case work as a fact is much more inspiring than its name. We shall never advance beyond the need for case work although we may sometime give it a more attractive name.

Case work is associated with the method of charitable organizations. It signifies an attempt to split up a large problem into units and to deal with those units efficiently and comprehensively. From this point of view good case work is very much more than the method of charitable organizations. It must be the foundation of any work for human welfare, which deals with units—whether the units be destitute families, patients, neighbors, employees, pupils or sinners. It is made up of the interplay of similar units. What composes the problem of dependence is a large number of families unable to maintain their moral and economic independence; what composes the problem of disease is a large number of unhealthy people; what composes the housing problem is a large number of unsanitary houses; what composes the social problem as a whole are those people of our communities who lack decencies and those who fail to make wise social use of their surplus.

The re-adjustments which are expected to solve these problems, even when they are brought about by the most complete wholesale methods, must rest upon an understanding of the needs, the resources, and the re-actions under improved conditions of individuals. The method of effecting this understanding of the needs, resources, and re-actions of individuals is case work. It is fundamental in a social program.

We cannot claim novelty for this conception and we do not attempt it. If we are candid in the face of our experience, however, we must admit that our standards of case work have been inadequate. We have not always recognized that the life of a man is an entity and that normal life is made up of elements which have a vital relation to each other; that the needs, the resources and the re-actions of a man in one sphere of his activity are bound to affect for good or ill the other sides of his life. What is true of a man is true of a family, is true of a neighborhood, and is true of a community.

Without attempting to be precisely scientific, we may say that the factors in normal life are health, education, recreation, employment, and moral and spiritual vigor. To strengthen any one of these factors in a man's life without regard to the others is to follow a blind alley and fail. No one can be present permanently in the life of a man, a family, a neighborhood, or a community without all of the others. Moreover it is not possible, with our present knowledge of the causes that underlie human misery, for any one individual or any one agency alone to

remove them successfully. It is not possible in the case of an individual—much less in the case of a family, still less in the case of a neighborhood or a community. The process involves the co-operative service of many kinds of skill and many points of view.

The understanding of the inter-action of these factors is the basis of case work. It is as important for those whose specialty is the promotion of health as it is for those whose specialty is the elimination of bad housing conditions or of child labor, or the provision of recreational facilities, the unfolding of neighborhood possibilities, or the rehabilitation of broken family life. To effect this understanding for an individual unit requires, first, inquiry into fact, and second, co-operative service; and these two processes, when they are logically followed by an imaginative, well-equipped worker constitute case work. Case work, as the foundation upon which rests our social program, must be as comprehensive and thorough-going as this.

If this conception is sound, there is an obligation for thorough-going case work upon charitable and neighborhood agencies which we have never completely discharged. A knowledge of facts is fundamental in the process. This session will be devoted to the use of these facts which case work reveals in two different directions:—First, for the promotion of effective co-operation between agencies whose services are necessary to rehabilitate a needy family or to relieve a stifled neighborhood; and second, the analysis and interpretation of these facts in terms of problems rather than in terms of individuals as a contribution to campaigns for social prevention. As an introduction to the discussion of these two phases of case work in the papers to be presented at this session, both call for brief mention in this report.

Charitable Solidarity.

Some social workers give to the term "co-operation" the meaning of a real social force. They find an admirable illustration of the efficiency of the principle of co-operation in the very problems they are trying to solve. The co-operation of the forces that make for human misery is efficient and complete. With unerring precision, ignorance leads to inefficiency; inefficiency leads to exploitation; exploitation leads to over-work and unprotected work; overwork and unprotected work lead to disease; disease leads to every other kind of weakness, and at every step in the process the collateral evils of bad housing, premature employment, and immorality emerge. Opposing this solid phalanx of human misery, we have set a collection of assorted laws, charities and other agencies whose only working connection is the thing which we call "co-operation." It requires neither negotiation, persuasion, patience nor education to produce team work between a rotting tenement, a long shift in a steel mill and the germs of tuberculosis, in their attack on the health of a man and his family. It often takes all these and more, however, to bring about between social

agencies the team work of low potency which we now call "co-operation." We indict no society and no profession in making this statement. It is merely an honest recognition of shortcomings of which we have all been guilty.

Non-social social work is not an epigram; it is a fact. Every community contains organizations with narrow conceptions of their functions; organizations which fail to realize that they cannot be successful in the one corner of the field of misery which they have pre-empted for themselves unless in every other corner of the field there is also an efficient organization with the closest kind of dove-tailing between corners. Every time the difficulties in the way of co-operation loom larger than its possibilities the poor and the unprivileged are certain to suffer. They suffer for the sake of the loyalty of the charitable to a theory or a name.

Charitable men and women long ago recognized that the poor and the unprivileged could be helped less efficiently by individuals working as individuals than by individuals working through organizations. Organizations for social work, however, have been slower to realize that the needs of the poor and the unprivileged will be less efficiently helped by organizations working individually, than by organizations working as component parts of the charitable equipment of the community. A community point of view toward the alleviation of human misery need not involve any organic union between agencies for social work. It needs only a conception which makes each agency regard its work in the community as supplementary to the work of the others, and as necessary to their efficiency as they are to its. The result is something more than charitable co-operation. It is nothing less than charitable solidarity.

Charitable co-operation has meant at best a feeling of cordiality, a mutual recognition of merit, or an agreement between agencies to keep off each other's field. Possibly this conception is inevitable as long as charities are founded upon the motives of the benevolent rather than upon the needs of the poor. An effective attack on the misery of a community both by the retail and the wholesale method calls for the same solidarity between curative and preventive forces as now exists between the forces that make for misery. If we are to have anything like an efficient charitable equipment we must recognize that efficiency requires both a sharp differentiation in function between societies and the efficiency of individual societies each in its own field. Individual societies should then confine themselves to the work which lies in their own fields. They should be prepared to do as much of it as the community asks them to do, depending on other agencies for those services needed by their clients for which they are not equipped. The result of this kind of co-operation cannot fail to be a dove-tailing of efforts and the substitution of charitable solidarity for what has been at best a loosely linked assortment of agencies.

We in social work can well afford to consider respectfully the suggestions of the promoters of scientific management in business. Isolation in social work is unthinkable. Concentration, efficiency and co-operation are necessary factors in a community's charitable equipment. Charitable and social solidarity must be the test of a community's success in dealing with the forces that make for human misery. This solidarity must work out through recognition of the principle of mutual dependence, through realizing that nobody is always right, and that the only infallible basis of agreement is facts. We hope to illustrate this charitable solidarity as a welding force between agencies in the papers by Dr. Meyer and Mr. Davis.

Social Facts.

The second phase of case work which we have selected for our discussion tonight is the interpretation of results in terms of social problems rather than in terms of individuals. As we have already pointed out, the social program even in its largest bearing must inevitably be based upon an understanding of units. Societies dealing with people in distress and settlements dealing with neighborhoods have long recognized the tremendous social value of the unused material in their records and experience. Case work, as a method by which a charitable society or a neighborhood agency checks the influence of adverse social conditions, restores a family to independence, or raises a standard of living, is an epitome of the results of the social program as a whole. In other words, by safeguarding health, by education, by increasing facilities for recreation, by promoting industry under fair and wholesome conditions, and by ministering to moral and spiritual welfare, case work agencies for a family here and a neighborhood there, can abolish to a considerable degree bad housing, ignorance, ill-health, and exploitation, and the result is a family or a neighborhood rehabilitated. Rightly interpreted this experience is merely an indication of the life that would be possible for all families and all neighborhoods if adverse social conditions could be abolished for all.

This is not a claim that the abolition of all social evils would follow the extension of case work to the life of every person in the community. Important as case work is and always will be we still have to reckon with conditions which can be controlled only through community action. It is, however, a claim for the value of the experience of charities and neighborhood agencies as a basis for preventive social reforms. Year by year agencies for case work are accumulating material of the first importance as a guide to the philanthropy of the community. We have commonly been too busy, however, trying to perform a big task with a limited force to stop at intervals to get a perspective on our work and take inventory of the lessons we have learned. Such interpretation as we have done has been haphazard and

desultory. It must be done more consistently and effectively if our social program is to succeed.

Surely no agencies in the community have a more vital interest in the prevention of disease and industrial accidents than dispensaries which are constantly treating the sick and the crippled. Likewise no agencies in the community have a profounder interest in standards of living than charitable societies which are constantly dealing with those whose standards are low. In order, however, to further such efforts as have been made for the prevention of disease and industrial accidents and for the study of standards of living, special investigations, involving duplicated expense and unnecessary quizzing of the poor, have frequently been undertaken when a large part of the information had been secured already only to be lost in the files of charitable societies.

Progress in medicine has been made possible in large part through the science of pathology, the study of disease. The progress of social betterment will come in large part through social pathology, the study of the poor and unprivileged. It ought to be unnecessary to establish new laboratories, new agencies for this study. We already have more than enough agencies whose workers daily come into first hand contact with misery. Too often, however, the visitor of the Charity Organization Society regards an unsanitary dwelling merely as an obstacle to the welfare of Mrs. Jones and her family in whose behalf he is making some calls this morning. If every such worker were to translate the home surroundings of their Mrs. Joneses into terms of a large community problem not only would the work of the local housing association be facilitated but the charity organization society would be adding to its own efficiency.

From a study of cases of tuberculosis has come the mass of facts, bald, brutal, unimpeachable, which have inspired and fed the tuberculosis campaign. These facts have been translated from terms of individual consumptives into terms of a large social problem. Why should not settlements, charity organization societies, dispensaries and relief societies translate their case work similarly from terms of families and patients into terms of large social problems—work accidents, standards of living, family desertion, intemperance and over-work—making the facts in their possession the basis of preventive as well as remedial efforts? Many such agencies have done so. The contribution they have thus made to social advance is the strongest possible argument in favor of the social interpretation of case work. The importance of this interpretation, we hope to make clear in Dr. Devine's paper on "Our Social Program."

The Responsibility of Power.

Behind charitable organizations, behind social programs and social legislation looms large the responsibility of power. We make progress only as resourceful people, whether their resources be money, intelli-

gence, influence or skill, use their power wisely and in harmony with the efforts of others. Despite our programs and our emphasis upon economic environment, we know that communities will offer decent opportunities for normal life only when the power of their resourceful people is guided by facts and has been given a sense of responsibility. The social publicity inherent in legislative campaigns, in literature, and the press is a potent factor in placing responsibility upon power. The dazzling results of wholesale efforts, however, must not blind agencies whose work is with smaller units to their opportunities in the same direction. Such agencies in the contacts which they make through their case work are achieving less conspicuously, but no less importantly, the same educative results. To go from the social program as a whole, with its large vision and inspiring goal, to the humbler tasks of case work is to make the long dreary drop from ideals to routine, from the heroic to the humdrum, from enthusiasm to devotion. We cannot afford to be so dazed by the drop that we are indifferent to the immense social importance of routine tasks. No case worker can afford to be blind to a vision, for example, of a healthy community, a community in which is neither disease nor physical defect. Neither can a case worker afford to forget that an essential step towards this healthy community is the removal of the adenoids from this undernourished girl whose widowed mother has just made application for relief. The removal of this child's adenoids, and the correction of those conditions of home, industrial and moral life of which they may be a symptom, may be a monotonous task and require days or weeks of careful planning and tactful persuasion. There can be no city healthful, however, until her adenoids are removed, and until in the process of getting them removed we have both learned something of the causes of human misery and related our knowledge to the community's efforts for human welfare. In the promotion of charitable solidarity and wholesome living conditions we venture to assign an important and essential place to comprehensive and thorough-going case work.

OUR SOCIAL PROGRAM.

By Edward T. Devine, New York, General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society.

Is it practicable to formulate a social program which shall gather up the rich and varied experiences of this national conference, which shall be consistent with our traditions, alive to new conditions, and in tune with the social conscience of our time? Probably not: we are a cantankerous people, not very ready to play the game of follow the leader and very insistent on the corner stone principle that this is a conference and not a congress, a place to exchange views and not a place to reach binding conclusions. Our resolutions relate always to the social amenities, and not to social readjustments. We have no sympathy with the outraged delegate in the International Tuberculosis Congress in Washington who declared that if the Congress adjourned without resolutions—by which he meant resolutions embodying the opinions of the delegates on scientific subjects—if it adjourned without resolutions, it would adjourn without results. When we remember that the foremost authorities, like Robert Koch himself, had participated in the deliberations, giving their experiences, their observations, and their scientific opinions, and that all these would appear in the proceedings, we may well be amazed that any one could suppose that the results of the Congress would depend on the outcome of the deliberations of a secret committee on resolutions, in which the vote of an obscure delegate from anywhere would balance that of Dr. Koch, or Dr. Bowditch, and we may contemplate with satisfaction the tradition of this Conference in which we think that even without resolutions we are able to get results.

With full recognition therefore that the invitation to present this paper is not equivalent to appointment as a "committee on platform," I venture to put forth very tentatively certain suggestions as to what our social program is tending to be—as I see it—and as to the natural relation between that program or any social program and individual case work.

I take it for granted, without argument, that our social program includes generous provision for those who are afflicted in body or mind; charity organization; housing reform; the prevention of preventable disease and of preventable accidents; the preservation of reasonable standards of living and the establishment of occupational standards; the reformation of corrigible offenders, with free use of the indeterminate sentence, of probation, and of specialized courts, at least for children; the abolition of the county jail; the permanent segregation of the morally insane and incorrigible; the protection of infant life by milk inspection, the instruction of nursing mothers, and otherwise; the conservation of childhood by school inspection and attention to physical needs, by the total prohibition of child labor for wages, and by numerous other means that occur at once to the minds of all of us. These things, and the things which they imply, are not yet accomplished, but they have recognition, and nothing

that I could say to this audience would be likely to bring them nearer. Although we have adopted no resolutions in regard to them, we have I think attained a consensus of opinion in regard to them which is complete, and which in this Conference needs no further discussion except as to methods.

Let us therefore turn our attention to certain other and perhaps more controversial subjects, which are thrust upon our attention by the logic of events, and on which our experiences with individuals in their homes and in institutions of various kinds may naturally be expected to throw some light.

For the first time since the troubled epoch of the Civil War it seems probable that we are about to amend our Federal Constitution. The Income Tax Amendment and the amendment providing for election of senators by popular vote are competing for the sixteenth place among the amendments. The lone socialist congressman has spoken in his Milwaukee accent, to which he thinks the country is beginning to get accustomed, in favor of a Federal constitutional convention. In the light of the recent New York decision declaring unconstitutional a law providing for compensation for industrial accidents, and declaring in effect that any law which makes obligatory compensation for accidents resulting from ordinary trade risks is unconstitutional, and in the light of other similar decisions, I would be ready, if there were the slightest use in doing so, to put into our social program an emphatic demand for constitutional amendment.

We do well to hold the constitution itself in high esteem as an instrument of social welfare. John A. Kasson, in a memorial volume of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Promulgation of the Constitution, used the following language:

"All vigorous and harmonious national life demands some object of common reverence and devotion. In monarchical countries this object is the Crown, or the person on whose head it rests. In our republic no living President, accepted or rejected as he is by a varying majority and at frequent intervals, can ever become the object of general and concentrated respect and affection. It is the great Charter bequeathed to us by our Fathers, and that alone, which can give to our whole country its central object of obedience and reverence—an object which shall rise above all the changing purposes and alliances of the passing hour. It stands supreme, above us all, ruling our rulers and receiving their oath-bound allegiance. It is surrounded by many guards against the assaults of transient human passion and the aggression of man's selfish ambitions. It rises imperially above the Congress, the Courts and the President. It was living before we came, it will live after we depart. There it stands, and is ordained to remain, immovable, unchangeable, save in accordance with the laws of its own life, grand in its simplicity, majestic in its power. To this only Sovereign of our jurisdiction and Lord Protector of our rights and liberties our allegiance and our devotion are worthily consecrated. May the youth of our time, when they shall be seated in the places of trust and authority, show themselves the enlightened and willing servants of this immortal Sovereign."

I submit that this language, elevated and eloquent as it is, and just as it may be in its intent, is still the language of hyperbole and of sterile legal tradition—not the language of a live and stirring social program. Our constitution after all is not our sovereign—but the servant of the sovereign will of the living nation. If the reverence and devotion, the concentrated respect and affection, in which the great charter is held, are in danger of diminution, this is because we and our fathers have too much regarded it as “immovable and unchangeable”—and have not taken into account that the laws of its life, by which it may be modified as occasion demands, are the laws of national life, of social justice and of social welfare, not the laws of legal formalism or such laws as uphold industrial exploitation and special privilege. Our constitution has many virtues, but it is not democratic and it is not a flexible and ready instrument of social progress. Personally I would not be averse to Mr. Berger's proposition for a constitutional convention. When I survey the vast literature of commendation which has accumulated above the remains of the convention of 1787, I am reassured as to the probable results of such a movement if it should be successful. But, like the mover of the resolution, I hardly expect it to pass at this session; and therefore I content myself by suggesting that the sixteenth amendment—unless a renumbering is made necessary by the adoption of one or both of those now pending,—might provide as an additional paragraph in section 8 of Article I, that the Congress shall have power to determine the conditions of the wage contract with a view to protecting the health and promoting the safety of any of the parties thereto, and to regulate or prohibit the employment of children in any industry, and to classify employments in such a way as to protect workers by suitable legislation in such as are dangerous, or for any other reason require exceptional regulation, and to make provision for compensation by insurance or otherwise to persons injured by accidents or by the conditions of employment, or to persons dependent upon them.

Probably all trade unionists and socialists would favor some such amendment. Members of this Conference, however, in their daily experiences in relief societies, in hospitals, and in orphan asylums, have reason to know, even better than trade unionists or socialists, that the best solution for the problems of factory legislation, the protection of children and of women in industry, the prevention of industrial accidents, and the rational distribution of the financial burden of deaths and injuries from accidents, lies in national legislation. Every state is held back from progressive legislation by the competition or the fear of competition from states in which there is not corresponding legislation. Industry has become national and any effective control of industry in the interests of social welfare must also become national.

Realizing that constitutional amendment would be a slow and difficult procedure, even after a large majority of all our people have definitely made up their minds that it is desirable, we are led to examine the

instrument once more, "in the light of reason" as it were, to see whether any considerable part of what is desirable can be constitutionally accomplished without amendment. Senator Beveridge, who introduced the meat inspection act, of which no one has ever challenged the constitutionality, has attempted, as this Conference, from his own eloquent presentation of his plan in Minneapolis, is well aware, to apply the same idea to the prevention of child labor by national legislation. His idea was to exclude from interstate commerce the products of any industry in which children are employed.

I have recently had an opportunity to read a very able brief by Mr. Miles M. Dawson, in support of the constitutionality of a proposed statute which would utilize the taxing power of the United States to establish a system of insurance for industrial accidents, virtually on the plan which has been in operation for a generation in Germany. The constitutional question is one for the lawyers, with only incidental lay help now and then, when the "light of reason" seems in danger of being obscured. But the question as to the merits of the end to be accomplished is primarily not for lawyers, save as they are also public spirited citizens. It is far more for social workers, for managers of hospitals where the injured are brought to be healed or to die; for the directors of orphan asylums where the offspring of the killed receive the indirect bounty paid by the state to the industry which does not compensate for its accidents; for the agents of the charitable societies whose case records are filled with the stories of bitterly fought lawsuits, of sickening delays, and of shocking injustice. We, even better than the lawyers, know that our existing American system of employers' liability stands condemned at the bar of outraged informed public opinion. The case against it is complete. The states must push energetically along the path on which some of them have already entered, and no agitation for national legislation or for constitutional amendment must be allowed to impede, or indeed can seriously stay, that movement. But if, in their wisdom, statesmen can devise a plan under the constitution which will not have the effect of blocking state legislation and which will give us a uniform national system of insurance against industrial accidents, I feel confident that such a plan will receive enthusiastic support from the membership of this Conference.

As the second feature of our social program, and one equally fortified by our daily experiences with individual families, I would ask our state legislatures and municipal authorities to deal with the congestion of population. The evils of congestion we are coming to realize as never before—partly because they are really greater than ever before. Passing from the stage of vague realization that there is something unhealthy about both room congestion and ground congestion, we are confronted with certain definite proposals for the treatment of the disease. In New York City, where congestion of population is so much greater than elsewhere that we claim a virtual monopoly of the genuine article, a municipal commission has investigated the subject and submitted a large number

of plans, with many of which I sincerely regret to say I am not in accord. In the ninth section, however, of the fifth chapter of the report, headed "Measures to keep land cheap and promote the provision of good and cheap housing," there are some very specific and radical recommendations which I would be willing to incorporate in our special program:

That the rate of taxation on buildings should be less than upon land—the commission recommends one-half,—securing the reduction by equal change in each of five consecutive years.

That the transit system of the city should be extended so as to utilize to their full capacity the subways, bridges and elevated lines, and that lines should be run into all sections of the city—I would add, and beyond the city limits—even though some such lines may not pay money profits at first, because they will be extremely profitable from the point of view of conserving the general welfare and prosperity of the citizens, and in developing the city.

If I may slightly modify the phraseology again I would say—not, because they will but rather in such a way that they will be profitable, etc. In other words, indiscriminate projecting of the lines everywhere might conceivably of course not be profitable. The intelligent projection of lines from the social point of view is what would be profitable, but it takes quite as much discrimination as to project them for pecuniary profit.

Quite as fundamental as taxation and the transit system is another recommendation of the Commission that there should be a real city plan, including the following items:

The restriction of factories to certain districts.

The provision of transit lines and means of carrying freight upon the basis of such a districting of the city.

The determination of the main lines of streets and secondary streets.

Provision of sewers and methods of sewage disposal and sub-structures for pipes.

Provision of adequate sites for parks and playgrounds and recreation centers and municipal buildings.

Acquisition of adequate land by the city for all public purposes.

If the Commission had spared the other thirteen sets of recommendations, however desirable some of them may be, and concentrated upon these three radical remedies for congestion—taxation, transit, and a city plan—there would have been a better understanding of the subject and in my opinion a greater chance of favorable action. These remedies are equally pertinent in other communities where the evils of congestion are less serious, and they are of course more easily applied where land values are not so excessive and population is less dense.

A third feature of our social program—and this is quite as important as the others, although it is of a different kind—is the further development and application of the idea of a survey of social conditions—a com-

prehensive inquiry into all the forces, economic and social, which are acting upon the standards of living of the community, as a basis for deciding what particular work should be undertaken, what abuses there are to correct, what needs to be met, what agencies to develop, what things there are which are good enough to let alone. We have long preached and practiced the doctrine that assistance to a family must be based upon an accurate knowledge of the circumstances of the family. It is soon to become a commonplace, if it is not one already, that social activities in the same way must be preceded by and founded upon an accurate and impartial survey of social conditions.

Our social program must deal with old age pensions, with some of the practical measures designed to influence heredity as a social fact, and with numerous other issues with which I have not now the time, nor to tell the truth the inclination to deal. Like Father William, I have answered three questions and that is enough.

There remains, however, the inquiry as to the relation between the daily experiences of individual social workers and large social programs. What have the rank and file of those who are doing the hard daily work of the charitable societies to do with social philosophy?

From helping the widow and fatherless, it seems a far cry to amending the United States Constitution; or from moving a consumptive's family out of a damp, dark tenement, to a revision of the laws regarding the taxation of real estate. Yet the prophets in the social work of the twentieth century are precisely those who are able to make their voices heard across such distances; who know the needs of the widow and the consumptive and who are ready to face the obstacles to meeting these needs whether they lie in constitutions or in tax laws, in social institutions or in personal character, in bad heredity or in the maladjustments of the social order.

In the last analysis our social program is based upon experience with individuals. It may or may not be our own experiences. If our own experiences with individuals in trouble, or with specific kinds of social work, are broad enough and deep enough, and if we have the capacity for seeing things in their broader bearings, we may indeed contribute from our personal experience to the making or the carrying out of a social program. What we have seen with our own eyes and with the eyes of our associates, what we have learned from our own difficulties and limitations and mistakes, is more illuminating to us and more convincing to others than what comes from the books of philosophers or from the ratiocination of the inner consciousness. And yet we must not exaggerate this particular source of inspiration and judgment. We cannot ignore the experience of the race and the reflections of wise men, even of wise men who have had no experience in case work. Our experience with individuals and with families who are in trouble and who demand our aid, is one element, and for practical campaign purposes a most important element, in the making of our program. That experience may suggest new ideas; it may

corroborate and confirm ideas which have their origin elsewhere; it may demonstrate that certain ideas are erroneous or impracticable; or finally, it may supply us with abundant illustrations with which to reinforce the arguments in behalf of particular measures. It is difficult to trace the origin of even recent ideas, and to say confidently which of our constructive social movements had their inception in the every day experiences of social workers in the homes of the poor or in institutions, and which of them sprang like Minerva full grown and armored from the brain of some natural born philanthropist, who subsequently, it may be, went to the tenements, the institutions, and the practical workers for detailed information. Fortunately the social worker is sometimes also a philosopher, a natural born philanthropist, a seer of visions and a dreamer of dreams, a statesman with imagination and a knack for putting two and two together to make five. When we combine social facts understandingly, we always get a mathematically unaccountable surplus.

Our practical social workers have it in them to contribute vastly more to the social programs of the future than they have been expected to contribute, or than they have contributed, in the past. It is a false doctrine that the workers should do the work and the directors the thinking; that the secretary or agent, the matron or superintendent, or head worker, or side worker or foot worker, or whatever name may appropriately belong to the real worker in any department of social work, should carry out a policy which has been decided upon by founders, or contributors, at least by officers higher in the hierarchy, by philosophers perhaps, but if so, philosophers of a preceding generation rather than of our own, or if by living men, then at least by men over sixty years of age in whom the conservative and mellowing influences of responsibility and prosperity have done their perfect work. Far be it from me to aid in undermining confidence in the ripe counsels of advancing age. Even in our own comparative youth it is wise to look forward sympathetically to the time when that is to be our principal asset, and it is never safe to assume that the radically testing thumb of eager and ardent youth may not discover mellowed and conserved spots in us here and there long before we ourselves are conscious of them. Age and experience for counsel—but initiative and fresh ideas should come from the actual personal contact with the active work of the world. In the tenement, in the court room, in the legislative lobby, in the reformatory, in the factory, on the playground, in the school room, in the hospital clinic, in the confessional, and in the consulting room, where reporters gather the news and where editors feel the electrical currents of the throbbing world of affairs, there are the sources of our inspiration, the solution of our problems, the correctives of our mistaken and shortsighted views, the material for our campaigns.

That our programs should be sound and well established it is essential that the rank and file of the workers, those who come into first hand contact with wounded and bruised humanity, with the mechanism of

justice and education and reformation, should be capable first of course of carrying out instructions—of doing the particular thing, whatever it is, which they have undertaken to do, and doing it well—but secondly that they should be capable also of seeing the relations of this thing which they do to underlying conditions and causes to other corrective, educational, and remedial influences, and to the larger social economy of which the day's work is a part. It is desirable that they should be capable of seeing these things and none the less desirable that they should have time and favorable conditions for thinking about them, for suggesting changes and reforms, and if they have constructive minds, for proposing and securing full and unprejudiced consideration of their ideas and plans. We shall get on faster, and we shall be more certain of choosing the right direction, if by generous compensation, by avoiding the strain of undue pressure of work by the encouragement of every promise of larger usefulness, we develop the capacity of the workers in every field and help them to relate their routine and it may be uninteresting toil to the great social ends towards which that toil is logically directed.

Finally, however, we must recognize facts as they are. We cannot get our work done entirely by philosophers and prophets, and I fear it would not be well done if we could. There is a place for practical workers, men and women who are faithful in carrying out the plans devised by others, who can do what needs to be done day after day, in case after case, and do it well, who do not have the training, or the inclination, or the inherent capacity for generalizing about social conditions, or for devising remedies, though they may feel keenly the suffering of those to whom they minister, though they may have a sympathetic mind, and a sure touch for the details of case work.

I conceive it to be the peculiar task, and the glorious opportunity, of the director or the executive officer of any agency in which there are such inarticulate workers, to be their spokesman, to gather into himself the personal experiences of such men and women with their first hand contact with the various aspects of human misery and of social injustice; and to distill from these wide and deep experiences the lessons which the community must needs learn. Fortunate are the workers, and fortunate is their spokesman, when there exist between them such relations of mutual confidence, of intimate understanding, of intellectual and emotional stimulus as will insure the sound and fruitful formulation by the leader of the real experiences, the half unconscious impressions, the doubts and misgivings, the original discoveries and the ultimate convictions of the rank and file of his fellow workers. In such a division of work and a union of workers, our social program will find the sources of its best ideas, the correction of its vagaries, and the pillars of its strength.

CASE WORK IN SOCIAL SERVICE AND MEDICAL AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION IN NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASES.

By Dr. Adolf Meyer, Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore.

Case work in hospital social service consists in procuring all necessary facts and securing personal contact while the patient is in the hospital; in preparing healthy conditions in the home before the patient goes back to it; and in maintaining such conditions and continuing contact with the physician as long as needed thereafter.

No case should rest until it stands clearly before us as an experiment of nature, with especial emphasis on the factors which are to be faced, whether they be modifiable or non-modifiable, and a balance attained.

This work requires good record-keeping. My advice is, (1) to keep a thorough record of current notes and letters, etc, etc., (2) to prepare the case for discussion, to have the report at the discussion taken down in shorthand, with the final summing up of the problem, the plan contrived to meet it and the expectations in the case; and (3) when the case is subjected to the final review, to show how the facts were brought in line and what points in the expectations needed corrections and demand caution in the future, and finally (4) to list the case in the general group to which it belongs.

Concerning these records I wish to emphasize two points:

(1) Records must bring out clearly the facts which guide our actions and not be a mere mass of impersonal statistical data spread over blanks. Our plea for records is not primarily for the future and for research; but the best record is the one which helps most in the handling of the case while the work is going on, and which allows other helpers to know, in the workers absence, what the facts and the plan are, etc. A case record which is valuable in this line is bound to be good for research as well, and needs but few routine supplements to be also statistically valuable. A case primarily planned for statistics is apt to be formal and empty of the very things which are decisive for the understanding of nature's experiment and our efforts to modify it. A distribution of the cases into groups must be done as one goes along, at least once a month, with the use of card catalogs and index files. If you leave the grouping and arrangement of the facts for more than a month the material overwhelms you.

(2) My second point is this:

Let the capacity of keeping a good record be the index of where you should draw the line on the number of your cases. Many a social service department is a partial disappointment because the workers take too many cases. It is hard to refuse them, because one never can judge without investigation; but respect for the quality and effectiveness of the work demands a firm resolution not to give a worker more than he or she can handle and record properly.

The record is the bookkeeping of experience. Without records it would be difficult to know and difficult to teach others the actual growth of principles in our work. The occasional criticism that organized charities spend nearly as much money on salaries as on relief can best be met if the reports furnish full evidence of the results of case work and avoid bare unexplained figures or casual or too general statements.

The problem of Medical and Social Co-operation raises all the questions of co-operation in any field. It will succeed if both the medical and the social ends are equally well organized and self-dependent and are not hampered by a fear of occasional overlapping. In this proposition, the medical end has, I am afraid, been rather desultory and my remarks are chiefly aimed at this side of the problem.

The fields under question are the social service departments of general hospitals and dispensaries and the so-called after-care agencies in psychiatry. Experience gives me a right to speak of the latter only.

Excellent work has been done in New York, chiefly under the State Charities Aid Association, and is being organized in Connecticut and in Chicago, with already a creditable record. The work in New York has been that of after-care committees of several state hospitals, one of which has a special agent; and further work in the line of prevention has been undertaken by Mr. Folks and Mr. Elwood by the distribution of leaflets.

So far the social worker's end has been excellently attended to. The medical work is still unorganized and will be until our hospitals consider it as necessary to have a physician to look after the extra-mural problems of the patients as to attend to the patients in the hospital.

When we come to the utilization of the actual medical information about a patient or a family, many points can only be decided when a physician has seen the place with his own eyes and his own experience. Many decisions must be made on the spur of the moment and cannot be put off until the social worker and the physician happen to meet again. Only the psychiatrically well trained physician can expect to meet the emergencies and use the facts about each case to their full extent. Only a physician can judge what cases promise enough result to warrant the time taken from other promising cases. Then, with the medical end attended to, the social worker finds a better defined field of work.

In our great ideal of prevention, the physician again must bring better organization of his own efforts into the system of lay-co-operation. In mental diseases we do well to begin with the cases that leave our hospital and must be protected against relapses; or they come to us in dispensaries and may need a few days or weeks of rest and setting right in a general hospital; or simple help in adjusting the

home, or all these helps. These cases furnish us a concrete personal problem of (1) patients threatened, (2) families and conditions which are not safe. In that way we get a point of attack and a specific excuse to come in with advice and help. The whole problem of social hygiene (not only on its sexual side), the education of the living children and eugenics, must be tried out on well chosen cases. A physician who supervises the work on a dozen foci of trouble, in the course of a few years, will be able to give better material for general education on problems of mental hygiene than the best intentioned lay-person today could give, or the best intentioned physician depending merely on the tales of the relatives. It will take several generations to make a deep impression, but this is the great chance of pioneer work of today, of greater importance than even the work of Pinel; a real departure towards effective preventive study. I only regret that my numerous other interests do not allow me to throw myself heart and soul into this new line of civic medicine.

I am delighted to say that the after-care committee of the Maryland Psychiatric Society has approved of the creation of a medical position directing the social work and the co-ordination of the co-operative lay agencies. As some of you may know, I am advocating the creation of districts,* keeping the patients and the hospitals as near the homes as conditions of economics and effective treatment will permit. We need provision in general hospitals for rest cases; convalescent homes in the suburbs or country with annexes for nervous cases; special reception wards for disturbing types of mental disorder; institutions in the suburbs or country for the more prolonged disorders and a relief of these from chronic cases in special divisions or annexes and in small colonies, which will allow us to keep the patients from each district within the district and within reach of the co-operative elements.

We must not forget that our present system of large institutions was the first crude effort to escape intolerable medieval conditions and exploitations by city or county politicians, at a time when no trained psychiatrists could be found and no standards were established. Today, the problem takes a more natural turn. Small hospitals for definite districts and possibilities of organizing hospital and colony, general hospitals and dispensaries, and the civic and social work of a manageable district constitute a practical and manageable method, more likely to get at the root of the evil than our palatial or fortress-like great institutions in the remote corners of the state. We need the right kind of centralization of supervision and standards, with decentralization and corresponding organization of the work in working districts.

On the alienist to be chosen for extra-mural work will depend the public demonstration of the good sense and practical applicability of the plan. His efficiency and tact will do more to make the district idea with regard to the insane as obligatory and convincing as it has already become in social and charity work among the supposedly normal.

Much of what we need for the prevention of relapses and of new outbreaks of nervous and mental disorders is exactly what we need to make normal life tolerable and effective. Close contact between the workers among the normal and the workers among the sick is our first need and to make it really possible I suggest that well organized extra-mural medical work should prepare the way for effective co-ordination of medical and social work. I repeat that the secret of collaboration lies in an equally good organization of the medical as of the social camp. When the medical work is properly done, we can speak of true collaboration, free to overlap because there is good order on either side. When they can ever overlap freely, as they must to be efficient, we may be satisfied with the organization.

MEDICAL AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION.

Michael M. Davis, Jr., Ph. D., Director of the Boston Dispensary.

Medical Science has perceived beyond disease the social conditions which cause it: beyond the sick baby, the impure milk; beyond the impure milk, the dirty, crowded home and the unsuspected dairy. Behind the broken arm of the worker we see long hours of labor and unprotected machinery. Modern medicine has come to deal, from the preventive standpoint, with social causes of disease; and modern philanthropy is beginning to wrestle with social causes of poverty as well as with the individual results which we see in the poor.

From the common ground of the social problem, underlying both the problem of disease and that of poverty, we approach the subject of co-operation. This common standpoint necessitates co-operation. A physician, "visiting in the homes of the poor," calls on Mrs. Smith, an actual Boston lady with another name. She is found in bed, unable to do her housework, although she has quite a family to care for. Her husband is not on the scene. The doctor's examination reveals no physical cause for her weakness, nor do her answers to his questions. He is nonplussed. He communicates, however, with a social agency, and learns that the husband had been known as a periodical drinker. Afterward he finds that at the time of his visit Mr. Smith was there, too, prone in the cellar. With the knowledge of the husband's habit, it did not take the doctor long to decide that Mrs. Smith's trouble came primarily from worry. The next day, after a good talk, she was up and doing her housework; within a week her husband was examined, found to have a form of heart trouble which made his present work dangerous, and given a reasonable frightening, whence he hastened to sign the pledge for a year. Soon after he secured a job which involved less risk to his health.

With either the medical or the social worker alone, Mrs. Smith's

case might have proved hopeless. With co-operation, the immediate diseases were relieved, and the family problem as a whole was handled in a preventive way. Medical and social workers are coming to understand that such co-operation spells both efficiency and economy—efficiency in getting results, and economy in utilizing many agencies, by team-play, with a minimum of waste and expense and a maximum of inter-stimulation. Such co-operation is coming to the fore especially in dealing with tuberculosis; with the diseases of children; and is at last beginning to be seriously considered with the diseases of sex. The community is becoming wearied of a policy which spends two dollars a day for "curing" a patient in a hospital; and leaves untouched the home conditions which with reasonable certainty will compel the patient or his family to return for the same expensive process. The community is coming not merely to expect, but it is going to enforce medical and social co-operation on a city-wide scale.

One form of this co-working is the co-operative utilization of records. In one of our largest cities it was recently estimated that forty-five per cent. of the population were in the habit of receiving free medical treatment at charitable out-patient departments and hospitals. Even if the average figure for American cities is only half this percentage, the accumulation of data is enormous. There are three institutions in Boston which, together, make records every year of a hundred thousand individual out-patients. The records of the bed cases are fewer, but fuller and more accurate. Rationally studied, from the combined medical and social standpoint, this mass of material would be of the first importance as the basis of a public health index, and in tracing the relations of disease to conditions of industry, housing, sanitation, and education.

Physicians interested in these matters frequently complain of two evils which only co-operation can remedy—the "duplication of medical charity" and its so-called "abuse." It is unquestionably true that among 100,000 patients of these three institutions in Boston many are treated at the same time in more than one place. Such duplication is not only wasteful of public money, but is poor treatment from a medical standpoint. The question of the abuse of medical charity, by persons who can afford to pay a physician, is much more difficult. Here the views of physician and of social worker are sometimes opposed, for the latter sees keenly the needs of the family, while the doctor in many cases feels the direct bearing of that family's treatment upon the financial support of his professional brethren. But while doctors complain and social workers dispute, neither have the facts to settle the question. We don't know who the patients are. We have no idea what proportion are really entitled to free treatment. We are not agreed what the standard of decision should be. Is the man in the clinic who takes from his pocket a gold watch worth fifty dollars, entitled to free treatment? Are the family of five earning \$15 a week

and the family of two earning \$10, equally eligible, or ineligible? We can have no standard till the social worker has been called in, on behalf of the medical institutions, to ascertain the economic and social conditions of their patients; in other words, to make a social picture, a "survey" of what those institutions mean to the community. Such surveys are the only basis on which we can proceed intelligently to remedy the duplication or the "abuse" of medical charity; or to plan the larger correlation of the hospitals and dispensaries with each other and with the social agencies of a city.

In the public schools, we are beginning to organize medical and social co-operation through visiting nurses and school physicians, but up-to-date scientific and social standards are years ahead of our practice. There is no field of public health work in which we more need to call for "full speed ahead." Hospital Social Service is another recent and flourishing form of co-operation. The social worker in dispensary and hospital is providing the physician with facts about his patients without which he would often be blind in dealing with disease. In carrying out treatment, the medical social worker aids the physician again—arranging for a vacation, or for a new job; advising in home hygiene, or showing the mother how to take care of the baby's milk. Some of this the doctor could do himself, but hasn't time. To the minds of representative physicians, medical social service has already justified itself in case work. We are only beginning to perceive its larger function of bringing the medical institution into touch with the community. The Social Service Department is helping the medical institution to see itself in perspective. It is putting up to the Hospital Board its duty of using medical material for public ends; for backing if not initiating public health programs—better housing, school inspection, street cleaning, public registration of diseases. Social Service Departments will furnish physicians, social workers and public officials, with material for these constructive programs; and from the stimulation of these Departments will be initiated the social surveys of patients that will make possible city-wide co-operative relations among medical and social agencies.

When, at the other extreme, we get down to case work with individuals, the co-operation between physician and social worker is impossible without mutual respect for technique. The physician's technique is highly developed, and is backed by age-long traditions; while the profession of the social worker is hardly, as yet, recognized as such, and its technique is still in the making. The present demands of the community, however, are pushing the social worker forward, are forcing the elaboration of his technique, and are compelling the adaptation of the standards and methods of both professions to present and to discernible future needs. For example, the medical profession attaches great weight to the practice of "medical secrecy." To make facts about a patient known to any other than the patient himself,

is a serious thing to the physician; and this the social worker must appreciate. On the other hand, the advancing social standard is pushing forward the demand that, where disease can be shown to involve a public problem, the public is entitled to know what is necessary for its own protection. We now take it for granted that the causes of all deaths, and the existence of certain contagious disease, shall be registered in Health Offices. In Massachusetts we take the same stand with regard to tuberculosis; and in more than one state are beginning to debate registration of the diseases of sex. Here we are on the firing line.

Again, the growth of visiting nursing calls for new mental attitudes on the part of both nurse and doctor. The physician's coadjutor in the homes of the poor must bear a responsibility and display an initiative which the bedside nurse in the hospital ward is not called upon to take; and the physician whose hospital experience has trained him to regard nurses as a general does a private, must learn, anew, to think of them as a captain does of his lieutenant. On the other side the training schools have the responsibility, as yet far from fulfilled, of fitting a sufficient body of workers to meet the new demands.

Both these examples indicate that the medical profession must alter some of its attitudes and re-phrase some of its "ethics" to adjust itself to changing social standards. Social work has the advantage as well as disadvantage of being in a plastic state; it need make no harder struggle than to keep itself free from the starch of professionalism. After all, medical and social co-operation, like other forms of joint activity, is more to be worked out than talked out—worked out best when approached from the broad standpoint of the citizen rather than of the vocation. The public health policies which will shape this co-operation in the future will be based upon the answers to such questions as: Will \$50,000 for Building Inspectors be more worth while than if spent on the sick poor in their homes? Is \$10,000 for a campaign of education for a Workmen's Compensation Law of more value than the same sum for beds in hospital emergency wards? These and similar problems of relative values can be wisely answered only from the view-point of citizenship, the unifying principle which is the only sound basis of right judgments and the sure antidote against professionalism.

ADEQUATE RELIEF.

By Frederic Almy, Secretary Buffalo Charity Organization Society.

Relief can be adequate in many cases without giving any money aid at all. This paper deals, however, with money relief as one of the factors in adequate treatment. It is a dangerous factor, and it is not the most important factor in treatment, but it is important. The need of adequate relief is now understood in intelligent cities, but adequate

relief is in my opinion the most neglected subject in modern charity. Our discussion and our use of relief are alike inadequate. For ten years I have been quoting on every occasion these words of Mr. Devine in 1902: "Our resources for relief are woefully inadequate. Our use of relief has been most sparing and timid. I am inclined to believe that we have caused more pauperism by our failure to provide for the necessities of life, for the education and training of children, and for the care and convalescence of the sick, than we have by excessive relief, even if we include indiscriminate alms.*"

It would be an interesting inquiry in any city to ask whether more than a fraction of its children who are in asylums are full orphans, and in the case of those who have parents, to find out in how many cases it would be better for the children, and eventually for the city in which they live, if they were maintained at home with their mothers through public or private charity if necessary. It would also be interesting to find out what proportion of the children in families known to charitable societies have conditions in their homes and in their work which are serious dangers to health or morals. Everywhere over the country, except in a few centers, families of widows are being ruthlessly scattered for lack of charity, unnecessary disease is causing anguish and poverty, and lives are being forced down to their lowest levels instead of up to their highest.

Until lately we were not ready for adequate relief. Adequate treatment had to be developed first, and this called for adequate equipment and adequate salaries, both of which are costly. Then came constructive relief, a subject of vast importance upon which this Conference needs many papers.

Adequate treatment has been discussed in many phases and forms. We have had papers on investigation, on registration, on co-operation, on administration, and on every incident of these. Some of these papers have touched upon relief, but I do not recall a paper of which charitable relief has been the main theme. We have had papers upon the dangers of relief, and upon public out-door relief as pauperizing, but none upon the use and value of relief freely given. I believe that neglect and lack of opportunity causes more poverty than unwise alms. Neglect is the great pauperizer, not relief, but the old bogey dies hard, and it is still common to speak of relief with bated breath as something unsafe and seditious. It is certainly not put in the show windows. You could look through the treasurer's report of the Boston society with a microscope and never guess that the society gave nearly \$25,000 last year in relief. Not a cent is indicated. In Philadelphia the microscope would show in a fine-type table a row of columns which include over \$25,000 for relief, but it takes good eyes and some addition; and the treasurer's report does not show it. (I have chosen for my examples the two societies whose

* The statement from me in 1902, which you quote, is hereby approved to 1911. I would be almost prepared to endorse it in advance for 1920.

EDW. T. DEVINE.

secretaries past and present, and whose work for families I most of all admire. I am not criticising their relief, but the modesty of their relief).

Constructive relief finds its chief application in work for widows with young children, and in work for tuberculous families. Both of these classes are now much considered, and both call often for the support of whole families for many years. The money is hard to find, and organized charity is being severely criticised for its insufficient aid. This criticism comes from the house of its friends. Homer Folks and Robert W. Hebbard, both experts as Ex-commissioners of Charity for New York City, have said in public that the charitable societies are failing to make good, and that they might as well admit it. Many others are saying this also. The president of a relief society in New York says that "the manner in which private charity has handled the problem of assisting the widow fills in my opinion the blackest page in the history of human endeavor." This rhetoric, however, comes from one who entirely misconceives the principles of modern charity, and who sees no dangers in the wasteful crudities of unsalaried relief.

The danger of unwise relief is of course very great, but it has been so over-emphasized that in cities where organized charity is established, I feel as if I should like to forget for a time the word pauperize, and the negative principles of our work. It is easier to win by saying "Do" than by always saying "Don't," and constructive relief is less negative than the denial of relief. I have promised, however, that in this paper I will be a conservative liberal and not forget the safe-guards. Nevertheless, I want to make it plain that in my opinion relief is not yet adequate, and that adequate relief is a neglected asset for obtaining the money necessary for adequate work. Even in a frontier community I should not hesitate to hoist at the mast head from the first day the twin banners of adequate relief and adequate treatment.

Adequate relief must always go with adequate salaries; and relief alone, without more, seldom relieves, and seldom raises standards of living. It must be relief with a plan, relief with a friend, for the gift is indeed bare without the giver. I would almost like to forbid the giving of continuous relief without a competent friendly visitor. And in new communities, or for that matter in old communities also I would emphasize the special case fund idea of money specially raised for special families, with regular reports to the givers. Pre-collected relief is a lazy resource, and relief should be hand-picked for each family so far as possible. I dislike even pre-collected work, and in Buffalo we find individual jobs and do not maintain a work-room or wood-yard.

Of course relief is dangerous, but so is steam. So is electricity. So is cocaine, which like relief eases pain and creates an appetite. Relief pauperizes, but if a family is completely disabled, ten dollars a week on which it can live will pauperize it less than two dollars a week on which it must beg. If you want plants to grow well in a drought you

must water them thoroughly, and not just sprinkle them. Watering makes the roots strike down deep, while mere sprinkling will make them turn upwards towards the water. Many relief societies in intelligent cities make it a rule never to give more than fifty dollars in one year to one family,—one dollar a week! Adequate relief pauperizes less than inadequate. It is not the quantity of relief which does it, but the quality, and it can never be too often repeated, especially where a new society is being formed, that adequate relief,—like steam, electricity, cocaine,—must go with adequate administration. This means adequate salaries; for the volunteers, although important and almost indispensable, must usually be auxiliaries rather than principals. They have scraps of time which must be organized. Good charity is expensive, as Homer Folks said last winter. A good visitor will not only get more money and make it go farther than a poor visitor, but she will give services which are more than money. I think I would rather trust a good doctor without drugs than drugs without a good doctor. The doctor now must have a degree before he can practice, for we know the harm that poor doctors can do. I look forward to the day and see it coming, when professional social workers, like lawyers and doctors, will have to pass an examination before they are allowed to practice upon the lives of the poor. These who speak of the dangers of relief must remember that "Eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty, but of every other good thing."

Many will be surprised to know that the original charity organization society, formed in London in 1868, was from the beginning a liberal relief society and that this is still the English type. In his excellent book, 'Method in Almsgiving,' Moggridge says of the London C. O. S.: "It is a rule at least more absolute than any other that relief if given at all must be adequate." When Dr. Gurteen formed the first American Charity Organization Society in Buffalo in 1877, he made it plain in his addresses and in his book that relief was not to be given, in order to allay any jealousy among the churches. The Buffalo society was prohibited by its constitution from giving relief, although there was no undenominational relief society in Buffalo. Warner said long ago in his "American Charities" (p. 385): "Many of the new organizations started out as non-relief giving charitable agencies, in this matter breaking with English tradition, and making a new departure in charitable work." He says that this allayed jealousy, and "has been the salvation of charity organization societies, preserving them for the higher purposes which they had in view." Mr. Warner says that his personal experience in Baltimore convinced him to his surprise that such a society ought never to have a relief fund, because it saps the energy and ingenuity of the district visitors. Of course this applies chiefly to pre-collected relief. At the Cincinnati National Conference in 1899 Philip W. Ayres read a notable paper on the relation of the old relief associations to the newer charity organization societies. He gave a table

of eleven cities, showing that the relief societies were from thirty to forty years older than the charity organization societies. In most cities their relations were unfriendly, but in Indianapolis and St. Paul, the relief society organized the C. O. S., and in Buffalo alone, where the C. O. S. came first, there never was any relief society. This is generally true of the newer cities where the C. O. S. came first. Dr. Ayres speaks of the charity organization societies "whose purpose was the general care of the poor without giving direct relief," and says that "the older (relief) associations started out with a declaration of principles broadly and intelligently framed for helping the poor by other means than relief giving. All, however, included relief giving as one of the means; and all were in greater or less degree swamped by this feature, losing sight of the earlier and broader objects." In the discussion which followed Robert Treat Paine, president of the Boston Society, said: "Our Associated Charities of Boston has never raised a cent for relief, and never will. I have not known a case in the past year," he continued, "where the Associated Charities passed a vote asking the Provident Society to give relief which was refused."

For some years at the National Conferences I had been an anxious inquirer as to whether we should try to abolish our outdoor city relief in Buffalo when we had nothing to take its place. We had no old and jealous relief societies, and our problem was not so much the overlapping of private relief as how to stretch it enough so that it would cover the city's nakedness. At Cincinnati I asked whether we should form a relief society or be one. Miss Richmond advised me "against swamping the splendid work of the Buffalo C. O. S. and flinging away all that experience by putting up the great barrier of a relief fund. Certainly," she said, "the people of Buffalo ought to be strong enough to organize a small relief society."

Already, at the Cincinnati Conference in 1899, there was some sign in New York and in Baltimore, of the federation of the two sorts of societies which has since followed in Washington, Chicago and elsewhere. I decided to try to make our society a relief society, but it was more easily said than done for many of my trustees still thought that relief giving by a C. O. S. was bad.

At Baltimore, December 7, 1903, on the occasion of the first annual meeting of the combined Charity Organization Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Mr. Robert W. deForest, president of the New York C. O. S., made an extended address on the relation between the two kinds of societies. He said that "about half of the charity organization societies of this country give relief from their funds while about one-half confine themselves to getting it from others." He said that "charity organization societies have increasingly recognized the honorable place which material relief holds among the instruments of charitable work," and that "if in the community where a charity organization society is organized no relief societies exist,

certainly that charity organization society must have funds for the purpose." It was in this address that he used the phrase, "inadequate relief is torture and temptation." Dr. Devine said in Boston in 1902: "I think I am the most radical advocate of relief that I know. I mean cash and fuel and clothing and medicines and furniture and tools and assistance in every conceivable form." All this was quoted at our annual meeting in Buffalo the following February, when I called loudly for more relief. At a meeting in January I complained that our society "has often given insufficient aid because the money was hard to find, and in consequence excellent families, widows and deserted wives, old people and sick have been reduced to lack of proper nutrition and to standards of living which are not calculated to produce good citizens in the future years." I ought to have put it much more strongly, but at any rate, the tide turned and from 1903 on our relief increased annually in geometrical progression. From 1900 to 1904 our total relief annually, given or got, was \$798, \$1,431, \$1,448, \$1,729, \$1,776. We ought to have been pilloried over the country, but we were not. No one could throw stones. Then it began doubling: In 1905, \$2,216; in 1906, \$4,462; in 1907, \$8,710; in 1908, \$25,859; in 1909, \$26,393; in 1910, \$20,161; and for the current year it will be nearly \$25,000. We often give as much relief in a week now as we used to give in a year. With this increased relief, and because of it, went a steady increase of the number and of the salaries of our staff. I believe with all my heart that adequate relief will bring the money for more adequate service.

Shortly after this, there was developed, I think in Philadelphia under Miss Richmond, the excellent system of soliciting continuous relief for individual families from individual givers, with monthly reports on the progress of the family. This was not "giving" but "getting," and it was educational, liberal and profitable. It provided funds for constructive relief without making such relief depend upon the conflicting judgments of another society. Constructive relief is not always satisfactory unless you hold the purse strings yourself.

Under this special case system men who were giving the society five or ten dollars a year, somewhat grudgingly, would often give in addition to this, five or ten dollars each month to some special family, and enjoy the giving. Mr. Lee reports that last year Philadelphia gave \$14,770 of such special relief. Buffalo last year gave \$7,392 of special relief.

The increased relief in Buffalo was coincident with the engaging of a special financial secretary in 1907, Roy Smith Wallace, and this position has been continued. It is one that calls for unusual ability and should be held only by someone who has an intimate knowledge of the principles and of the work of the society so that his money-getting will be educational to the givers. This also helps adequate relief, and was developed first, so far as I know, in Newark.* It should be remembered always, that adequate relief means not only increased cost for the relief

* See N. C. C., (Philadelphia, 1906) p. 223.

itself, but a greatly increased cost for the more skilled administration which adequate relief makes necessary. A competent society will not employ incompetent people to help the incompetent poor, even without money relief, but when this help begins to cost thousands of dollars it begins to be obvious that it should be mixed with brains, and guided by experts.

With adequate relief we began to need standards or measures of relief such that we could estimate what was suitable for the proper support of a family. It is most extraordinary that there seems to be no literature whatever on this subject. With relief societies fifty and seventy-five years old, you would expect to find something in print on how to estimate the relief, but I have found nothing.

Everywhere the rule was stated doles, of not over a dollar a week, which were given or withheld according to whether the applicant was "worthy" or "unworthy," words which modern charity refuses to use. With public or private charity, relief was equally niggardly and equally wooden. I find a few set schedules under the Elberfeld plan of poor relief in Germany, and under public out-relief in England, but no discussion as to their application. A section on Standards of Living, in the New York State Conference of Charities, was continued for three years, from 1906 to 1908, and there are now many treatises and investigations on the cost of living for poor families, but I know of nothing definite on the question of how to estimate a budget for a family, and how to fix a pension, except some efforts of my own in the Survey and elsewhere, and in the Buffalo Primer of Charity which has lately been re-published by the Sage Foundation under the title of "Relief."

It is strange also that the charity organization societies know so little about their own relief giving. They can answer off-hand almost any kind of question in regard to treatment of families. On April 8 I sent to twenty-five of the chief societies six simple questions, five of which bore on relief, and asked only for such answers as could be given "without special labor." Fifteen societies responded. All could answer the non-relief questions as to how many families were dealt with last year (though some included homeless men with families and could not give separate figures). New York said that "the only question which can be answered from our statistics readily is the first." Only two, Boston and Buffalo, could tell "without special labor" the total relief given last year to special types such as widows, deserted wives, tuberculous families, &c., though Philadelphia has now established a system under which these figures are known each month, as in Buffalo. Practically all give their total relief, but four could not tell to how many families it was given.*

*The relief figures from different cities are omitted here both for lack of room and because local conditions vary so that comparative figures are misleading.

N. Y. State Conf. of Charities, 1908, p. 39; The Survey, Vol. 21, p. 1227 March 20, 1909.

An inquiry made in Buffalo as to how many families treated last year by the C. O. S. were absolutely dependent for as much as six months with no income from earnings, relatives, lodgers, or any source except charity, showed only *seven* such families out of a total of 2,240 families investigated, and in all of these families the cause of poverty was sickness. Lodgers are so dangerous a source of income in a dependent family that I wish the inquiry had excluded income from this source.

It is interesting to compare C. O. S. relief with catastrophe relief as it is administered by the Red Cross. The Red Cross raises its own funds, but administers the relief through the nearest effective charity organization society, or if the disaster is enormous like the San Francisco earthquake, through experts drafted from many such societies. At the St. Louis Conference last year Mr. Kingsley of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, made a very valuable comparison of the Red Cross relief administered by him in the case of fifty fatal accidents at the Cherry Hill Mine in 1909, and the relief of organized charity in fifty similar cases in different cities.* The fifty miscellaneous C. O. S. families were earning before their accidents an average of \$55 a month. They received from charity an average of \$187 each, or a little over three months earnings. The fifty Cherry families received \$90,000 from the Mining Company, and \$87,000 from the state legislature, from miners' unions, etc.; making an average of \$3,540 of relief for each family, or twenty times as much as the C. O. S. family. The Cherry relief will average seven years per family, at \$500 a year, instead of three months. I think no employers' liability law has yet suggested less than three or four years' earnings as an indemnity in case of death. Mr. Kingsley says somewhat caustically, that "since relief societies are seldom able to give adequate relief, they were asked what they would consider adequate relief," in the fifty families reported on. Their estimate averaged \$504 per year for each family as living cost, or, after deducting income from earnings, boarders and relatives, an average of \$301 net, *per annum*. They did not say for how many years this should run, but what they gave (or got, if they pretended not to be relief societies) was \$87 each, instead of \$301, covering a part of one year. Mr. Kingsley's correspondents were the most intelligent charity organization societies in the country.**

I have been much impressed by a paper written by F. J. Lattimore, Superintendent of Charities for Auburn, N. Y., for the 40th Convention of County Superintendents of the Poor of New York State which met at Niagara Falls last June. Mr. Lattimore portrays a poor widow, with six small children, who makes the round of the church to which her husband contributed, his labor union, a private relief society, and the city

*See also Mr. Kingsley's article in *The Survey*, September 3, 1910, Vol. 24, p. 795.

**Miss Richmond pointed out in the discussion of this paper that charity relief and indemnity relief are not analogous. Her correction is a good one, but the comparative figures are nevertheless of much interest.

poor office. She asks for two dollars a week per child, or \$12.00 per week. This is fifty dollars a month for a family of seven. She will be very lucky if she gets two or three dollars a week regularly from any source. Every word of Mr. Lattimore's story is worth quoting, but I can give only two paragraphs:

"Supposing she does break down with work and has the children committed to an orphan asylum; then they will receive proper clothing and nourishment and the Asylum bill for their board and care will be audited in the sum of two dollars per week per child, without any question whatever, and the managers of the asylum will not be expected to maintain the children on less than actual cost. The difference is that institutions have able managers to explain their needs and to fight for them, if necessary, while the woman is not in a position to insist upon her rights. If she was, her home would not be broken up, nor her children taken from her, without even the excuse of public economy to justify such an outrage. She is in no sense to blame for the disease or accident that made her dependent; perhaps the responsibility for it lies at the door of some captain of industry, famed for his benevolence. She could undoubtedly make better citizens of her children than the asylum if given an equal chance, and she should not be obliged to beg the town over, or to remain in doubt as to where adequate family supplies are coming from, any more than the institution.

"To further illustrate the distinction made in favor of the institution and against the home; take the common case of a man assaulted in a saloon or street fight. He is rushed to the hospital; the city says "Spare no expense to save his life." The county says "Spare no expense to apprehend and convict his assailant, and, if necessary, offer a reward for his capture." After conviction, if the assailant is imprisoned, the state says "Spare no expense to feed, clothe and educate him, and return him to society a better citizen, with his health unimpaired." But if either the wounded man or his assailant dies and leaves a widow with small children to raise, then society is not organized to keep the family together, and supply their necessities, with the same regularity and sufficiency that it does for the criminal, nor does it manifest as deep an interest in making healthy and educated citizens out of the children by enabling them to eat, dress and go to school decently."

Compare this story as told by Mr. Lattimore with the following paragraph written by Mr. Devine in 1902:

"An error of which we should strive to be free is that of fixing attention exclusively on the safeguards, necessarily more or less artificial, with which we seek to surround our charity in order that it may not pauperize. Perhaps it will best aid us in reaching a right perspective to be reminded that people become dependent in other ways than by receiving relief. To be born and nurtured amongst squalid and indecent living conditions, to have the physical strength undermined by disease,

by under-nutrition and abuse, to be given a perverted education in a school of vice, to be deprived of suitable parental care, to be compelled to struggle hopelessly for the support of one's family against industrial and social surroundings over which the individual can exert no effective control, to become enslaved by drink or other animal appetites, are as dangerous, some of them indeed far more dangerous, than to be given unearned money. The danger of being pauperized by relief is a real one, but it should not become so exaggerated as to blind us to other dangers, nor, what is more likely, should it lead us to underestimate the need for relief, or the beneficent results it may accomplish."

Where there is an able-bodied father the charity of relief cannot enter, for no charity undertakes to supplement low wages in normal families. The questions of minimum wage laws, and of the decencies which an unskilled laborer's wage forbids, are discussed in another section of this Conference.

At St. Louis last year, however, I went so far as to say that when the man of the family dies we get our chance, and that intelligent charity ought to do a better job than an ignorant, illiterate immigrant. It does this in the orphan asylum, the hospital, and the reformatory and it should do so in the home. It should do so for the protection of society. When a family is definitely in our care, as the wards of charity, can we avoid the responsibility for unsanitary, crowded rooms, or insufficient food, even if the present standard of the family and of the neighborhood allows them. The father did not know, but we know too well the evils which will ensue.

I must keep harking back to the dangers of liberal relief. Of course increase of income can be abused by the family, while better quarters and better opportunities cannot be. This is one reason, as John Mitchell has pointed out, why shorter hours and higher pay for labor have fewer advocates than housing, hygiene, and education. The subject is full of difficulties, and I have tried to solve some of them elsewhere. I have discussed especially the question of giving relief beyond the previous standard of the family. (Survey March 20, 1909).

Such relief as I am advocating will be very costly, and it is an important question whether the money can be found for it by private charity. It certainly cannot if we hide our heads in the sand like ostriches, and pretend in our reports that we are not giving relief when we are. Where there are co-operating relief societies perhaps special relief will suffice, and it is the best sort; but even so I like to say aloud that we give relief. It warms the heart of the public, which is inclined to find us cold.

Timidity in emphasizing relief has caused inadequate relief in many cities. I wish to repeat that adequate relief is a neglected asset for obtaining the money necessary for adequate treatment. Much inadequate relief comes because the money is not in sight, and the money is not in sight because of inadequate relief. The question is, can we get

the money that goes to a relief society for the work of a charity organization society? I think we can, but most charity organization societies have been content with the support that goes to a society for organizing charity. We have wanted to give relief, but we have "let I dare not wait upon I would, like the poor cat in the adage."

The Buffalo society gives twenty times as much relief as it gave ten years ago, and it also has now a much larger budget for administration and does more thorough work. The relief given is practically an asset, for because of it the larger budget is no harder to raise than the smaller one of the past. It goes without saying that the society has some devoted trustees. Moreover, the society has now many more friends, and better co-operation than formerly. It is now popular.

Mr. Moggridge of the London C. O. S. said in 1882, in the book from which I have already quoted: "It is maintained that it is possible to relieve adequately in almost every instance if trouble enough be taken." "If charitable workers will only have faith enough they will not fail of sufficient support for really good work * * * if really good applications lack adequate treatment the fault more probably lies in indolence than in lack of means."

It is now being urged in many quarters that relief in the home should be handed over to public charity because private charity has proved itself too weak. I hope that this deserved reproach to private charity will not long be true, but it should be remembered that bad, very bad as the relief of private charity has been in many cities, it has not been so bad or so niggardly with individual families as public out-door relief. It is my belief that modern organized charity is the most liberal, as well as the most tender and effective charity that the world has ever known. According to my observation public relief is more stingy everywhere than private relief. I have repeated in many articles the arguments against public out-door relief. A chief objection is Thomas Mackay's, that to the imagination of the poor the public treasury is inexhaustible, and they drop upon it without thrift as they dare not on private charity. Public charity not only gives small, limited doles, with no attempt at adequate pensions; but whereas private relief usually goes with a plan, and with a friend, public charity usually goes bare. There is sometimes a plan, but almost never a friend, and no effort to find work, to find better paid work and to uncover relatives who will help, or to alter conditions. Of course this can be done by public charity, but to-day private charity is more flexible, patient and resourceful.

DISCUSSION.

MISS M. E. RICHMOND—Everybody will find something to agree with in Mr. Almy's paper. I am distressed to find that I cannot agree with every word of it. Without attempting to develop these points of difference, let me devote a moment to his statistics and then try to state my own convictions about relief. The \$187 said to have been given to the widows of victims of industrial accident by "the most intelligent charity organization societies" was not so given at all. This was the average of the sums given as indemnity to fifty widows known to charity organization societies, and all of the statistics given about Cherry have no bearing upon this present discussion unless we believe that charity can and should provide indemnity for industrial accident.

As to the second group of statistics, if it is true, as Mr. Almy says, that adequate relief and adequate treatment must go hand in hand, how can we separate them in a statistical test? "Constructive treatment must hold the purse strings," he adds, and so, by eliminating at one stroke co-operation in relief, he penalizes the societies that have most developed it. What does the fact that I have spent more than \$100 on each of certain families in a year mean, apart from the further facts of the other services rendered and of the present condition of these families? The very charity organization society that spends the largest sums in relief does not appear in Mr. Almy's figures at all, and the two societies that report no families aided to the extent of \$100 or more have placed special emphasis upon relief, as it happens, in their annual reports.

In the little time remaining, I am going to try to set down here my present personal convictions about material relief. This must be without any citations from the English and American classics, unfortunately, and without any details from the experience upon which my convictions are based.

What is the truth about material relief? We see it in glimpses and lose it again. No one, I take it, has any longer a defense to make of indiscriminate relief, of relief, that is, as a salve for our own feelings, relief as a means of getting to Heaven, relief as a means of righting the wrongs of society and averting the social consequences of our selfishness and meanness. We no longer defend such relief, though our reactions from it have not always been healthily strong enough to carry the "giving public" along with us.

Take the first reaction. On the whole it was toward niggardliness. The results of giving were seen to be wholly bad. Very well then, we would give as little as possible, and build around that giving a series of automatic tests and checks. If the applicant would do some arbitrarily selected thing, we would help him, and if he would not, we would withhold help. These tests, such as "accepting the house" (the work-house, in England,) and our labor-yards, woodyards, etc., in America,

were usually substitutes for personal inquiry and personal treatment. They were the short cuts of an earlier time. Within the last decade, however, showing the great vitality of error, I have found in the annual reports of several large American relief societies such sentences as the following:

"Give only in small quantities in proportion to immediate need and of coarser quality than might be procured by labor, except in cases of sickness."

These views were made in Manchester. They were adopted in this country before the days of charity organization societies, though some of our societies have shared them. You will observe that they keep material relief in the front row and build a social program around it. Under this plan, everybody was to be advised to "send the needy to us" and discharge by check an obligation which citizens were regarded as quite unequal to, while we were to hold the purse strings in our cautious grasp.

Well, we had glimpses and even visions of the futility of all this, but our glimpses were fitful, our visions did not always last. Criticisms of niggardliness in relief came from the charity organization societies themselves; we were the first to realize its dangers and to start a reaction toward a freer, more flexible, and less superstitious handling of relief. We began to see that the size of the dose, whether large or small, was seldom or never the main factor in the patient's recovery, and out of this grew some glimmering of an idea of adequate treatment, or, as I prefer to call it, curative treatment. But does Mr. Almy really think that we have, either in our charity organization societies or anywhere else in the social work field at the present moment, adequate treatment? I wish that he had been forced to study case work in some place other than Buffalo, if a careful study of Buffalo's work has led him to this conclusion.

Curative treatment has made advances, thanks to the energy, originality and patience of a few social leaders, of whom Mr. Almy is one, but we have only begun to reap the rich harvest of social ills cured and social ills prevented that shall be ours when we have once learned to appeal to our public in the right way and for the right reasons. Inadequate resources for the relief side of treatment are most apparent in these communities that have been permitted to lose interest in the details of treatment or have never had such an interest.

This is a bigger question than any mere matter of charity organization policy—it concerns everybody, but the charity organization people have made more than their share of blunders with regard to it, and have continued to keep shape and to go forward in spite of these blunders because they are so dead in earnest and so determined to get somewhere in the long struggle for social betterment. This gives me hope to believe that, having survived our mistakes about the essential wickedness of material relief, we shall survive also the mis-

take of assuming that relief is "the most neglected subject in modern charity" and the thing above all others to be emphasized and dwelt upon.

What is the truth about relief? The truth is, as it seems to me, that it has no moral and no immoral qualities, that it has no qualities at all save such as we give it in the handling. It can never occupy the front row, therefore, and can never be agitated for or against save as a part, a secondary part, of some plan of curative treatment, and the more clearly this plan is defined in all its parts the better. The people who have done most to rescue relief from the limbo into which it had fallen are those who have worked out in actual practice plans of family rehabilitation of which it is a part, though not the larger part. If we are prone ourselves to lose sight of this, I leave you to imagine the state of the public mind on the subject. When we preached the dangers of relief we misled them and fastened in their minds a needless fear; and now, when we are urged to press upon their attention the virtues of relief, we shall mislead them no less by fastening in their minds a false standard of measure. We may warm their hearts, perhaps, but that will be small recompense for having muddled the public mind as to the whole process. Our frontier posts cannot serve under the double standards of adequate relief and adequate treatment without dragging both standards in the dust; they need a single standard and that pure gold. Double standards bring the result that we have already seen in some quarters, the assumption, that is, that relief need only be large instead of small to effect a cure. As a matter of fact, the sole advantage of large doles over small is that, being more expensive, they are likely to be administered to fewer people.

If anyone has followed me with even a measure of agreement so far, he is ready for the next step, which is that the terms "adequate" and "inadequate" relief are as question-begging in their character as the terms "worthy" and "unworthy." We flung those on the scrap heap long ago, and I should be glad to see these follow. "Inadequate" to what purpose, "adequate" for what end? I have been guilty of using the words without the only connections that make them intelligible many times, and I am indebted to Mr. Almy for illustrating the danger of so doing. Somewhere in his paper he has put in all the safeguards, but it is not safeguards that we need but the sledge-hammer, four-square truth about this matter. Wherever we have failed to state it, the failure has been our undoing. We have talked about playgrounds and emphasized the *grounds* with the result that we have a lot of rusted apparatus and demoralized gang-captured parks where we should have organized play. We have emphasized milk for babies, to take an even more recent example, instead of the care, education and, incidentally, the relief, of mothers, with the result that some of our cities must go back and do their work all over again. We have emphasized the dispensary side of our out-patient departments until it has been neces-

sary to organize a new social movement within them to develop the other side. In the book just issued on "Homeless Men" we have from the pen of a dead colleague a much needed rebuke, for with no other class have we been so neglectful of the truth that we should have learned long ago—and when I say "we" I mean I, for I too have emphasized material aid to homeless men instead of emphasizing constructive treatment. Mr. Almy speaks of "constructive relief." It is another of the short-cut, question-begging terms. We should strike boldly for treatment that includes relief when necessary, but is in no sense measured in terms of material relief or limited by its limitations.

The emphasis on relief brings us a support subject to the law of diminishing returns, while the emphasis on cure assures us a public increasingly willing to go the whole distance. Relief, in other words, is a very good servant, but a bad master.

MR. ROBERT BIGGS—The paper which Mr. Almy has just read, presents three distinct questions: first, adequate salaries; second, shall the C. O. S. raise and use material relief for its work in the dependent family, or shall it stimulate other agencies to raise the money and administer the relief under C. O. S. supervision and direction; and third, what is adequate relief from the standpoint of the dependent family.

Now as to the first point:—Many of those engaged in social work in various cities are personal friends of mine and as I am a great believer in a living wage for those who toil, I trust that Mr. Almy's suggestion on this point may be regarded as timely and opportune.

The second point I regard as one of administration. It is true that it has been the subject of debate for many years; but while the debate has gone on, the stern law of necessity has stepped in and has answered the question, and to-day in practically every city material aid is raised and distributed by the C. O. S. in an ever increasing amount; and whether the practice is sound in principle, it is rapidly, through the logic of events, having the initials Q. E. D. subscribed to it. Before passing from the point I might add, however, that there is some pertinent force in the axiom,—“if you want a thing well done,—do it yourself,” and some wisdom in the law of mechanics,—that the multiplication of links in a chain always increases the danger of a breakdown in some of the links.

In the few remaining minutes during which I shall ask your attention I shall endeavour to touch on one or two points relating to the living, burning question of adequate relief, from the stand-point of the dependent family, with the hope that I may succeed in fixing some principle which may at all times serve as a guide in the work.

When a stone is dropped into a pool of water we see a well known phenomenon; at the first point of contact the water is sharply disturbed and from this point waves of motion are started, strongest at the point of contact, but lessening in volume and intensity as the distance from the

center increases, until they are ultimately absorbed and all trace of the original impulse is lost. In human enterprises in which many persons are engaged, something like this frequently happens, and we find, little by little, a process setting in under which the keynote of the original undertaking is lost sight of, and energies are dissipated in solving problems of trivial moment after they are solved, and in doing work of little significance after it is done.

It is important, therefore, for everyone to stop from time to time in any work in hand, to take new bearings and determine calmly and judicially what progress has been made; what results have been obtained; lest, perhaps, he may on the one hand find that conflicting currents have carried him out of his course, or, on the other hand, that he is unconsciously moving in a circle and exhausting himself by ever traveling over the same ground.

Turning to the dictionary we find the word "relief" defined as, "the removal in whole or in part of any pain, oppression or burden, so that some ease is obtained." And the word "adequate" is defined as "Equal to the requirements of the occasion." With these two definitions before us, it is easy to see that any discussion of adequate relief must take into consideration, first, the dependent; second, the worker, and third, the remedial agencies. From the standpoint of the dependent, adequate relief must necessarily mean the alleviation of all those conditions existing in the family,—physical, social and moral,—which result in a sub-normal standard of living; from the standpoint of the social worker, it implies a knowledge of all those conditions,—physical, social, economic and moral, which are responsible for lower standards of living; and, finally, it implies a comprehensive grasp of the means to be employed in remedying those conditions.

It is easy to see also that with the words fully understood, the whole range of life, with all its emotions and passions, with all of its aspirations and desires,—must be the subject of consideration;—for all of these things enter into the problem of dependency and into the question of adequate relief.

I shall without more than an allusion eliminate from the field those who have no other conception of the word "relief" than the giving of material help;—also those who adopt in the highest conception of the work a sort of arithmetical equation, under which it is figured out that a family consists of a certain number of people, and, under a rule supplied by somebody else who never had to put it into practice, requires a certain number of dollars, and that the family having a certain number of dollars, needs a certain number of additional dollars, and these being supplied, the whole problem is solved; also, those equally impossible persons who are very much afraid that too much assistance rendered to a family will have the effect of pauperizing it,—of breaking down its moral fibre,—and therefore give to the family a

dollar for relief where five dollars is required, or, worse still, give five dollars where moral support, and not money, is the real need.

Now, let us consider the family. We find in practically every case a group consisting of a man, a woman and children. If we go back into the previous generation, we shall find in the majority of cases, that the man, or the woman, or both, came out of a more or less chaotic environment such as that in which they are now living; and with a little imagination, we can project our vision into the future and see another group, or other groups, living substantially the same character of life, the same hopeless existence, and with the same lack of aspirations and ambitions. We shall also find that by a certain evolutionary process the stronger members in these groups have lifted themselves out of the rut and out of the mire to a higher standard of living, and in most cases, have little or no sympathy for their less fortunate kindred; and, it falls, in consequence, to our lot to give the weaklings our strength, our intelligence and our knowledge;—supplying deficiencies, so that they, too, may be lifted out of the conditions in which we find them and given a higher conception of life and of duty.

In such cases the whole family must be reconstructed, but from the very necessity of the case no set formula could be laid down as to what should and what should not be done in each family. In the practice of law, no two cases are ever identical, and each must be worked out not by the application of any set formula, but by the application of principles which should have their foundation deeply bedded in the rules of justice, of honesty, and of common sense; and the same is true in a large measure of our work among dependent families, if it is to have the virtue of being reasonably intelligent.

Adequate relief will, therefore, supply the needed material help and will supply it in such abundance that there shall not be the slightest need for the family to appeal for aid to any other agency than the one dealing with it; but material aid is a two edged sword and we must remember that the present condition of the family indicates on its part a lack of knowledge as to how to make a dollar do its full measure of work, and it must be accompanied by such suggestions as will make a dollar do that which formerly required one and a half or two dollars to accomplish; in other words, the relief should be accompanied in every case by the knowledge and suggestion of the prudent worker as to the use of the relief if it is to do the full measure of good. Adequate relief will, also, provide those influences, through which the bread-winners in the family may get into positions where they may earn a better living for themselves and those dependent upon them;—through which the children may be provided with opportunities for gaining an education and a trade;—through which physical defects and mental and moral warps in children are observed and corrected:—through which the family may be removed as a group from locations and neighborhoods where the environment makes a better life difficult,

if not impossible;—through which the mother is made to grasp those elementary ideas and ideals of life of which she is ignorant;—through which the boys are provided with opportunities for normal and healthy pleasure, unalloyed with influences which are calculated to inject into their lives demoralizing habits;—through which the girls are surrounded with refining and gentle influences of Christian women, who, without seeming to do so, implant within them those principles of right living without which no girl is equipped to enter into the struggle of life;—through which, in fact, every sub-normal condition in father, mother, children or environment is corrected; but over and above all else;—through which there is brought back into starved lives a sense of human brotherhood, of civic duty and a knowledge of religion and of faith in God, without which we who would build, shall certainly build in vain.

This work pre-supposes in the worker a many sided knowledge of life and a fund of experience, of tact and of patience; there must be knowledge of methods, and there must be system; but in the work in which many of you are engaged, and in which I am privileged from time to time to participate, there is and must be, if we would be worthy of the work, a spirit of self-consecration through which, for the love of the Master, we give of our strength to those who are weak or erring or unfortunate. I earnestly feel, let our personal efforts be what they may that we need God in our work, and that it is only through Him that the lives of men and of women whom we strive to serve may reach their highest destinies.

I feel that there is and has been a distinct drift away from this fundamental idea in our work, and I venture the suggestion that we stop and take some bearings and re-locate our position.

I believe unhesitatingly that a philanthropy without God is a tactical mistake; I believe unhesitatingly that a Godless charity is a sham; I believe that through all of the ages that have gone and through all of the ages that are yet to come, the work of Christ among the poor must ever stand forth as the highest type of social work; I believe that in His life work may be found the principles which will help us to solve the questions of labor and capital; of wealth and poverty; and, of strength and weakness; I believe that the nearer we bring our work to Him, the nearer are we to the point where the stone drops into the pool.

As I listened to the address of Mr. Folks last night the thought which ran through my mind found its expression in the words: "In the sight of God a thousand years is as a day," and I felt that however we may beat against the bars, we should remember that the movement of the stars is counted by the ages, and that the evolution of the race is from generation to generation but that through it all runs the infinite mercy and power and purpose of God, whose benediction shall abide with us if we turn not from Him.

STANDARDS AND TESTS OF EFFICIENCY IN SETTLEMENT WORK.

By Mrs. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, Greenwich House, 26 Jones St., New York.

After a few paragraphs, answering certain criticisms and defining "efficiency," the speaker continued as follows:

We come to the cardinal fact that method is dependent upon purpose and we would better at once ask ourselves what is the purpose of the settlement? Let us not be too fine-spun about it. We might dwell upon many definitions. We might insist with Mr. White that the settlement's chief function is to effect co-operation, or we might emphasize with Miss Wald the unique opportunity it has for initiating and experimenting, on the basis of which, larger, more communal, endeavor may take place. We might echo Miss Addams' insistence upon interpretation as the highest function of the settlement. We might with Dr. Elliott feel that the development of neighborhood powers is the most vital task that can be undertaken or we might with Dr. Taylor think of the settlement as the element of stability in a community always in flux, or we may well emphasize that inter-relation of local to central which Mr. Woods so often clearly brings to view. The pragmatist will always find a welcome corner at the settlement hearth, for the settlement is by its very nature suspicious of theory and on guard against any ready-to-wear views of life. Out of the substance of life itself the settlement creates such theory as it has. Better is a crude view home-made than the finished product of another. Not that one can gaily discard history and tradition, the great faiths, religious and political, which bolster up humanity, but neither can one accept them except after the test of ordinary every-day experience. We might with many words and much reason conceive of the settlement as a productive centre for that community sense which Wells says we so deeply lack in America—a community sense which necessarily has to begin with the small and that ends with the universe. Perhaps we shall, however, best avoid the dangerous pleasures of speculation by sticking to the old-fashioned notion that a settlement is a family, whose task is the task of all families, to help bring about in the community in which it is placed a larger conception of neighborliness. Mr. Cooley in that very interesting book called "Social Organization" insists upon the idea of neighborhood as being as fundamental as that of family, and I suppose we should all admit that this is true if we take a somewhat elastic definition of neighborhood—a definition that is by no means wholly geographical. At any rate the admittedly somewhat Quixotic task of the settlement family is the task of making the neighborhood in which it finds itself the best place to live in in the world.

The best of it is that the most modern kind of politician will claim this to be his task, the modern philanthropist will do the same, and modern

religion can do no more nor less. Of course, it is obvious that the glorified neighborhood of which the settlement worker has a vision can never be a plant that will flower all by itself. It is set in the garden; and sunlight, air, rain and soil that make for flower and fruit for one will do the same for all. We can be, however, perfectly definite. We know that whether such a transformation takes place or not, that it cannot take place without the five following qualifications for those who are engaged in this task. Here ends our prologue and our tale begins.

Efficiency demands first a knowledge of the district. This is so elementary that it sounds like a truism. Unfortunately it is by no means clear that all settlements really know their districts. It may indeed be that on file in the office will be a list of local activities, and possibly on the wall there may be a neighborhood map. It may even be that a deeper knowledge may exist in a scattered resident here and there. A real knowledge of the district, however, of course involves an active, positive, interested understanding of the part of the group as a whole of what the district really is, who the people are, how they are being educated, what they work at, how they spend their leisure time, what their political life is and why, and the nature of their ideals. It means the gradual amassing of a body of knowledge gossipy, intimate, and interested.

If a settlement cannot answer any inquiry in regard to its neighborhood it is in so far inefficient. Such knowledge can be acquired partly by training in method and partly through sympathetic personalities. There are some people who can find out more in one month than others in years. "In the world and not of it" may describe many who have had the widest opportunities. On the other hand, a gift for seeing and reporting will never supply a knowledge of what ought to be looked for. The social psychologist cannot do a thorough piece of work without a knowledge of social values. But if one should have to make a painful choice between a personality of native equipment and the unimaginative person with what is misnamed training, one would run the risk and choose the former.

The second qualification, a corollary of the first, is a wide knowledge of people of all sorts. This interest in people, not *the* people, but people, is fundamental. Interest in the people tends to become rationalistic, general, hazy. It is wonderful how little any real person resembles "the people." This knowledge of the lives of persons making up our actual society can be had only by those who love people. Lovers of ideas alone won't do. People who have curiosity alone won't do. People who want to do good won't do. People who in any way regard their human relationships as means to an end won't do. A person who does not love other persons may have equipment for certain kinds of work of the greatest importance but will never be equipped for work in a settlement.

(3) The third requisite of efficiency is a knowledge of the general social situation with which the local must be correlated. There is

no use in knowing anything or even everything about a given locality, if that knowledge isn't woven into the warp of the whole. An isolated body of knowledge is, however, inconceivable, for no real knowledge of the local is possible without a conception of the larger aspects of the problems into which the detail fits, just as no larger knowledge can ever be complete without the constant check which a fresh body of fact surging from below supplies. Such general knowledge is entirely insecure unless based on training, wide reading, and a large acquaintanceship and fellowship with those who are dealing with important aspects of the social problem. In this sense efficient settlement work cannot be carried on without a large knowledge of those political, legal, medical, educational, industrial and social problems which make up contemporaneous life. It may be said no one person can have such knowledge. True, nor is one group likely to have proper equipment of this sort. Nevertheless, in so far as such equipment is lacking a settlement is bound to be inefficient. This is obviously true, not only for the settlement, but for any other group as well. But without being hyper-critical, or without asking too much, we must admit that settlements will be efficient about in proportion as those who make up the group are conversant with the larger social problem.

(4) A capacity for co-operation is essential. It may be that a settlement will know its district, will understand people, and will be acquainted with the larger situation into which the knowledge of the district fits. But even so, it may not connect the local with the central, the specific with the general. And thus a great deal that is gathered from the profound experience which pours in upon those who are adequately equipped both by nature and by training, is lost through the lack of development of an efficient technique of co-operation. For such co-operation it is essential that those who are engaged in the detailed life of a district should have their share in the formulation of policies of a larger sort. We know this indeed is very frequent, and settlement residents are sought as committee members by state and city and private societies for this very reason, that they have this added advantage which comes from the pouring in of fresh daily experience. There is a certain realistic note which is furnished by such members that tends to serve as a check to undue optimism or depression, as the case may be.

This same capacity for co-operation needs to be exercised in bringing together neighborhood powers for neighborhood objects. This is an opportunity of which many settlements take advantage, but which is by no means as effectively followed up as it might be. The teacher, the priest, the judge, the policeman, the settlement resident, the charity worker, the rent collector, the undertaker, the alderman, all these are engaged in one aspect or another of a common problem. In so far as this co-operation is not effective the settlement ought to have a sense of sin, but there is no other agency so well adapted to bring such co-operation about; in so far as the settlement fails to effect such co-operation it is inefficient.

(5) Executive capacity is a note of the efficient settlement. If a true knowledge of the district exists, coupled with a wider knowledge of social life of the community as a whole, and this is further reinforced by efficient co-operation, there is still a margin of endeavor which it is up to the settlement itself to undertake and put through. Such activities will of course vary according to the stage of development of the given neighborhood and city. Under some circumstances, a good deal of institutional effort will fall upon a conscientious settlement. In other more highly differentiated communities, other associations or the organized community itself will relieve the settlement group from the necessity of such effort. In any case there will be, as has been indicated, a margin of endeavor, and here the ordinary rules of business efficiency apply.

Of these five elements which are necessary to produce an efficient settlement, who shall say that the fifth is the most important? It has its place, but it is unscientific to judge of the efficiency of a settlement as a whole by reference to this fifth division alone.

To know where to lay emphasis is essential in any real criticism. Now it is quite conceivable that in all these five particulars a settlement may be efficient and yet that its efficiency may be entirely unrecognized due to one of two reasons: 1. The inability to express certain values in quantitative terms; and, 2. An unbusinesslike presentation of what can be well expressed in quantitative terms, even though of minor importance, may entirely overshadow the more important aspects which cannot be thus expressed. There are many persons who are more unfavorably impressed by an incorrect telephone message than they are delighted with a year's hard productive social effort. There is such an insistent demand for quantitative expression that one was not surprised to read in a recent newspaper that a large religious body recently convened in Pittsburgh made an appeal for funds, stating that on the expenditure of a certain number of millions so many thousands or millions of the heathen could be gathered into the fold. If I remember correctly, a soul could be saved for \$27. But while such an obsession is obviously ludicrous, it is also true that it is a great pity to spoil a good thing needlessly. We see this in other fields. Why eat with a knife or wear a pink cravat? For while these are harmless forms of self-expression they actually count for infinitely more than their value. Manners and morals have, after all, a connection, and contemporaneous manners insist upon good business style. A good office, a polite telephone service, a cordial welcome at the door, and an impeccable segregation of accounts in an annual report, would, I suppose, endear the settlement to many who now are indifferent to it.

It is, I fancy, because those who are engaged in this hand-to-hand conflict realize that a true efficiency is far more insistent upon the substance than upon the form of its life, that in the pressure of work the form has lagged behind.

But why be unduly self-deprecatory? I believe there are many settlements whose methods are as businesslike and whose technique has as much

style and snap to it as that of any social organization. On the other hand, in so far as there is looseness in business methods it should be at once rectified. A subscribing public has a right to know how much each special activity of the settlement costs and why. A per capita cost may of course be very high and be entirely justified, or very low and quite without reason. In either case, an explanation is suitable. Where, however, values are not quantitatively measurable, we must apply some other test, if possible. May I suggest that an interesting test would be the effect upon the district of the withdrawal of the settlement. That testimony could be forthcoming that a settlement had been useful in the past would not necessarily prove its present usefulness. What would really happen in case the settlement were withdrawn from a given neighborhood? Would any loss ensue, and if so, what? If we could measure that loss, we could measure the efficiency of the settlement. In a changing neighborhood the element of stability which a settlement provides would be lacking. What other agency is so well equipped to initiate new undertakings, to try out for the community untested social values? Who would be the string around which the rock candy crystallizes? Who would be on the job day after day to watch and report upon the actual workings-out of social forces? In other words, who would be the voice of that neighborhood? For at the settlement there focusses the educational, social and recreational interests of the community. Until the day when these shall become incorporated in our political life itself some local group representing the various aspects of neighborhood experience working together for a common end, the settlement will be needed.

And if needed it must be efficient. The minor aspect of efficiency, that of business order, is essential today. The amount to be expended for administrative purposes must be related, however, to the sum total available for all purposes. In any case, a certain continuous record of the experience of the settlement is essential. How this can best be effected is another question, but I suppose there is no doubt that the loss of such a continuous record of experience is far greater than the loss the cutting out of some other activities would have involved. These records themselves need interpretation. The highest medium for such records is undoubtedly such literary expression as has been given by our leader, Miss Addams, or, as is hidden away in the results of the work of the various committees to whom this record of experience has been transmitted. A careful rendering of accounts with a reason for expenditure is also essential in order to establish public confidence. Beyond these two business expressions, a settlement may indulge in as much business formalism as it can afford. If it is a question of putting on style with limited funds it is clear that the emphasis should be placed elsewhere.

The most important element in the efficiency of the settlement is manifestly the securing of the most highly trained persons of the greatest native personal equipment in order that the standards of efficiency suggested in the five divisions given above can be maintained. It is not

probable as settlements develop that such a corps of neighborhood workers can be secured without a larger financial outlay than at present.

A crude but rather satisfactory indication of the results obtained by a settlement could be gained by going over the local visiting list of the settlement residents. Are they well acquainted with those men and women who form the real powers of the neighborhood? Do they know them in the same intimate way in which people know their friends?

Another indication is the popularity of the settlement itself. Is it the natural center of influence and social life in the community? Do the important local people tend to meet at the settlement's gatherings?

There are certain kinds of railroads which run along on tracks under the open sky suddenly to burrow into the subway. It is in the subway hidden from view that many of the most important contributions of the settlement find their places. One of the most useful measures of a community's well-being is the death-rate. A settlement will rarely have a right to assume the responsibility for a decreased death rate. But in all those influences that are at work to decrease the death rate the settlement's representative will have a place. No settlement can claim that the wages of a given trade have been raised by it. But both the trades union and those who are employed in increasing the art of more scientific consumption are reinforced by the settlement's help. The settlement more often may claim an exclusive share in the introduction of some educational improvement, but here too it will be more likely that it is in co-operation with other educational agencies that the settlement has proved and will prove most effective. It claims its share in spreading scepticism in regard to existent political forms, and at every step in all its group work among men and women, boys and girls, it cherishes the ideals that have the capacity of transforming life, no matter how sordid it may be. In the field of recreation it has a more positive function to perform, but here too its endeavor is correlated at every turn with the growing consciousness on the part of the community of its responsibility for this aspect of life.

The efficiency of the settlement is thus seen both to condition and to be conditioned by the social movement as a whole, with which it is related. In the light of what has been said, let us revert now in closing to the criticisms of the settlement. We see that whereas they are often justified from an absolute point of view, relatively they are out of proportion. Such a question as this: Has your neighborhood improved since the settlement was established? will be seen to demand considerable cutting up, elucidation and modification before it has any meaning at all, for it may well be, that certain large causes have been at work which will have produced a neighborhood deterioration against which the settlement will have been able to make but small headway. Let us take, for example, a district into which suddenly enters an enormous industry where wages are low, commanding a type of worker whose standard of living is correspondingly low. Under such circumstances, this neighborhood will present an appearance of poverty and degradation, contrasting most unfavorably

with the neighborhood prior to the introduction of this industry, and yet it may be that the settlement has given great publicity to the conditions obtaining in this industry, has helped in unionizing the employees, and thus, has, if one wishes to put it that way, "improved the neighborhood."

Another critic of the efficiency of a settlement may designate it as "rose-water," the handing out of flowers on the doorsteps, but effecting no fundamental changes. No one need apologize for a little rose-water, and we are all grateful for flowers. While we are working for tomorrow, today exists, and the content of the lives of those who are living now needs enrichment from every source. Why cut out beauty? In general the "rose-water" critic is himself a man who is not burdened with the responsible technique of reconstruction. He is generally one who is not satisfied because his particular theory of social progress is not maintained by the group criticized. It is not these critics who ought to move us, rather it is our own knowledge of our inefficiencies. While we do not pretend to be more guilty than others we are well aware that we need a heightened sense of business method, but that most of all we need the trained, devoted, highly-equipped persons on whom the success of a work such as that of the settlement ultimately rests. As communities and especially cities have become more conscious of their corporate responsibility the more simple forms of social effort have passed away and in their place there is arising a complex technique of reconstructive effort. With everyone waking up at once, there are many calls for the young people who are leaving our colleges. The most ardent spirits tend to go into what are called the more radical movements. A true understanding of the nature of the settlement, its unparalleled opportunity for meeting the life of the industrial classes at every point, the close interlocking of its effort with the social movement as a whole, will again attract youth and devotion when once its place is clearly seen. To make clear this great opportunity to the young people leaving universities is, therefore the first step in bringing about a permanent efficiency. This is the important task that the American settlements face today.

REMEDIAL LOANS AS FACTORS IN FAMILY REHABILITATION.

By Arthur H. Ham, Agent of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

The remedial loan associations operating in about twenty-four cities in this country have come into existence through a recognition of the need for temporary loans by millions of people who have no banking facilities and through a realization that the agencies exploiting this need, namely the loan sharks, constitute an important cause of distress. With two exceptions the remedial loan associations now operating in the United States have been organized within twenty years, and their number has increased 50 per cent during the past year.

This is due in part to the recent rapid development of the usurious money-lending business. The pawnbroker is of course an old established institution, but the so-called loan shark who lends money on mortgage of household furniture or assignment of wages at an interest charge of from 10 to 25 per cent per month is of comparatively recent origin. I wonder if social workers appreciate the extent to which this evil has grown and give it the place it merits among the important causes of distress?

Accurate information concerning many phases of the usurious money-lending business are obviously impossible of obtainment, but recent investigations have shown fairly conclusively that in every city of more than 30,000 population there is one usurer to every 5,000 to 10,000 people, and one victim to every 20 dwellers in such cities, or one out of every 5 voters. In cities where manufactures employing a large numbers of workmen have congregated these figures are greatly increased. A careful estimate places the number of professional money-lenders in Boston exclusive of pawnbrokers at about 100 and the number of borrowers at 100,000. One company alone operating five offices made 45,000 loans last year at an average interest charge of 228 per cent per annum. Atlanta, Ga., supports 58 money-lenders; Syracuse, N. Y., 24; Portland, Me., with a population of only 60,000 has 12 usurers. New York City has from 200 to 300 and the amount of usury extorted from victims in that city each year is twice as much as the sum required to support the Charity Organization Society, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the United Hebrew Charities and Bellevue and Allied Hospitals. The effect of extortionate interest charges is very apparent in impaired physical condition caused by over-work and inadequate nourishment, made necessary by the demands of the usurer; decreased industrial efficiency caused by worry over payments coming due and the harrassing by collectors whose practices very often result in loss of employment, in forgery, theft and in not a few instances in family desertion and suicide. Two cases selected almost at random will illustrate these facts.

A young man holding a responsible position in the New York office of a western corporation endorsed the note of a friend who had been compelled to borrow \$50 from a salary loan shark. Under the loan shark system the endorser as well as the borrower is required to give an assignment of his wages. Subsequently the borrower, before he had been able to pay off his loan, lost his position and left the city. The loan company called upon the endorser to make good the loan. He was unable to do this, but knowing that his employer would discharge him if it became known that he had had dealings with the loan company and as the loan shark was already threatening to notify his employer, he went to a second loan company to borrow the amount claimed by the first. This began a chain of transactions that lasted about eighteen months. During that time he had paid the money-lenders about

\$250 in excess of the amount received from them and was now indebted to eight separate concerns to the extent of \$300. Unable to get more money from him one loan company filed upon his wages and an order came from the western office to discharge him. An investigation of his accounts showed a shortage. Since his discharge the young man has not been seen by his family and they fear he has committed suicide.

A policeman with a salary of \$1,200 a year was forced on account of his wife's illness and other misfortunes to borrow \$150 from a loan shark. He paid the interest of \$15 a month regularly for two years until his wife died and both children became ill with scarlet fever. The additional expense of his wife's funeral, doctor's bills and paying \$15 a month interest compelled him to contract a larger loan in order to meet current expenses, and the loan agent gladly increased the loan to \$300. He agreed to pay \$30 a month interest and kept up his payments for a long time. Eventually he became delinquent in his payments, the loan agent foreclosed upon his furniture, and filed upon his wages, which resulted in his losing his position. The man, who had been sober and industrious, turned to drink and is now an inmate of a county home.

A woman in a southern city last year borrowed \$4.00 from a loan company agreeing to pay \$1.60 a month for the use of the \$4. After making eleven monthly payments aggregating \$17.60 she was taken sick. The company then foreclosed the mortgage and took from her home furniture for which she had paid over \$100, and held the same to satisfy a debt of \$5.60 and court costs. The goods were subsequently sold, but no money was returned to the woman. The net results of her transactions with the loan companies were as follows: For seven years she had the use of \$4 and paid for the same \$134.40. For three years she had the use of \$5 and paid for it \$64.80. For eleven months she had the use of \$4 for which she paid \$17.60 and finally lost her household furniture, her home was broken up and she came under the care of a relief society.

If only people who needed money for an emergency borrowed from the loan sharks the distress would be greatly lessened, but many of the victims are victims of their own improvidence and extravagance. This is shown by the fact that the backbone of the usury business is furnished by city employees and employees of large public service corporations whose pay is regular and above the average and whose positions are more or less permanent. Many of these men have no cause to borrow except a fancied need to which the loan shark caters by his alluring and misleading advertisements. Once infected with the borrowing germ a man will often borrow from every possible source till at last he gets into deep water, his family suffering as a result of his transactions and he himself finally becoming a veritable slave with his entire earning capacity mortgaged for months to come to the loan shark. Such conditions in our cities have brought about the organiza-

tion of remedial loan agencies founded on three distinct bases, (1) Philanthropic competition, (2) Voluntary protective effort, and (3) Money-making desire. The first class includes semi-philanthropic societies which have been organized by prominent men desirous only of improving loaning conditions and who are satisfied with a very moderate return on their investment. An example is the Workingmen's Loan Association of Boston, established in 1888 by Robert Treat Paine. The second class includes co-operative savings and loan associations organized by the employees of certain large establishments for the purpose of replacing the loan shark with an institution that offers loans at reasonable rates and affords an opportunity to the workman to deposit small portions of his earnings in a savings account which returns him an interest greater than that paid by regular savings institutions. An example of this is the Savings and Loan Association, of the Celluloid Club, Newark.

The third class is made up of companies formed to loan money at reasonable rates by men seeking a good return on their investment and who recognize the value as an advertisement of a plan which though largely money-making, is a great improvement over the loan shark system. Because of their effect, we are forced to include the latter class among remedial loan agencies, yet we realize they fall far short of the requirements of the ideal remedial loan society which the Russell Sage Foundation and the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations are attempting to organize in every large city in the United States.

Extending financial aid to applicants is only one of the functions of the Remedial Loan Society. It seeks also to secure adequate legislation and its enforcement, to give publicity to loaning conditions in its city, to secure settlements on an equitable basis, for the victims of the usurers, to discourage ill-advised borrowing, to give helpful advice, to encourage thrift and saving, to secure employment for applicants who are out of work; to fill the gap existing in our financial world between the banks and the organized relief societies. By extending relief to the deserving and by helpful advice the remedial loan association aims to prevent its clients from starting on the downward road which leads to dependence.

The remedial loan field extends to all families who by force of circumstances, by improvidence, by bad management, or by whatever cause, have fallen below the somewhat vague line of normal standard of living.

The successful remedial loan agent must understand the needs and resources of each applicant, and keeping in mind the factors which go to make up a normal standard, must thoroughly investigate the elements of each applicant's distress. Unnecessary borrowing is discouraged, legitimate borrowing is made inexpensive and a valuable experience to the borrower. A man applied to a remedial loan society for a loan. He had not sufficient security for the amount required, but

satisfied the manager of the loan association that he was honest, and a loan of \$50 was made to him on about \$25 worth of furniture. He used the money to buy out a small grocery stand in a growing section of the city. During the next few years he borrowed several times. This money enabled him to expand his business and he, is now a prosperous grocer and has reached out in other directions.

A widow, with two children, no employment and no resources, applied to a remedial loan society. A loan of \$25 was made to her and the society assisted the woman to find employment for herself and her son. The family is now in comfortable circumstances. A man who had always been a steady workman earning good wages, but who had never been able to save any money, lost his position through the closing of the factory in which he worked. At the same time he and his wife became ill. Their resources were soon exhausted and debts began to accumulate. Soon the man was able to work again, but had no funds to carry him along until his first pay would become due. A loan was made to him by a remedial loan society. Soon he became accustomed to the habit of making regular payments on his loan, and when his debt had been paid he was encouraged by the manager of the remedial loan society to start a savings account. He now has a tidy sum on deposit and owns some of the stock of the association.

In many states the monthly pay system used by railroads and other large employers is a contributing cause of the loan shark evil and resultant distress. A mechanic skilled in railroad shop work obtained a position with the Pennsylvania Railroad in an Ohio city. Employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad receive their wages once a month and two weeks' pay is always held back by the company. This man went to work on the 15th of the month and on the next pay day, which came on the first of the following month he received no money. Having no credit he was unable to finance himself and family during the next month and was obliged to give up his position. He secured a position with a second company, where he found similar conditions in the pay system. This went on for some time. Being a sober and industrious workman he was able to get positions without much difficulty, but because of the pay system could never hold them until the regular pay day. Finally he drifted into the hands of the loan sharks who assisted him on the downward road until he applied to the associated charities for relief. A well-timed loan in the beginning by a remedial loan association would have saved this man and his family.

Although the remedial loan association has two principal functions: to relieve distress and to prevent it, it is first of all a business organization in the mind of the borrower who comes as a client rather than a suppliant. As a commercial institution regular monthly installment repayments on loans are demanded; borrowers are not allowed to become lax in their dealings with the agency and the procedure makes possible perhaps the most important part of the work, the creation of habits of thrift that

often result in savings accounts after the loan is paid, thus providing in advance for future contingencies and putting the family beyond the need of future relief. These business-like requirements, however, bring about certain limitations in the work of the remedial loan association. It may not loan to applicants who have no household furniture or other security to pledge, (though this rule is sometimes stretched in emergency cases); it may not loan to an applicant permanently unemployed by reason of accident or chronic illness, nor to a family whose present or prospective income does not promise fairly regular repayments on a loan. Such applicants cannot be cared for by the remedial loan agency, but must be sent to the organized aid societies. In this connection it is important to consider the increased efficiency of the work of caring for distressed families that might result under further co-operation between relief societies and remedial loan agencies. The remedial loan association manager should not only understand the elements of a normal standard but should know the purposes and methods of the agencies and social forces which aim to supply these elements. The relief society should understand the methods, functions and limitations of the remedial loan work and should adjust itself to meet the organization of remedial loan associations. It should act as a bureau of general information and refer all persons whom a loan would benefit and who could properly be cared for by that agency to the remedial loan association. It should go farther when necessary and guarantee the loan if the applicant cannot qualify under the remedial loan association requirements. Among the families that apply to the organized aid societies are many who do not want charity but a temporary loan which they promise to repay. Many of these might be rehabilitated by a loan properly administered when a gift or a grant might do great harm. Many relief societies undertake to provide for these cases by making loans out of a self-support fund. Unfortunately the experiences of most societies in this connection show that the feeling of self-respect and independence that prompted the applicant to seek a loan rather than a grant of relief becomes vitiated by the knowledge that he is dealing with a charitable institution that cannot enforce payments. Consequently most of these loans are not repaid, and the effect upon the borrower has been harmful instead of beneficial. In one western city the secretary of a relief society entirely squandered his self-support fund in a very few years by making loans under such conditions. Prior to December, 1910, a charitable institution of another western city during a period of four years gave out \$22,000 in direct relief and only two recipients repaid the amounts loaned to them. With the organization of the Welfare Loan Agency of Kansas City a plan has been adopted by the United Hebrew Charities which is worthy of consideration by all relief societies. Each applicant for relief is carefully investigated and if the agent decides that a loan is likely to improve the family's condition the applicant is referred to the remedial loan association. If he cannot qualify under the requirements of the remedial loan association the loan is guaranteed by the Hebrew Charities.

This guarantee is made without the knowledge of the borrower, to whom the loan at once becomes a business transaction. During the five months from December, 1910, to May 1, 1911, 52 loans amounting to about \$2,000 have been made by the Welfare Loan Agency of Kansas City under this arrangement with the Hebrew Charities, and already 25% of the money loaned has been repaid. This is a very large part of the amount due. Such an arrangement might be entered into by relief societies and the remedial loan associations in all cities, thus extending the field of the latter and relieving the former of the administration of a fund in which they have not been over successful.

The problem of extending aid to families falling below the normal line is how to avoid demoralization, how to prevent the loss of self-respect, independence, self-reliance, and the sense of responsibility for those dependent upon the head of the family. There is in most people a wholesome dread of becoming dependent, a pride in being able to support one's self and family. To guard against its impairment is the function of the remedial loan association.

Housing, Health and Recreation

Report of the Committee, by Lawrence Veiller, Secretary of the National Housing Association, Chairman.

AMERICA'S HOUSING AWAKENING.

America really awakened to its housing conditions seventy years ago, when it felt the first stirrings of conscience, and the awakening has been going on very slowly but gradually ever since. A new sense has been stirring from ocean to ocean. Ten years ago I think I should have pointed out the sad contrast between the late dawn and the undawned. Tonight we have reached the dawn.

It is a far cry from the days when a New York legislative commission discovered the science of "hygienics." That legislative commission was the first that ever sat in America to consider the housing proposition. It was in 1856, and one of the interesting by-products was the discovery of the science of hygienics. At that time we had no Board of Health in New York. We had men who were known as health wardens, one in each ward, fulfilling to some extent the function of a health inspector and health department. In the course of their investigations this legislative commission had before them a very ignorant, typical, political appointee, and this conversation took place when he was on the witness stand: Q. "You did have a case of smallpox in your ward last Winter at No. 26 Berg Street?" A. "We did." Q. "Did you visit the family?" A. "I did not." Q. "Why didn't you? Kindly tell the Committee why you didn't." A. "For the same reason that you wouldn't. I didn't want to get it. At any rate, them was hygienics." Q. "What?" A. "I said them was hygienics." Q. "Kindly tell the Committee just what hygienics are." A. "Sure, hygienics are people that doctors themselves."

The Committee being very much enlightened, the chairman examined further to see what the knowledge of other health wardens was. They had before them an even more ignorant type of political appointee, and this examination took place: Q. "Now, did you have any cases of hygienics in your ward last Winter?" A. "Sure, we had a lot of them." Q. "Would you mind telling the Committee just what you understand hygienics to be?" And with an air of great wisdom and some contempt for the members of that investigating committee who had not reached the height of knowledge that he had attained, he delivered himself of this dictum: "Hygienics is the smells arising from dirty slops."

We have progressed from those days. In a number of cities that kind of service no longer exists. Many of us today believe that it is better to

prevent poverty by striking at some of its underlying causes, than to go on forever curing effects. And a few are actually doing that. Seven cities have been mentioned in which the Charity Organization Societies have taken up housing reform as a part of their work. Some of us came to Boston direct from the first National Housing Conference in America, and whatever effect that Conference had on those who attended it, I can say its effect on those who organized it was stimulating and exhilarating. To find a hundred and twenty people coming from every part of the United States to discuss housing problems was inspiring. And they did come from the East and from the Middle West, from the South and from the North, even from the Far West and from Canada. And what was more, it was not merely a social workers' conference, but a mingling of public officials, public-spirited citizens, builders, architects and, finally, social workers. I think that conference may fairly be said to be typical of what is going on throughout the country; people are realizing at last that the slums must be conquered if communities are to progress. We are all getting tired of patching up men and women in our hospitals, only to have them go out to miserable homes where our work will be undone. We may say that the end of the slums is in sight. Having awakened, the American people will become fully alive to their horrors and will deal with the problem in a characteristic way.

WHAT BAD HOUSING MEANS TO THE COMMUNITY.

By Jacob Riis, New York.

Two pamphlets lie on my table at home, Lawrence Veillier's *Housing and Health*, and Mrs. Bacon's "What Bad Housing Means to the Community." They have said all that I can say on the subject and I am really a fifth wheel to their coach. Their pamphlets are published by the National Housing Association and cost, I think, five cents apiece. They are worth five dollars apiece, and to communities, to all growing communities, I am tempted to say five thousand, yes, five million dollars apiece, if they will but take what is written there to heart. To me they summon up, incongruously enough, the days when we labored in the underpinnings as it were—incongruously because our methods in the new scientific light are supposed to have been very crude and ineffective. Crude they certainly were; I am not so sure as to the other. We were like the Chaplain of the Rough Riders who told me that his men didn't go much on the fringes of religion, "but they can sing. You just ought to hear them sing." Neither did we go much on the fringes of housing reform. We weren't quite as filled up with statistics as the present day is, and we didn't seem to need them then. We didn't trouble particularly about the fractions of men and women and children who crowded the slums we were after. I own that to this day the $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $4\frac{1}{2}$ —the half persons who seem to hide there, worry me. We did want whole men and women to grow up to run our land and our city, and when we found ten or thirteen sleeping in one room, or in a

cellar, when we went our rounds at night, we shut up that den and, if we could, we smashed it. You had ought to hear us sing then: Hail Columbia! Thanks to Roosevelt being on the Board of Health, we could. "You pick them," he said, "and we'll smash them," and they did, on his motion.

When we found one in three of the babies born in one slum buried year after year, we smashed that and gave the owners the price of opening one grave as the just return on their investment in murder. It was a cemetery company, by the way that held the mortgage on it, and it was all of a kind. When we found twice as many babies dying in tenements that had two houses on the lot as in those where there was only one, we labelled these rear houses, in which the meanness and misery of the worst slum hid themselves from the daylight, "infant slaughter houses" and dealt with them on that plane.

No, it was not scientific; it was just the human wrath that breaks the way for a better day, and on the whole, I think, it was effective. Those dens of death, at all events, shall not curse mankind again. Courts might debate and learned judges question whether they might not have been used for something else than human habitation—they were down and that was all there was of it.

Perhaps it was because we lacked some of the refinement that has come with much study and pondering. "Elemental" may be the name for the passion those early reformers were in. There was back of it all more than death rates and considerations of political or industrial economy—how much the illness the slum bred costs the community—how much the disablement of the wage-earner and his being cut off early. There was—I know there was in my mind and I know there was in the mind of Richard Watson Gilder, for he had a poet's great, warm, human heart—the feeling that, whatever the sanitarian's point of view, the economist's, these men and these women whom the slum was damning were made to be children of God—that His image was in them, and that for that cause we could not let them reek there, any more than as American citizens we could stand by and see the Republic built upon a pigsty. And the children that were born there—those that didn't die there, too—they were the tomorrow of the Republic, and that was enough for us. And I hope—I fervently hope—that though we have covered it, that image, with our fine speeches now-a-days until there are some even in our own ranks who don't make it out clearly as their warrant and fighting orders, that it is still there, and is the motive and spring of all we try to do. For unless it is, what we build will not endure. It may, indeed, lend us shelter for a season, but there is but one thing that warrants our trust that the world we labor in will grow better through our toil, this: that when all is said and done it is God's world, whom we serve and who gave us our orders and will see us through, if we but fight on.

How unconsciously it speaks to us from out of the very perplexity

and despair of the early reports on the going of the battle in my own city: "The tenants are better than the houses"—"Give them clean homes and drunkenness will cease."—"Come up!" cried one of the earliest and most valiant fighters whose white head is crowned with the love and veneration of his fellows, "Come up to their opportunities? Why, they are up to them now, if the chances were only offered. It is all a monstrous mistake of which these poor people are the victims. I have built homes for more than 500 families in thirty years and I have been getting daily more faith in human nature from my work among the poor tenants, though approaching that human nature on a plane and under conditions that could scarcely promise better for disappointment."

When I add that he has been doing the same for thirty years since and has not changed his mind, let it stand for all time as the answer to the landlord pessimist, and the bulwark of our faith in our fellow man.

And now, my text: "What bad housing means to a community." Let us see what it has meant to us in my great city. Half a century ago at the time of the draft riots, the Secretary of the Prison Association testified before a legislative committee that the rioters, and four-fifths of the law-breakers, came from the class that had "either lost connection with home-life or never had any; or whose homes had ceased to be sufficiently separate, decent and desirable to afford what are regarded as ordinary wholesome influences of home and family."

Home and family! How do they fare in an environment where "all the influences make for unrighteousness?" I am quoting from the report of the Tenement House Committee of which Mr. Veiller was the secretary. It was made forty years after that official testimony and so characterized the whole mass of the tenements in New York of that time. Is it any wonder it corrupted the young? Is it any wonder we have been floundering in the slough of slum politics, never able to carry reform twice running? 361,000 dark, sunless, unventilated rooms was the census, rooms in which you could not have raised a potato plant try as you might, because a plant wants light and air, but in which the boys and girls that are to rule America's metropolis in the coming days grow up, if they do grow up. And lest you fall into the "dim twilight" error, let me point out to you in the Tenement House Commissioner's words that in a great majority of cases there were no windows at all, not even one connecting with another room in the same apartment. You had always to go through two, often three, or even four rooms, before you reached one giving upon the outer air. For ten years now they have been cutting windows to these rooms under orders, and there has been no winter during that time in which landlord bills have not appeared in the legislature seeking to withdraw the old houses from the operations of the Tenement House law. There is one at this very moment. Truly, in the words of the Health Commissioner of Chicago, "which shall it be, dollars or deaths?"

For in these dens burrows the plague which the whole civilized world is battling with today. Ten thousand deaths from tuberculosis every year in New York—thirty thousand bound and chained, being led to the slaughter—five thousand maimed, pain-racked children with misshapen limbs in New York's tenements, victims of bone tuberculosis. One hundred thousand white-faced little ones waiting their turn, our doctors tell us. These are some of the things bad housing has meant, means today, to the greatest city in our Christian land, and we set and discuss tax rates and budgets while the endless procession of little white coffins winds its slow way from desolated homes, across the ferries to the cemeteries.

And yet, friends! it comes to me sometimes, it comes to us all, you know it and I know it, that we lay too much stress upon death. It is because of the shock it gives us, the horrid showing of the tithe taken by the Potter's Field, by the pauper grave-yard, of our city life—one-tenth of all—the wreck and the waste of our vaunted civilization! But at least they suffer no more. What about those that live on? We measure the damage done by the slum by the death-rate, but think of the inroads it makes upon the home, and through it upon the nation's living life. Think of what these dark dens stand for in terms of human misery, of perverted citizenship. Think of the vulgarity, the sordidness, the cheapness of life where there is neither privacy nor sunlight nor any of the standards of decency you and I know of in our homes. Think of the murder of ideals that is the slum's worst sin. I have found an entire family of seven persons, father, mother, and children, including a grown brother and a girl of sixteen, occupying one big bed in a Ludlow street tenement that was no bed at all, but just a shake-down on the floor. I have found, on my rounds with the sanitary police, a whole row of Italian tenements so crowded with lodgers—they all claimed to be kin, whole houses full of kindred—that there were forty and more families in a house built for sixteen. Practically all of the flats had a family in each of its three rooms. And this was in the days before the high cost of living came upon us. Since then we have doubled the crowding. Those tenements are still there, but I have not had the courage to go back.

There is another house I haven't had the courage to go to in years. There are many, but this one I give a wide berth. It stung my heart so that I shall never get over it, hardened as it should have been to that sort of thing. That one is over in Stanton street. In a rear house there I came upon a Polish cap-maker's flat where a weary woman and a pale-faced girl of twelve were struggling to make a home. A little boy stood by the window flattening his nose against the pane, and gazed wistfully up among the chimney pots where a piece of blue sky about as big as the kitchen could be made out. I said to the mother that they were nice rooms, and they were, as far as she could make them.

"Oh, yes," she said with a patient smile of hope long deferred,

"but it is hard to make a home here. We would so like to live in front, but we can't pay the rent."

I knew the unlovely street and I said something for the air-shaft—it was hardly a court—that surprised myself, but the girl who had been listening broke in eagerly, "Why, they have the sun in there. When you open the door, the light comes right in your face!"

"Does it never come here?" I asked and wished I hadn't said it, for the child at the window was listening, his whole hungry little soul in his eyes.

Yes, it did, she said; once every summer for a little while it came over the houses. She knew the month and the exact hour when it shone into their home, and just the reach of its slant on the wall. They had lived there six years. In June the sun was due. A haunting fear that the baby would ask how long it was till June took possession of me, and I hastened to change the subject. It was February then.

The picture calls up another: a little girl standing by a window in her home out on Long Island, watching the sunset flashes of purple and green and gold in the Western sky, and turning to her mother—"Mamma, God can paint good." It seems some slight atonement that it was her insistence upon having her papa take flowers she had gathered in the fields to the "poors" in the city which started one social settlement that has given to many hundreds of the forgotten little ones a glimpse of the glory He paints in the summer fields and forests and which the slums shut out of their sight. And this is where I put the emphasis. That is its sin. Without the robin and the dandelion and the sunlight, our freedom is a hollow mockery. We forget it to our terrible hurt.

It is even so with our making play-grounds for the children, with our fight against child labor. Economic grounds there are, enough and to spare. But let us be watchful that the pedagogue does not get too tight a grip on their play, and bend it to his own purposes, his aims, his grave scholastic ends. Oversee it by all means—not to, might let all the mischief in we are trying to bar out. But do not over-organize it. Let them run. Let them play soldiers and robbers if they want to, with all necessary violence to give to the game the proper tang. A black eye and a bloody nose are not to be despised as moral agents in the proper setting. Let them kick their heels and run in the very joy of living. Their lives will be all the fuller for that, by and by. Let them have their childhood, and we shall be the better able to appeal to their manhood, their womanhood, when we need them.

And now a word in closing to you, my fellow-workers. We dig and toil in the sweat of our brows, and when we see the tares springing up in the fields we sowed, we hear men sometimes speak of the unfit.

But who are the unfit? The slouching tramp, who, a spent man at thirty, having been jammed into the industrial treadmill at seven, will work no more—or the man who made money out of the child's labor? The woman without hope, of no caste,—or the employer who underpaid

her until she had to choose the street, to live. Never have I been able to get that report of the Working Womens Society in New York out of my mind and soul that said: "Woman's wages have no lowest limit since the path of shame is always open to her."

Who are the unfit? The raw Irishman who gets drunk on his holiday, and yet brings to the Treasury in Wall Street his savings of a lifetime when the black panic is sweeping over the land, saying simply: "We saved it all up in the forty years we have been here, for our old age, mother and I; but last night she read out of the paper to me that the country was in trouble and needed money, and so I brought it here." He, or the man who to pile up his wealth coldly gambles in the necessities of life, and makes living harder for us all?

The scrub woman who with empty hands and emptier heart gives her babe to the Potter's field and then scrapes and saves through the year working her fingers to the bone for the pittance that shall ransom her child from the trench and give it a grave of its own; yet not once, but three times surrenders it all to "some one in the tenement who is poorer than she."

Which is the unfit? She or the woman who gives a Christmas party to her lap dog, with her sisters and the little ones starving all about in a workless winter? The boy who, bred and raised in the environment which makes all for unrighteousness, trains with the gang and swings from the gallows at nineteen—he, or Hell's Kitchen that bred him, and we who let it be? Which is the unfit?

Let God judge. Let it be our task to see to it that at least they shall know better, that Hell's Kitchen shall no longer be let alone, that the environment shall be cleansed of its unrighteousness, so that our brothers shall have a chance. Then, and not until then, can we with a clear conscience leave the rest to Him.

I started out to tell you how the slum hurts and I suppose I have wandered every other way as I usually do, so that you can see that it was right what I said in the beginning that my methods at all events were not scientific, for which I am sincerely sorry, as you may not believe. But now let me tell you where, very recently, I met the slum in the raw, in the bud, if you can reconcile the thought of it with anything good and fair and promising. It was when traveling out West where they are mostly awake to its dangers—rather more than we in the East. I came into a town with large water power, and I felt a cold touch in it. Something was wrong. I found out quickly what it was. That water power ran some large paper mills; and in the mills the men were worked in two shifts, one of ten and one of fourteen hours, seven days in the week; for the mills were operated night and day, Sundays and week-days, without a break. When I told the people that they were bidding for the slum to move into their town, and bidding high, they said that the question of running the mills with three shifts of eight hours each had been up, but the owners could not afford it. That they could not afford to degrade men to the

level of beasts had not seemed to occur to them. Within a week, I was told by the man who put in the water power, and by paper manufacturers in another town, that those very mill-owners were making one hundred per cent. and over on their investment.

There, friends, you have the whole problem in the raw, and the reason why it is such hard struggling. It is the ever-lasting old devil of selfishness we are grappling with, and he is not easily downed. Lest he leave you in discouragement, let me tell you of two who did, in the only way you can ever bring him to book. The story has cheered me often. It comes down to us from far-off Judea, in a legend that tells of two affectionate brothers who tilled a common farm in the hills. One had a wife and a house full of children, the other was a lonely man. One night in the harvest time the older brother said to his wife, "My brother is a lonely man. I will go out and move some of the sheaves from my side of the field over on his, so that when he sees them in the morning his heart will be cheered by the abundance." And he did.

That same night the other brother said to his workmen, "My brother has a house full and many mouths to fill. I am alone and do not need all this wealth. I will go and move some of my sheaves over on his field, so that he will rejoice in the morning when he sees how great is his store." And he did. And they did it that night and the next in the sheltering dark. But on the third night the moon came out as they met face to face, each with his arms filled with sheaves. And on that spot, says the legend, was built the Temple of Jerusalem, for it was esteemed that there earth came nearest heaven. They were the first social workers there is any record of, and not all the years have found a better plan than theirs. It is the one way out of all our troubles and all our perplexities.

HOW TO GET HOUSING REFORM

By Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, Evansville, Ind.

More than 6,000 years ago, the first man made the first step toward housing reform. He built the first model tenement. He tried in vain to persuade people to accept better living conditions. He was the first "housing crank," and it ought to cheer our hearts to know that we have this ancient and honorable origin, for this man was none less than the Prophet Noah.

Father Noah saved a remnant of the race, as we are trying to do. He met with discouragements, as we do, and he transmitted to us his problem "How to interest the public in reform."

"How to get housing reform," means, of course, how to get housing laws and how to enforce them, because we can't expect to have housing reform except by force, until near the millenium.

So let us take up, first, the method of getting housing laws. The

enforcement is to be achieved by persistence in that method. In fact, the whole thing is largely a matter of persistence and determination. Right at the start, let me emphasize the importance of having expert advice. It saves time, labor and mistakes. The Persian Poet, Jami, makes the Shah say to his son,

"When doubtful of thine own sufficiency,
Ever, as I have done, consult the Wise."

We consulted Jacob Riis, Lawrence Veiller, Charles B. Ball, and Edward Hartman. We can never repay them for their kindness in helping us.

At that time the National Housing Association was not formed, yet Mr. Veiller became the godfather of our movement. This very year he made two missionary journeys to our state, and saved us from shipwreck and disaster. I wish there were time to tell the incidents in which his brilliant and masterful handling of the situation silenced opposition and turned antagonism into friendship. Only those who have watched him do it can appreciate his wonderful methods.

The experience and expert knowledge necessary to solve the complex problems of housing, make them baffling to an amateur. As every expert in the country is in the National Association, those having problems to solve should hasten to join.

In the past two years, many letters have come to us, asking advice. We used to send about nine typewritten pages, telling the things that must be done to get housing reform. We hardly ever got a second letter from the same source! Now, we write one or two pages, and refer the reformer to the National Housing Association. We always say two things. One is, "Don't take up housing reform unless you are going to stick to it." The other is, "Be sure to get Mr. Veiller's book on housing reform, and his Model Law."

Now, I might say to the prospective reformers in this audience, "Take those two books, and follow them out," and then I might properly sit down. Having traveled the flinty road myself, I can appreciate the sawdust he has sprinkled for the tenderfoot. As to the Model Law, no one can value it highly enough who has not tried to make one. We hope yet to enlarge our law to its scope.

In taking up the subject before us, I can only tell what we have tried and discovered. Whatever faults our method has, may be of value in causing discussion.

Of course, the first step necessary in a campaign is to learn the facts. This means some kind of a survey. A survey means either money or many willing helpers. That means more or less public opinion already aroused, and this doesn't happen by accident. Some one, very much in earnest, must make a beginning.

I'm going to leave the point open for discussion as to how complete a survey is necessary, especially for a state law. We had a very in-

complete one. I say only, it is imperative to have a definite basis of facts. But I shall say, further, statistics are only the dry bones. We must have all the bones, or we shall have a cripple. But if we have no more than dry bones we shall have a dead Thing, not a Movement. It won't move.

Remember, too, statistics tell only part of the truth, just as a photograph does. It tells the black and white truth, but not the color truth. And we can't get all the facts in any partial way; not all in tabulated sheets, not all in photographs. There are some things that we have to get in our hearts. We must have the tragedies of the slums. We must know the significance of the facts, to be able to show the public what is the effect of these conditions on the community.

When we asked Jacob Riis about passing our tenement law, he said, "You must get public opinion in your favor." I said, "We have done all we can to get it, and our law is ready, and the legislature is about to convene, and we'd like to try it. I believe it will go through." He said, "All right, if you can, get it through; but you must get public opinion, sooner or later, or your law will not stand."

He knew, and he was exactly right. We did happen to get it through, thanks to the wakefulness of the wise, and the sleepiness of the ignorant. But we were just in the nick of time, and, out of our experience, I can't refrain from warning the rest of you, don't wait till it is too late. Begin now.

Now, I am talking to prospective reformers, and not to the old campaigners, who know all about the publicity methods, necessary to get public opinion. I think they will agree with me that the best advertising methods are good to follow. The psychology of advertising applies here,—the vivid statement that takes hold of the mind, the reiteration, the suggestion, that makes your argument the reader's belief. Remember, though, that you are not one business concern dealing with another. Your wares are not wanted. Your business is more like that of a civil engineer, for you have to lift a mountain of indifference and selfishness. It takes dynamite to do that. Remember, too, "men never act except as the result of feeling." Make them feel. By posters, pictures, illustrated lectures and sermons, by editorials, stories and cartoons, make them feel. Raise their hair; chill their blood; harrow their souls, as Jacob Riis has done. Don't be afraid of overdrawing the slums, because they can't be painted as black as the Sin and Death that stalk there. But fine art is not enough. Catch some of the editors, and other public citizens, and hold them over the fumes of the pit. Get your churches and Y. M.'s to lend a few members for training, so they can formally conduct your victims through the slums. Do all the things Mr. Veiller recommends, in his book, especially forming the committee of citizens.

In a state campaign, such a committee should be formed in each of the larger cities. The more clubs and individuals that can be in-

terested, the better, carefully avoiding, of course, the unpopular and faddist sort. I believe there is some kind of an appeal that will draw in every desirable organization in the state.

The Anti-Tuberculosis Leagues are already in sympathy, because bad housing breeds Tuberculosis.

The Civic Improvement Leagues ought to take more interest than they do, because our problems are so allied. The cities are mostly houses, and any civic improvement that ignores bad houses plays around the edge of the problem. Not only are mean houses a blot on civic beauty, but the citizens they breed are a check on civic progress. Those who work for parks and playgrounds would have less need to work if there were more yard space. What is gained in public breathing spaces cannot undo the worst harm that comes from lack of space around the dwellings, where all sleep, and many spend their whole time, many who have little chance to get to parks or playgrounds, the little children, the overworked mothers, the helpless old people. Of course, this statement applies to cities where yard spaces may yet be saved.

The Child Labor Societies should be interested, because the children they save from the mills have a bad start and a worse finish in these bad homes.

Labor Unions favor Housing Reform because it is vital to the workingman. They need to be drawn to more active support.

The Architect's Association cannot object to sanitary housing. They will object to your requirements. Win them, by all means, if you can. Of course, every board of Health and every reform institution in the state is on your side. Bring them out into active support. Get all the written statements you can from them about Infant Mortality. Typhoid, Inebriety and Tuberculosis, caused by the slums, about the crime caused by bad homes, and have a stereopticon slide showing the cost to the state of institutions for the defectives, delinquents and dependents. Every official that you can get to make a speech for you will be a general in your army.

Women's clubs will be in sympathy. Don't forget to get the wives of influential men interested.

All of these organizations mentioned will endorse your movement, if you ask them. That is the whole story. They will pass a resolution endorsing your work, and you and a few others can go on and do the work. But don't be discouraged. The endorsement is valuable. Publish it in big headlines, and get a few of their members to enlist.

I haven't mentioned the Commercial Clubs, but we must have them. The example of the Chicago and Indianapolis clubs, and such, will encourage others. There are cold-blooded, practical appeals to reach them, in fact, unless you can appeal to the business men in a practical way, there is little hope of success. They can be shown that slum centres depreciate the values of the surrounding property, and drive away the better class of tenants; that it is bad business to allow

property to go to rack, and bad business to abandon large areas of a city to become the breeding places of crime and disease. They may be shown, too, that many of the working men are forced to live in such unsanitary dwellings that their health is broken down. As the working man is vital to both manufactures and commerce, this argument should have weight. Show them the importance of "heading off the slums."

Now, suppose we have gathered the facts, and have made our publicity campaign. Let us take an average case, not an ideal one. In an average city campaign, half the people will be blind to the papers, and deaf to the posters. Half who notice them will be too stupid to comprehend their significance. Half of those who do will be too prejudiced to influence. You have the remaining fraction to work with. You will find that the best results come from direct education of the councilmen or legislators.

In the average state campaign, worked out, say, in two years, the work will be less thoroughly done, even in a few cities. The smaller towns, not having the extreme visible signs, will be slow to believe. The country people are aghast at the horrors of slums—if you manage to reach them.

When it comes to the test, and you put your measure into the mill of the council or legislature, you will realize a solemn fact. That is, whether the general public is educated up to the point of reform or not, it is vital that these members should be.

I am supposing that you have chosen state rather than city legislation. We tried both, and feel a strong preference for state legislation, for many reasons. It is harder to undo, has stronger authority, saves time and labor of a separate campaign for every city, and gives the cities a uniform law. The methods of getting city legislation are just like those of getting a state law, only you work in less space, on fewer persons.

When the legislature opens, and the "Pibroch of Dhonil Dhu knells for the onset"; when you see the blank look on the faces of some of the members when you approach them about "housing," you are apt to think; "Oh, why didn't I get in more work on the members of the legislature themselves, before it began. Why didn't I send these stories and pamphlets to them in their homes, before they were bewildered and worn out, and under the party lash." Too late, then, to put your pictures and letters on their desks. All you can do is to use a gatling gun or a steam roller.

In the legislative campaigns, it is advisable to study the methods of the successful politicians (the statesman kind, of course). Get the prominent men of both parties on your side, especially the party in power. Get all the pledges you can before elections, and afterwards. You will need influence with the legislative leaders, and with the speaker of the house, and the president of the senate, for you will have

very little show if they are not with you even if you have a majority on your side.

Of course, you want your bill introduced, in one or both houses, by a majority member. He should be the most experienced man you can secure, and should be alert, quick witted, active, a strong and bold fighter, a forceful speaker. We had the man, Sen. Durra, a match for any dozen. This man, and a number of others, also, should be as familiar as possible with the bill, the facts and the arguments, before the legislature meets. You can't educate him afterwards. If he is the kind of man described, he will have from one to a dozen bills in his care. Remember, too, he can only attend properly to the bill in his own house. You need a similar friend in the other house. But don't make the mistake of leaving the fate of your bill to any member or committee. If possible, select the committee to which the bill will be referred, in each house, choosing, of course, the one in which your cause has most friends. This year we found them all a choice of evils, in the senate. The health committee, in the house, was strong for the public good, and mostly composed of wide-awake doctors. If you can get a good, strong hearing before the committee, with a full attendance, and display the facts, figures, and pictures, and tell the awful stories, the committee ought to be your best friends.

Now, remember, there are two houses to watch, and someone must be on the captain's bridge every minute, though out of sight, except when needed. That person must be the one who knows most and cares most about housing reform.

When the committee has given you a hearing, stand by the chairman until he reports the bill out of committee. "There's many a slip," so escort the clerk with the bill to the engrossing room. Then, hactut the door until he brings out the copy. There will be others to see that it stays in there. Read the copy carefully for the accidental—sometimes intentional—mistakes, that cost your enemies little to produce, but cost your cause so much. Escort the clerk and the copy back to the house and see that the bill is put into the mill for a second reading—(sometimes it gets lost in the safe—ours did). Then, don't let the Speaker forget to call it when due. They are so busy, they need reminding sometimes. So on, all the way through both houses, till you get the Governor's signature. You will have to miss a meal, sometimes, and maybe call on the party leaders to use pressure on a clerk. There are as many ways of killing an unpopular bill in the legislature as of killing a child in the slums. The commonest way, for both, is cutting off light and air. Many are smothered to death.

It is desirable to get as many pledges for support as possible before the legislature convenes. But one must realize the log rolling and wire-pulling and the enormous pressure of lobbyists that may be expected, and never relax a wink of vigilance. You never know where you will be struck in the dark, from ambush. Filibustering, bribes and tricks may

be used to defeat you. And you never know what absurd snag you may strike.

I said to one of our men, "It worries me because Sen. Blank is so sulky. He said he was in favor of our bill, but I am afraid something has given him a chill. What do you suppose it could be? My friend suggested, "Maybe you failed to recognize his wife. She's a non-descript sort of person, and I had that experience myself."

Now let us suppose, for a happy ending, that your bill passes triumphantly. It's still "Trouble, trouble, heap o' trouble on yo' side, Brer. Fox," as Mr. Rabbit said. Look for a test lawsuit the third week. You will win, of course. We always have won. Look for the Inspectors to balk, for the officials to fudge. Look for all kinds of opposition because you will have it. But don't be discouraged.

After a whirlwind campaign, after the flush of victory, you wait a few months—the papers talk about the reform you have accomplished, and you look about for signs of that reform. You realize that he spoke truly who said "Reform is a matter of a lifetime." That is why we say, before you become wedded to Housing Reform, realize that it is like any other marriage—till death. And when you draft a housing law, and secure its passage, remember, that's your child, and you are responsible for it, and you can't carry it and lay it on some one else's door step. No indeed. You are going to have to take care of it, and you can expect to nurse it through its second summer, and through every attack known to infantile laws.

I don't want to discourage any one. Opposition grows less each year, and every victory helps, even if it be in another state. If we can begin with friends and funds, for the cause, it is so much easier. But the pioneer is generally some lone fighter, with a tender heart and a sensitive nose. These are what start him on reform, but these are what make the fight so hard. He comes to loathe the very word "slums" before the publicity campaign is half over. Then he realizes the truth of Emerson's statement "The characteristic of genuine heroism is persistency." And that brings us back again to the Prophet Noah. Think of working forty years on one reform!

We have been warned against enthusiasm, and we affirm again that housing reform can never be won without hard work and practical methods. But what is going to hold us to it when we flag and tire? Only doggedness? Only gameness? That is not enough. We need something higher. If we can cry with the Piper, "How can I live and breathe when there are things in cages"; if there is a spirit within us that must go homeless till the wretched are housed, we shall never give up.

Two other things we need. One is, the faith of the Prophet. In Indiana we count our success due to our prayers more than to our hard work. And, last, for our inspiration, we need the vision of the Prophet. A vision of the filth and sin, the "abomination of desolation" of our

cities, and, above that, a vision of that City of shining beauty where there is no sickness nor crying, no congestion, where the golden streets are clean, and it is always light.

HOW SOCIAL WORKERS CAN AID HOUSING REFORM.

By Miss Mary E. Richmond, New York.

This is one of those interesting questions in which is involved the relation of the general practitioner in social work to the specialist. How can the work be divided between these two without waste, without friction and without ruinous speeding up? How far, indeed, should we encourage that division and subdivision of the field of social work into specialties which is now so rapidly going forward? And at what point or points is this specialization liable to retard social advance? I am not asking these questions with a view to attempting to answer them. They present problems for the scientific management engineer when he learns (as he surely has not yet learned) to analyze all our processes from within instead of imposing upon them from without the ready-made standards and tests of other processes.

Scientific management will surely have some serious things to say to the group of social workers to which I belong, to the group of general practitioners. It will point out, perhaps, our cheerful habit, as specialties emerge, of freeing ourselves of all responsibility for that particular reform, of dropping upon each specialty in turn the whole burden of its peculiar task, and much beside, leaving each to operate in a patchy and unrelated way, hampered by a lack of understanding, of preparation and of follow-up work. I do not mean by this that social workers in general have not enough to do—they have far too much, at the moment—but we expect them to know too little. They should be required to know a good deal more than they now know about all the specialties that are real specialties.

In housing, we have, I believe, a genuine specialty. It was one of the first to emerge, its development has been far from meteoric, but it has a technique of its own firm enough to cut our teeth upon, and no amount of scientific management could manage it away until the open air people have cured us for good and all of the habit of living in houses. Having recognized this as a specialty, however, we are in grave danger of leaving to its experts the duties that are plainly ours. If there is any good reason why every social worker who goes in and out of the homes of the people should not be a sort of deputy housing and sanitary inspector, I have yet to discover it. And to have to *know* enough to keep this task intelligently in mind will be thoroughly good for him or for her; it will make for flexibility and against social blindness. "What the New Yorker of twenty-five years ago lacked,"

said Mrs. Kelley at a meeting on this subject, "was not foresight but sight." Sight is our greatest lack today. If the housing people can give us standards that will cultivate in us keenness of vision, they will be doing far more for us than we can possibly do for them.

Standards we need and to the housing specialists we must turn for the spelling out these standards in letters a yard long. At an Institute for charity organization workers from different cities held recently, I was interested to note that, as each in turn described briefly the local background of his work, there was clear differentiation of land overcrowding from room over-crowding. This was thanks to Mr. Veiller's book, perhaps. To get this distinction fixed clearly in the minds of all social workers, to make them understand that disease and vice may be fostered by overcrowding in the middle of an otherwise empty forty-acre lot, is a good first lesson in seeing things as they are.

Another lesson in sight reading, I suppose, would be to learn to look beyond the superficial cleanliness of fresh paint and whitewash. Our prejudices in favor of these excellent things must not blind us to more fundamental matters.

What are these fundamentals in the order of their relative importance? We are hardly in a position to say without having studied first the state laws and city ordinances on housing. Once familiar with these, we can classify all our observations under (a) violations of existing statutes, and (b) arguments for further legislation. First of all, therefore, we must know in outline, at least, the existing legal remedies and the means provided for their enforcement.

The usual order of importance in our search for the most serious housing defects is (1) bad toilet arrangements, (2) dampness, (3) dark rooms, (4) overcrowding, (5) insufficient water supply.

(1) *Bad Toilet Arrangements.*—We visit homes frequently where there is inertia, low vitality, and even sickness without knowing definitely or taking the trouble to discover the condition of the plumbing, the trapping of the waste pipes, etc. The cleanliness of the toilets, their location and provisions for privacy, such as inside locks, have a direct bearing upon health and decency. An untrapped waste pipe means sewer gas, probably, and sewer gas means ill health.

(2) *Dampness.*—The condition of the cellar, the walls and roof, more especially of the cellar; is its floor wet or damp, has it a dirt or a cement floor, is it cluttered with rubbish or animals? Are the pipes leaking? Does the roof leak?

(3) *Dark Rooms.*—When these are used for bedrooms, the fact should be noted on our records, should be related to our family histories of disease and premature death, and should be made the subject of steady pressure upon citizens, lawbreakers and public administrators.

(4) *Overcrowding.*—This is especially to be noted as regards sleeping accommodations. Its vital relation to health and decency must be vividly realized and kept constantly in mind in all our plans for making

people economically independent. Independence built upon a standard that ignores decency is built, of course, upon quicksand.

(5) *Insufficient Water Supply.*—In the purity of the source and the amount is involved the condition of the cistern or tank and its care between official inspections. Is there running water and, if not, where is the nearest tap?

Assuming that we have learned to take note of these things in all our social service errands (and in our present state of ignorance and preoccupation this is assuming a good deal), what should we do with our newly acquired knowledge? This use must vary at the various stages of housing development. If there has been no local agitation leading to the enactment of a fairly good law, the period of education of public opinion and of active campaigning for legislation must not be left to social workers in general; they must seek trained leadership and then help by supplying the data and local influence for the struggle. If this preliminary period is past and a housing law won, then the more difficult stage of securing adequate enforcement has been entered upon. The poorer tenants are not very effective reporters of complaints, and as their ambassadors we must be vigilant to represent them here. The housing experts must not overwork the already heavily burdened; they must make it easy, by thinking the process out clearly in every detail, for us to forward reports of violations to the right places; they must show us how to note down in the easiest and simplest way observations that may become their arguments.

But outside the realm of formal complaint and recorded data, we are often in a position to use the influence that we have gained from the performance of our other tasks, we are often able to persuade tenants to make necessary changes and readjustments. We can help to keep the less desirable houses and tenements empty by persuading tenants to move. In better houses we can co-operate with the tenants to remedy a nuisance or secure some positive advantage.

If, as we believe, the giver of material relief is fully responsible for the results of its consumption, such responsibility must include the housing conditions in the homes of all families in receipt of relief other than interim or emergency aid. I realize that this statement is subject to certain modifications. The social worker's task often includes the application of four or five different principles of treatment, no one of which can be ignored but all of which cannot always and under all circumstances be immediately reconciled. A wise choice of the order in which questions of employment, medical care, sanitation, diet, training, discipline, recreation, shall be successively pushed, often taxes our ingenuity and skill to the utmost, and even the sound general instruction to move families under charitable care to good living quarters with promptness is not always practicable. We must work *with* the tenants rather than *for* them and must win their co-operation, if that is a possible thing, even though we go forward more slowly in order to do

so. But go forward we must, and never permit ourselves to support intolerable conditions with complacency at the same time that we are backing general schemes of housing reform.

One aid in a detailed effort to improve living conditions in a given district of a large city would be the preparation of a white list of good houses and good landlords with the rentals that prevail. If the neighborhood is one in which overcrowding has brought all the attendant evils of bad street conditions and low neighborhood standards, then studies of conditions in less crowded parts of the city and in its suburbs should be followed by a determined effort to transplant families in receipt of regular assistance. Sometimes our minds become so case cramped that we accept without question conditions that we see habitually, when the remedy for them lies no further away than just beyond the boundary of our daily round.

To encourage migration of population within the city area—migration in the right direction, that is—is only one step in the better ordering of social endeavor. Another and, as I believe, a more important one, is to learn to think of this country and of its many undeveloped resources as a unit, and to utilize migration to less populous sections as a means of fighting the overcrowding of our cities. Too often we assume that the young couple recently arrived in America with two small children can be helped best by encouraging the man to remain at small pay in a city of high rentals, while we supplement his wages by placing the children in a charitable nursery, and enabling the wife to earn. Thirteen years ago I wrote of this. "The attractions of a large city are great enough without adding any such artificial help to overcrowding," but charity continues to this day to spend itself lavishly upon keeping people in the wrong place instead of bestirring itself to find for them the right one. All of our social service processes need a pretty thorough overhauling at frequent intervals; and it would be worth while to scrutinize all our work carefully from this point of view to see whether or not we are so establishing families as to increase urban congestion and the cost of shelter.

In yet one more direction can the social worker aid housing reform, and that is by increasing the sense of individual responsibility in property owners. If every landlord could be induced to inspect his own properties thoroughly just once, I believe that no one thing would help the housing cause more, for many who now draw their incomes contentedly from the administering trust companies would perforce realize then that a part of their prosperity rests upon conditions dangerous to health and life itself. In so far as property owners have any relation to social work, we have opportunities direct and indirect for making this suggestion.

To sum up: Housing reform affects health, morals, economic efficiency, child-nurture and the foundations of the family. If we are genuinely interested in these we must be interested in it. That interest

involves a responsibility which cannot be delegated, though we should make little progress in its discharge without the aid of the housing experts. They must tell us what to do, studying, however, the limitations imposed upon us by our other tasks and, in all their instructions, keeping these limitations in mind. We for our part should welcome their suggestions and make them part of our daily working program; first, because we can greatly increase our usefulness thereby, and in addition because it is good for ourselves that our program should be an open program, varied, flexible, adaptable, and demanding the fullest use of every faculty during every working hour.

BUYING HEALTH.

William H. Allen, Director, N. Y. Bureau of Municipal Research.

Mr. Riis once wrote something that fits the characterization which our Chairman has so generously used in introducing me. The opposite of a live wire is pretty apt to be the silk hat. Using that in its metaphoric sense I recall an occasion in New York when Mr. Riis and I were very anxious to have something done that needed to be done right away, straight from the shoulder and between the eyes. The silk hat intervened and Mr. Riis lost out. He wrote me a letter afterward—if he challenges my reference I will produce the letter—and down at the bottom he wrote: "Damn silk hats. They're a disease."

There is a disease that is being fostered in our efforts to buy health, which is associated with the silk hat more than with the iconoclast; e. g., our reluctance to confront the gap between what we all know ought to be done, and what we are really getting done.

Buying health is not synonymous with spending money for health. The millionaire often buys paresis, inertia or demoralization. A tenant often buys funerals. Dealers in drugs and in foods often sell disease instead of health. We must, when we talk about buying health, have in mind that there is a great difference in many communities between spending energy to buy health and getting the thing we pay our money for. We provide inspectors to examine school children, yet the spending of that money often accomplishes nothing but the filing away of records of adenoids and defective sight, etc. We are spending money in some of our cities for summer care of infants, which buys nothing but writing of records. Until recently tuberculous cattle were slaughtered in Brooklyn under the most filthy conditions, and tuberculous meat was sold to hundreds of people, notwithstanding all the money spent on meat inspection. This is selling and buying disease for New York babies.

We cannot meet the health needs of our communities if we concentrate upon the sub-normal portions of our communities. If there is

anything worse than for the City of Boston to have abandoned its out-door schoolroom, it is for the City of Boston to have but one room into which it was willing to advertise that out-door air was coming. To a degree which I haven't time to elaborate, we have been trying to lift the hundred per cent. of the population who need help, by concentrating philanthropic attention upon two or three per cent. of the problem, and having half a dozen rooms for fresh air while we are drawing plans for twenty-five thousand scholars that never will have a breath of fresh air. We have reached a stage where we must ask of every man who has enthusiasm for the deaf, blind, feeble-minded and anaemic, that he shall use his personal influence to get the community under the load of keeping these numbers few, by taking care of the not yet anaemic, not yet quite feeble-minded.

We cannot buy health for communities through private agencies. The most efficient private agency in the world is never going to have the money or the contact, or the vision, or the capacity to get the facts, to buy health that our communities need. Many of the most effective private agencies realize this. We have had now various national organizations that are using facts which they get from each community or from a hundred communities, not to divert public opinion from the public obligation to private philanthropy, but to bear down on the public a sense of responsibility for carrying its load. Last year just about this time in New York the infant mortality was thirty-seven to one hundred and seven per cent. higher than for the preceding year. The newspapers said: No relief, torrid weather another week. Babies died by the hundred. What did the private philanthropies do? They used that opportunity to advertise the overcrowding of their hospitals and creches and milk stations and to beg more money to take care of the hundredth per cent. that were helped through their channels. This Conference must recognize that it is our opportunity to use the community's distress, not for selfish purposes, but to get the community under the load of destroying conditions which breed distress.

The Rockefeller Foundation for eradicating the hookworm is a remarkable demonstration of a private agency working through existing agencies, and particularly existing public agencies, over an enormous territory. It is significant not merely because it has done the work in a brilliant educational campaign, but because it has demonstrated to one group of large givers the tremendous efficiency produced by working that way instead of working off on a side-show. If we can popularize the methods of that Commission and its results, we may help divert millions of dollars that would otherwise go into various philanthropic efforts which actually obstruct progress. We must tackle the big thing and not lose all our energy by concentrating on the small thing.

If we don't look out, we shall spend the next twenty-five years

arguing to a convinced jury. Our state legislatures are busy men and our press and social workers now want these things we are talking most about. The people want these things. The obligations resting upon us is to deliver the goods. They say, "You go ahead and show us how to do it, don't tell us more about wanting it. We want it now, but we don't know which way to turn."

There is a very important thing for us to remember in raising funds and in planning work for a community. When we have a community all stirred up we ought to get into action. We shouldn't ask any community to take up a new thing till we are sure that doing it won't subtract from the effectiveness of the hundreds of things which that community is already doing. There is a tendency, for example, to add instruction in vocational training to the public schools at the expense of other things that public schools have been trying to do. Habits of health, knowledge respecting health, cleanliness, punctuality, accuracy, etc., are just as important elements of vocational fitness as any direct vocational training we can give.

The best way to educate any community in efforts to buy health is through the city budget, the one document of any community that attempts to describe what the community is going to do and where you and I can get a picture of what our towns are trying to buy in the way of health. That time of the year happens to be now. Where efforts have been made to interest communities in a comprehensive picture of health needs shown in the city budget, every private agency has felt a new thrill because it was confronted with the facts that represented a hundred per cent. of the town. We tried it in Hoboken. You may have heard some jokes about Hoboken. There is a paper there—*The Hudson Observer*—a great moralizer. It has been charging the city government from 50 per cent. to 250 per cent. more than the retail market price for all kinds of supplies and for years has been standing against every effort to save babies and to protect the health of school children. We tried the budget gospel in Hoboken. The working people came in crowds. Hundreds were turned away, for example, on a drizzly night because others got in and packed the house in advance. The thing that did it was a picture of the health needs of the town. They voted nurses for school children, nurses for summer babies, milk inspectors, etc. Mr. Kingsley told me to-day that in Chicago they had presented three questions at the Child Welfare Conference. What has Chicago done? What is the total we ought to do? What is there now remaining for Chicago to do for the health of its children, which means health for all the community? Just one human document will enable us to realize this and will bring the whole community to bear upon it, and that is the city budget.

The minute you get into the city budget a hundred per cent. of health needs you come to realize that there is absolutely no aspect of municipal, state or national government that does not come down to the

question of buying health. And when we get as far as realizing the importance of this, we realize that health itself is simply one index of how we are working together. We cannot buy it all by itself. If we are going to buy health we must buy an efficient method with respect to a hundred per cent. of the job we put up to our government to do.

THE HEALTH OF SOCIAL WORKERS.

By Richard C. Cabot, M. D., of Boston.

It should be said in the first place that while many persons have broken down while engaged in social work, it has cured many others. There are people now in social work and enjoying good health who had never attained any fair state of comfort or efficiency in other professions. The monotony and routine of clerical work and many other positions which women occupy often does much to break them down. In comparison with such jobs social work may come as a veritable life-saver. "Lack of an opportunity for self-expression, lack of a task in which they can lose themselves, is one of the commonest causes of nervous breakdown," writes one of America's best social workers. "Taking the country over the monotones of life are responsible for more ill health than its complexities. I can think of dozens of workers who are in better health to-day than when they entered social work. There is wonderful comfort in it for those who give themselves to it whole-heartedly."

To all of this I heartily agree. Indeed I have myself sent several patients into social work for the benefit of their health as well as because of their fitness for the life and I have seen again and again the healing effects of this hard discipline.

Many of the breakdowns that I have witnessed in social work have been due not so much to the work itself but to the personality of the "boss." If the superior officer, the directors, committees and contributors are not in close touch with the vital processes of social work, if the worker does not feel adequate support, understanding, and skill in those under whom she works, the friction and discouragement of this maladjustment are sooner or later crushing. "There are few bitterer things than to be misunderstood and to face day after day the criticisms of an unintelligent or an indifferent public"—writes the same wise woman whose words I have already quoted.

Under satisfactory conditions I believe social work is one of the most glorious opportunities that modern life offers. Again and again I have seen it bring out hidden treasures from the depth of personalities who came to find in it their deepest happiness.

The dangers that I am about to describe should only stimulate us to plunge in; I know no work worth doing but has its risks and its wounds, Few professions make us more glad to suffer.

Social Work One of the Dangerous Trades.

Yet, after making all such due allowances, we must recognize the fact that social work is a dangerous trade. It deserves this name because in it as in other dangerous trades, there is a special concentration of a certain poison to which the rest of the world is not exposed in the same way. A comparison with some of the more commonly recognized dangerous trades will help us here. Take, for example, lead poisoning. We almost all of us take into our systems a certain amount of lead, but most of us escape poisoning, because we are not exposed to it all the time. We are not constantly taking the metal into our systems. We meet it only now and then. The lead worker, on the other hand, owing to the condition produced by division of labor and specialization, is exposed day by day and year after year to doses of a poison which would be harmless if he met it only occasionally as the rest of us do.

Granite cutting is a dangerous trade, because those who practice it must take into their lungs much more frequently and constantly than the rest of us, the particles of mineral dust which their work forces them to inhale. A little of any of these poisons we can any of us stand, and in a less highly organized society, that little would be all that we should be called upon to bear.

But it has not been realized, I think, that in social work, we have the same violent artificialities, the same abnormal congestion of one poisonous element as in the other dangerous trades. The only difference is that in social work we are dealing with mental and spiritual poisons. Most people maintain their mental and physical equilibrium through change and variety. The average man maintains his mental and nervous balance because it is only now and then that he meets with experience of poignant suffering and of ghastly misfortune. It is only on occasion that he is brought into close contact with the more sordid, squalid "down-at-the-heel" sides of life. The ordinary man has one friend, perhaps, killed in an elevator, not one a week. He has to deal in his life time with one deserted wife; one suicide; one feeble-minded child; a few cases of tuberculosis; an occasional chronic invalid or alcoholic. But he is not plied and oppressed by a multitude of such experiences day after day. If he were, he would break down.

In ordinary life, the disastrous experiences are diluted and made more bearable by an abundant intermixture of less terrible and less wearing things. Most people that we meet with are apparently happy, healthy, successful or at any rate uncomplaining. We are not called upon to bear their burdens and the weight of the single and occasional horror or sordidness which our life presents to us is counter-balanced. We have abundant opportunity to turn away and see the other sides of life. It is not so with the social worker. Such horrors are his everyday task.

Strains, Wounds and Dislocations.

Social work is a dangerous trade, because it involves strains, wounds and dislocations. It is full of strains upon the sympathies and wounds of the spirit, which are all the more serious because we have no time to care for them, to give them proper opportunity to heal. We have no time to think out the ultimate and bearable meaning of these painful experiences and so they continue to ache. This is all the more serious because social work demands persons of a specially sensitive and sympathetic temperament. If they are not wounded and strained by their life it is only because they have become callous and if they are people of the right stamp, fit for social work, they have been selected especially because they can avoid becoming callous, can remain sensitive and, therefore, vulnerable.

The dislocation which I referred to above as one of the dangers of social work is a dislocation of the point of view or of the creed. The problem of evil, the problem of free will, the question of God's justice, doubts as to the worth-whileness of the whole universe and of our part in it are forced upon the social worker with that suddenness, unexpectedness and overwhelming force which are apt to produce dislocations of the physical type. Many a worker has narrowly escaped becoming seriously twisted or warped by the constant pressure of the problems of sex for which he is often wholly unprepared and which open up a new and very terrible world before his sight. I know of no other profession which forces its members so constantly to face metaphysical and religious problems or so constantly exposes them to be hammered by the hardest and most piercing of experiences.

The Travail of Creative Work.

Social work is hard beyond most of the other professions because it demands more constantly than any other profession except creative art, the exercise of constructive imagination and fresh thought. The social worker's daily job is the construction of new plans, the discovery of original resources and new combinations. Now, in other professions, such as business, medicine and nursing there is, it seems to me, a much larger admixture of routine work such as can be done without much brains. We expect any artist who does creative work to be exhausted after three or four hours and to confine himself for the rest of the day to very humdrum matters. Yet, the social worker, whose labors demand originality and constructive imagination of the same type which the artist employs, is supposed to be fit for a day's work equal to that of the doctor or the business man. This is unjust.

Decisions and What They Cost.

Another aspect of the same difficulty appears when we realize that the social worker's life is crammed full of decisions and very responsible decisions at that. A decision of any importance is a stunt like stopping

a run-away horse or putting out a forest fire. It is an athletic exercise of our best powers and is wearing, out of all proportion to the obvious and tangible result. When a fireman has rushed into a burning building to pull some one out of smoke and flame, when a workingman has been using pick and shovel in the compressed air of a caisson, he has a right to expect a let up, a respite. He is not expected to do such things for many hours a day and six days in the week. It is inevitable then, that such high grade, high speed work as is the ordinary lot of the modern social worker should bring great wear and tear upon the machine and in many cases should actually throw it out of gear.

The Infinity of the Job.

It is a magnificent thing to be hitched up to a job which can never be finished; magnificent, because it means that our opportunity is endless, that we never shall come to the end of its interesting possibilities, its fruitful ramifications. But, an endless job is literally and truly awful, if we fail to realize this endlessness and try to finish it up clean. The attempt to finish up infinity is always a perilous and dis-spiriting act. Nothing can be more bitter and dreary than the attempt to finish up by counting the infinite series of the whole numbers in arithmetic. I know a brave and brilliant man whose life has sometimes been embittered by the thought of infinite space and by the "cosmic horror" which envelops him as he tries to imagine its infinity. The mistake of course, in all such cases is in attempting to find the end of infinity;—to put an end to that which has no end. If we take the infinite for what it is, it is inspiring, first, last and all the time. It is only when we make the pardonable, but quite illogical effort to finish up and bound that which is in its very nature endless and unmeasurable, that we fall into disaster.

There are some jobs which can be finished up clean and clear and Mr. William H. Allen, of New York, has rendered great service to all social workers by pointing out some of these jobs and by insisting that we must "clean up one hundred per cent of the job" or "get under one hundred per cent of the load," realizing from the start just what its dimensions are, preparing an appropriate outfit and then polishing off the task once and for all. All such finite and finishable jobs should be tackled in this spirit. Every piece of social work includes such jobs and they are a great blessing to social workers, because they are so restful in comparison with the absolutely endless undertakings which make or break the hearts of social workers. We need, every one of us, now and then, to get our breath and recruit our jaded energies by undertaking some special and limited piece of work which can be brought to the finish and left behind us.

The scientific and mathematical studies which form a rightful part of

many investigations are a rest after case work, because the human element can be for the time left aside. Science is always less trying than art.

Wherever it is a matter of counting, measuring, computing, making percentages and averages, calculating units of efficiency and applying them, we have tasks on which we can rest our brains, and yet accomplish much good in the process. To count the number of children with bad teeth in the public schools, or the number of children in the alms houses—are tasks which can and ought to be finished up within a reasonably short time; though the great human problems remain and will remain, I think, forever, even in Heaven.

I know that there are those who think that all that ails us is that the times are out of joint and that a quick and strong pull ("Now then, all together"), will snap the times back into joint, into that perfect adaptation of part to part and of organism to environment, which makes the Spencerian Heaven. Personally, I believe that the great human problems such as the bringing up of children, the unity of the family, sex troubles, improvidence, intemperance, slackness and discouragement, will remain after all the economic reforms have done their best. But in any case, these human problems remain for us, and it is the effort to clean up and finish off these infinite tasks that is heart-breaking. We are quite familiar with the idea that "Art is long and life is short." We are not surprised that we do not finish up the task of acquiring wisdom, or even of perfecting knowledge within a particular sphere of research. Yet, this acquiescence is a strange thing. We go calmly on facing the infinity of knowledge and the necessary snail's pace of our approach towards wisdom despite the fact that every day some one dies because we doctors know no more of disease; some soul is wrecked because those who should lead souls have so scanty a stock of wisdom themselves. The need of complete wisdom is as great, as pressing, as tragic as the need of solving efficiently and correctly the great problems of social work; but we have become accustomed to the fact that the particular infinity which we call knowledge can not be drained. It is in social work that we suffer under the tragic strain of trying to drain the horn whose other end connects with the sea. Doubtless, our friends, the socialists, are responsible for a large portion of the strain resulting from our pathetic efforts to limit the illimitable and finish the endless; for the socialists are the spokesmen of those reforms which can be put through and finished up within a limited time. They are apt to jeer at the rest of us who spend our lives for results which seem to them, as in truth they are, only a drop in the bucket. Our comfort is in the belief that every drop is infinitely precious to God and that the bucket itself is but a drop.

But because of this creed, social workers are apt to forget that normal life should include a certain proportion of the restful scientific and finite jobs to balance their more strenuous and creative work with infinities.

Social workers are assailed then:

1. By constant hammering upon their sympathies, threatening dislocation of outlook.
2. By the strain of athletic contests of decision.
3. By the effort to drink up the sea and finish infinity.

Tropical Conditions and How to Meet Them.

It is a distinguished honor to be called to such a post, to be expected to make a success of such work, but those who call us should profit by the experience of England and other colonizing nations in their dealings with the evils of a tropical climate. Men whose duty it is to serve in the tropics are recognized as a band who do their work under conditions of special strain, the strain of tropical climate. Every wise government provides accordingly for long furloughs and tries to prevent the harm which such conditions of special strain are sure to produce, unless something is done to counteract them. Most nations offer unusually high salaries, long furloughs and especial educational opportunities in order to attract men into such posts of danger. But, so far, those who employ social workers have not, it seems to me, realized the strains to which social workers are exposed; strains fully comparable, it seems to me, to those of a tropical climate. The salaries of most social workers and their hours of work are planned without any proper realization of the facts which I have just been setting forth. It is the duty of all those who employ social workers to get in such close touch with the details of the work that they will realize how hard it is and how much protection, rest and special consideration the workers deserve. I think few social workers would be so miserably paid as they now are, did officers and managers have any realization of the tremendous wear and tear which is put upon those very delicate organisms which social workers must possess to be of any value.

Remedies.

Few social workers know how to rest; very few know how to play; very few know how to limit their work. Let us take first the problem of rest. Do we all realize how individual a matter rest is? What rests you only tires your neighbor the more. Each must find out for himself what is his own best method of rest. For one, the beauty and the quiet of nature is the essential thing. For others it may be the intercourse of valued friends, or the refreshment of art. Yet, despite all the individual limits which make it difficult to dogmatize in this field, there are certain things which I think can be definitely said. Our rest should despecialize us, by supplying that which appeals to our whole nature and can not be delegated to others. Laughter, for instance, is one of the things which as yet no one has suggested that we should specialize and delegate to experts. Social workers need it and need more of it than they ordinarily

get. This is not because their tasks are so mournful and solemn, but because they are so one-sided and specialized, while laughter is an outburst of the whole nature as it was before labor was divided.

Another point which may be regarded as settled, is this: It is change of work rather than complete inactivity which rests most people. Indeed the attempt to throw aside all work and to vegetate is often a disastrous one. I have seen a professor who was ill only at the time of his Sabbatical year. Many a teacher can stand anything except the summer vacation. Towards the end of this vacation she begins to feel alarmingly tired and discouraged. It is only after the term has begun and the normal stimulus of work is again active that health returns.

Besides despecialization and the total change in the line of our activities, we need especially an opportunity for retirement and privacy. No one has less of these commodities than the social worker and no one needs them more. Furthermore, we need to follow that first law of our nature which demands order in all that concerns us. I have known people who got their best refreshment in putting a bureau drawer fully in order. It is for this reason that all scientific procedures are so restful. Figuring, investigating, preparing essays, initiating reforms, are all restful matters, because they deal with something which we can ourselves control and put in order rather than with the fearful unexpectedness and endless novelty of case work.

Beauty and Play.

I said above that social workers do not know how to play. I have been delighted to see that the Survey has recently added a baseball department. I hope that this is to be a permanent feature of that admirable sheet; for surely social workers do not get enough of baseball and what it stands for. There is not naturally enough play in their lives, partly because they are too tired and too ill paid to play; partly also because they have not demanded it and provided a time for it. Play is, as I believe, a form of art and thus akin to other types of beauty. Now, social workers are very apt to be beauty-starved. Despite the moral beauty of noble character, the splendid courage and generosity which case work often privileges us to witness, physical dinginess and ugliness are everywhere the daily fare of most social workers. More than others they crave beauty just because they are more alive than their neighbors, more awake to what is best in the world. Deliberately to plan and arrange for some enjoyment of beauty is as necessary for a social worker as it is to arrange a proper diet. Beauty is necessary food for the soul. Without it most sensitive people starve. It is a necessity, not a luxury.

The Limitation of In-Take.

Because knowledge is generally recognized to be infinite no one tries to swallow it whole, nor to finish up 100 per cent. of the task of its attainment. Everyone cuts off a certain limited field and tries to master

that. If he is wise, he knows that just outside of that field there may be a piece of knowledge that he most needs. Still, he does not fret. He is content to take his chances of finding something worth while in any field of investigation; each takes his own stunt, his own share. So it should be in social work which deals with a problem similarly infinite. We should arbitrarily and ruthlessly limit the number of cases that we will attempt to attend to. This can not be done without seeming cruelty; but in every other profession we face a similar problem. No doctor ever took a vacation without seeming cruel to some one of his patients who especially needed him just then. Yet, if he yielded on this account, he never would get any vacation and so would soon be unfit for work of any kind.

I have dwelt elsewhere upon the "breathlessness" that is characteristic of social workers. Case-work forces on them the needs of this and that case, apparently exceptional and critical. The way out of this difficulty is through proper planning of our work and proper limitation of in-take by arbitrarily hard and fast rules. It seems cruel but the alternative is more cruel, for the alternative is to do poor work owing to the clogging of our minds and energies with the multiplicity of half finished cases, and undigested details. To take a long view, to get outside our work to look at it as a whole will convince anyone, I believe, of the folly of refusing to limit our in-take in every field of social work. When the hospital ward is full, no more patients are admitted no matter how piteous the appeal or how great the genuine need, for to admit more is unjust to those already under treatment. Precisely the same principle holds for social work. There is for each a limit beyond which to take more cases is to do less than justice to those already in our hands.

But there is one need still more vital than any of those yet mentioned. To get that peace and balance, that vigor and comprehension which makes for health of body and of soul, we need each of us more experience and training in the higher kinds of friendship. We need each of us a friend who perfectly understands us and our work, who knows all our hopes and all our failings; a friend who never misunderstands, who is always ready at hand, whose resources are always adequate to get us out of our troubles. We need a friend who knows exactly what we mean even when we can not say it or act it, who is never tired, never at a loss, whose perfections comfort us in our failures. Of course, no finite person can do all this for us. Such a friend we shall never find on earth. But thank God, such a friend has found us. "Nearer he is than breathing, closer than hands and feet."

HOME TREATMENT OF TUBERCULOSIS OR HOSPITAL TREATMENT, WHICH?

By Sherman C. Kingsley, Superintendent of the United Charities of
Chicago.

When we get close to the vast army of tuberculosis sufferers, we find that it resolves itself into individual units. Each lives in a house, wears clothes, has notions about home and family relationships and obligations, likes the smell of good food, is in the habit of going to a job in the morning and coming home at night. These daily routines and sanctions of life are everything. To be normal is life. Becoming a case is to be pulled out of the procession, still trying to feel yourself go by. The care of tuberculosis is also the problem of the care of individual human beings.

Dick Fitzgibbons was a blacksmith by trade. He had great strength, a big heart and a mighty thirst. Perhaps this last was what gave tuberculosis a chance to lay hold of him. At any rate, it got him. He went swiftly down the economic slide prepared especially for disease and its victims,—the inevitable destination of tuberculosis—a big family and a small income. When the nurse found him, they lived in the rear rooms of a rear tenement on an alley. Fitzgibbons' income had been cut off for six months and the support of the family slid over to his wife, who washed and scrubbed, and to the eldest child, 16 years old, who worked in a factory. The rooms were sunless. The water dripped perpetually at the sink. The wall was scarred from fallen plaster and in the dingy hall was the mingled smell of oozy wood, escaping gas, and the odors from the common toilet. The family was fast approaching the finals for Dick Fitzgibbons, for the day when the crape should hang from their door knob and the hearse stop at their door was not far off.

A mile from this alley tenement home was the new county tuberculosis hospital with concrete floors, its corners coved so that they could be cleaned, its trays for distributing food, nurses with their thermometers, doctors with white clothes, its rows of beds, structurally perfect, complete and up-to-date, an ideal plant. Care in this hospital is free to all patients.

The struggle in the Fitzgibbons family was intense. In spite of the care which the mother must give during the night and whenever she was at home in the day time, she managed to earn \$6 or \$7 a week. The little girl supplemented this with \$4 or \$5 more. The nurse saw the pale faces of the young children and realized especially the danger to the baby who was creeping around the floor. A doctor had for months given a wrong diagnosis, and it was not until the nurse came in that the real nature of the case was known. She set about with all haste to supply the stern necessities for rendering the situation safe to the family, and being a tactful person, sought not to over-speed her steps to friendship and confidence with the family; at the earliest possible moment, however, she broached the question of the hospital, and with all her tact and earnest-

ness and with her whole heart wrapped up in the welfare of the children, pleaded its opportunities and advantages.

Fitzgibbons realized his many shortcomings and the desperate load of anxiety and privation that he had caused his wife during the past years and also realized that his trouble was doubtless due to drink. He was willing to go if his wife thought best. Mrs. Fitzgibbons answered promptly with the story of a person who had been at the hospital and who, lying there without what he considered proper care or attention, saw one after another patient taken from the ward to an upper room, which came to be quite as trying as to see them die and wait for his turn. She had heard about the difficulty that he had in trying to eat the food, of how his back ached and no one rubbed it or turned him over and how long he had to wait for a glass of cold water. She promptly declined, and smiling through her tears, said she would always stand up for Dick and that in spite of his faults, no one could ever say that he had beaten her up. The little girl also was a factor, saying that as long as her father needed her to cook some chicken or to make him some toast or give him a piece of orange, she would certainly do it. And so it went on. Several times the nurse had the mother and the family on the point of letting Dick go to the hospital, but a relative would drop in with a new objection or another neighbor would tell an added story about the hospital. Dick died at home. His wife and children are to-day thankful that they did not "turn him out;" however, there are now two infected children in the family, and Mrs. Fitzgibbons has already had two portions of hardship and sacrifice.

With certain modifications, this indicates the difficulties with which we deal in our city, and I have heard that this is true elsewhere. There is a deep-seated and profound prejudice against going to the hospital. This feeling seems to have grown up through ages of medical care to the sick poor. It has its deepest roots perhaps in experiences in the old world. It is the logical fruitage of regarding patients as "clinical material" or as "interesting cases." The vast army is made up of individual cases and these forces are operative in every one.

Segregation is the object to be attained whether it is home care or hospital care. When one considers the difficulties attending the average poor family and contemplates the task in hand, it seems almost impossible to make an effective warfare against tuberculosis without a much larger use of hospital care. In our Society not long ago, we made a study of 200 cases in which there was incipient tuberculosis. We were helping with diets, rent and general aid to piece out as adequately as we could. The average income in these 200 families was a little over six dollars per week; the average number of rooms was a little over three. I submit that it is impossible to have tuberculosis in three rooms and a half on six dollars and a half a week with any success. It is my personal belief that properly to care for a case of advanced tuberculosis in his own home, there should be the sum of ten dollars per week applicable

to the patient himself for the last year of the disease. At the end of every such case is the inevitable funeral and that I would include in the \$520. I have in mind, of course, caring for the patient in a way that meets his own needs—proper sleeping quarters,—often requiring moving and more rent,—food, prophylactic necessities, doctors, etc., having also in mind rendering the situation safe for the family.

It is almost impossible to appreciate the difficulties under which a poor family labors. The sick patient is ever before them night and day. It usually takes half time and often full time of another adult to take care of him in the last stages. There is worry, loss of sleep, discouragement, and often an indifference due to hopelessness and over-strain sets in. It is almost too much to expect that people can exist in the dreary squalid atmosphere of the tenement districts and yet in this important particular rise to the height of excellence and technique required to give proper care and to render the patient safe. I am speaking now of the people who have the disposition to do the right thing and, indeed, are anxious to do it—to say nothing about the careless and indifferent and especially the unteachable consumptive.

In his masterly paper, "The Decline of Tuberculosis—Its Causes," Dr. Newsholme left no room for doubt of the desirability of segregation. It was a powerful argument, backed up with data and presented with absolutely convincing logic. It pointed the path of duty of every community.

"We know that the tubercule bacillus is the indispensable causal element in Tuberculosis."—Newsholme, page 81.

"The allegations as to the ubiquity of the tubercule bacillus, and as to the impracticability of circumventing it save by an enhanced resistance do not diminish the practical importance of the teaching of experimental pathology, that the tubercule bacillus is the essential cause of tuberculosis, and that action against this bacillus must be the most direct means for preventing the disease."

"We can hold fast to the undoubted fact that prevention of tuberculosis in the final issue means the prevention of infection."—Newsholme, page 83.

Then he marshals a long list of death-dealing diseases, passes them in review, each with its colors, that have stricken terror to mankind the world over, and shows how malaria, small-pox, yellow fever, leprosy and other diseases have been controlled or eradicated by controlling and limiting the source of infection.

It seems apparent that the hospital offers advantages for this very difficult task which can never be found in the home. If the community could conceive the whole problem and its intrinsic relationship to the question, advanced consumption should be cared for in hospitals at no greater outlay, and not so great, to the community as to take the expense indirectly in dependent and delinquent children and people who cannot take care of themselves; however, before this comes about, hospital custody must come to mean hospital care. The community will not

stand for the enforced admission to a hospital unless that answer to the case of trouble is humane and efficient. In order to bring this about, there must be a big increase in the number of doctors and nurses and in the care that can be given to the individual case. The individual will not cease to reverence and attach importance to his body even though it is battered, disfigured and about ready for the grave. Segregation seems to be the secret of stopping the inroads of disease, and it must be segregation rendered efficient through adequate, humane care and treatment.

VENEREAL DISEASE A SANITARY AND SOCIAL PROBLEM.

By Frederic Bierhoff, M. D., New York.

Although the full measure of the gravity of venereal diseases as factors in the impairment of health has not been appreciated until comparatively recent years, the recognition of their transmissibility, and attempts to limit or prevent infection by them are of very ancient date. Moses almost four thousand years ago formulated regulations with this end in view. Solon, in ancient Athens, founded brothels and put them under the control of the state, hoping thereby to protect Athenian women from assault and insult and to safeguard the youth of Athens from venereal disease.

Throughout the history of the world there is the trail of prostitution with its attendant venereal diseases.

Owing to the lack of trustworthy statistics, it is impossible to make any accurate numerical statement concerning the prevalence of venereal diseases at the present day. That they are very prevalent, is the opinion of all who have any opportunity to study this question. With respect to the army and navy, precise figures are possible; but all statements affecting civic life are and must be purely conjectural.

Basing our estimates upon the figures given us by the surgeon-general of our land and naval forces, and certain statistics from hospitals and dispensaries, it is estimated that in the city of New York the annual number of cases is certainly not less than 300,000, and it may reach 500,000.

It has been truthfully said that venereal diseases are the only ones transmitted in full virulence to innocent children and equally innocent wives. One of the saddest commentaries upon our present day life is the fact, often observed in our city, that guilty children and guilty wives are often the agents for the transmission of such disease.

It is further to be noted, that most cases of locomotor ataxia are traceable to syphilis; that almost all the paralyses in men under forty are traceable to the same cause. That syphilis is the cause of a vast number of deaths reported as due to other diseases, the true causative factor being unrecognized.

That a very large part of sterility in the female is due to gonorrhea and that this is also true of the male. That a large part of all gynecological operations is more or less directly traceable to gonorrheal infection.

That eighty per cent. of cases of ophthalmia neonatorum are said to be of gonorrheal origin and that twenty-five per cent of all total blindness in this country is said to be due to the gonococcus.

So much for the prevalence of venereal diseases and for their baneful results.

What are the sources of venereal infections? It is true they may be transmitted innocently. This is particularly true of syphilis, which may be transmitted by direct or by mediate contact; it is not necessary to come into direct contact with the syphilized individual. An inanimate object may be the transmitter of the virus. This is far less true of the poison of gonorrhea, except in the case of young female children.

By far the large majority of infections with venereal disease are acquired by direct contact during sexual intercourse. And the most prolific disseminator of these diseases is the public or common prostitute. This is the view of all the greatest authorities upon the problem of venereal diseases.

What can we do to diminish the spread of this plague? Many measures have been proposed; for instance: continence; greater education upon sexual matters; personal prophylaxis; segregation; castration; sanitary supervision, and finally, a total abolition of all control and supervision.

Let us take them up in their order as above: continence is recommended by many as being perfectly compatible with health. That is only partly true. It may, no doubt, be an easy matter for the young to remain continent until sexual maturity is reached—and this they should be recommended to do. But what of the vast number of men and women, who, under our present social and economic conditions, are unable to enter upon matrimony until long after the attainment of sexual maturity? They cannot, throughout their lives, wholly deny their sexual desires, without suffering for it, in some way. Usually the long-continued suppression of the normal sexual instinct leads to disaster, either through affecting the health of the individual, or through turning the normal into abnormal, or perverted desires. I speak, now, of the normally-developed, healthy male and female, and not of the sexually frigid, or the abnormal.

Those of us who claim that absolute continence is incompatible with perfect health, are accused of creating a double standard of morality for the different sexes. That is not so. We merely recognize the fact that nature, ages ago, created a great difference between the sexual instinct of the male and that of the female, and that civilization cannot ignore that difference without inviting disastrous consequences to mankind.

Man's polygamous nature is a survival from the time, ages ago, when, owing to the greater mortality among the males, one man was the husband of a number of wives. Woman's monandrous nature is similarly a survival from those times.

I believe that, if it were possible to educate the great masses to properly understand the functions of the sexual organs, the dangers of their abuse, and the great dangers arising from venereal diseases, much good might be done, and much disease prevented. Children, who are approaching puberty, should begin this study, under the guidance of properly-qualified, special teachers. Those a little older might be given a deeper insight into these matters, while lectures of a still fuller scope should be given to adults. I believe that a large proportion of the cases of venereal diseases occur in individuals who are too young, and too inexperienced, to fully appreciate the dangers of promiscuous sexual intercourse.

However, even after the most careful and earnest warnings, there is still a large proportion of men and women who will indulge in what the world calls "illicit intercourse." The edicts of the law givers, the trumpet-blasts of the prophets, the anathemas of the church, have not been able, at any time in the world's history, to check the exercise of the sexual instinct, and we need not expect to see the present generations gifted with a wisdom so far beyond that of the past. We might say, with some of the moralists, that the acquisition of a venereal disease is a just punishment for the crime of incontinence. But that view is as stupid as it is inhumane. They suffer none the less, whose disease has been the result of weakness, and it is our duty as physicians to help rid them of their ills, or, better still, to teach them how to prevent them.

Personal prophylaxis, since it has become better understood, of recent years, has done a tremendous amount of good in preventing the development of venereal diseases, and were those who have voluntarily exposed themselves to the dangers of infection the only ones to suffer, we might dismiss the entire question by advocating simply the fullest possible personal precautions after exposure. But as so many innocent persons are also liable to infection, we must go further.

Still, I feel that much can be done by teaching those who have been exposed, methods to prevent infection of themselves and also of others. What can be achieved by properly applied methods, has been amply demonstrated in the armies of Germany and its component states, as well as in a part of our forces. You will find the plan favorably commented upon, by the surgeon-general of the army, in his report for 1910, and similarly, in the report for 1910, of the surgeon-general of the navy, it is asserted that the attempts to check the spread of venereal diseases, in this branch of the service, are beginning to bear fruit, and that "two years hence the rate shown for 1911 should unquestionably prove that the battle against the venereal peril is a decisive one."

Unfortunately we cannot, in civil life, apply the rigid measures

employed among the armies and navies of the world. We cannot make the application of prophylactic measures compulsory nor punish the neglect thereof. We cannot so rigidly segregate and treat the venereally infected. Only a small part of our hospitals admit venereal patients at all. The methods of teaching genito-urinary diseases, in our medical colleges, are still too superficial and too many of our teachers still too ill-equipped to impart the necessary knowledge; our methods of diagnosis and treatment in our hospitals and dispensaries, are still too far behind the times and the men doing the work still too poorly versed in this special work, to make possible the adequate and scientific treatment of the venereal sufferers.

There remains to us one other point of attack—the source of the majority of infections; the active, yes, often knowing spreader of venereal contagion—the prostitute. She is classed as a criminal, in the eyes of the law; but I cannot regard her as such. She and her trade, prostitution, are merely the products of the social and economic condition that result from and accompany civilization. Since the earliest days of history, she has been harassed and oppressed by civil and religious authorities alike, yet she and her trade have flourished through it all. She has been compelled to live in certain quarters of the cities, or in certain houses, and she has been, as a result, exploited and oppressed by those who profited most through her activities. She has been given free sway, and the evils following in her footsteps have grown and spread, until the forces of law and order have again been compelled to bid her halt.

Of late there has developed a movement, called “Neo-reglementation,” which aims to curtail none of her legal rights as an individual, but to check the evils which result from prostitution. Norway, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland and other countries, have done away with inscription, casernation, and segregation, yet all are trying to bring about a sanitary supervision of the prostitutes, by the health authorities, in order to check the spread of diseases through them. In Germany, Austria, France, etc., there is a gradual tendency to break away from the older, more purely police methods of “control,” and to substitute sanitary supervision.

Personally I am in favor of a sanitary supervision and examination of the public prostitutes, preferably by our health departments, and without recourse to the aid of the police, excepting in the case of those who prove refractory. To make a beginning, in this direction, we shall have to commence with those women arrested and convicted for prostitution or solicitation, and subject these to examinations by competent physicians, employees of the health department. The much-discussed and much-maligned Page law was, I feel sure, a step in the right direction, and if we could get a fair, honest, and unbiased trial of its provisions, I feel confident that its justifiability and its usefulness would be easily and amply proven. But I fear that the law is not to be given a

fair trial and that measures are being taken within the health department of our city, to nullify any possibility of benefit therefrom. I believe that the health authorities want the law to fail.

I believe in the segregation, but not in the casernation of the prostitutes. They should be permitted to ply their trade, unmolested by the police, so long as they commit no breach of public order, and are found to be free of venereal disease. They should not be permitted to live in houses of prostitution where a number of women congregate to receive men. In other words, let no more than the keeper and one servant sleep, or live in any of these houses. Let the women live in their own apartments. Then their exploitation by brothel keepers would have to cease. Let them sell, or deliver no liquor whatsoever, in any of these places.

Throw open freely, to the venereally diseased, the wards of all hospitals receiving financial aid from the community. Provide for the adequate treatment of these patients in every dispensary. Put these hospital and dispensary services under competent specialists, and make the one in charge an unsalaried deputy of the health department.

Examine every woman, arrested for prostitution, or soliciting, after her conviction, and confine the diseased in hospitals, until pronounced cured, or, in the case of syphilis, no longer infectious. The street-walkers and common prostitutes, it has been found, by those who have made a study of these matters, will not voluntarily refrain from prostitution, while venereally diseased. They should, therefore, be confined and treated.

Provision should, however, be made, for the examination and gratuitous treatment, in public hospitals and dispensaries, of any prostitute who may desire it. The department of health should supervise this procedure.

I have repeatedly stated my belief that every hospital, or dispensary receiving financial aid from the city authorities, should be compelled to maintain a department for the scientific gratuitous treatment of venereally diseased males and females, and that all of the hospitals receiving such financial aid should be compelled to receive and treat, upon the same footing as the other patients, any venereal patients who may apply. I am not in favor of special hospitals for venereal patients, since the time is not yet ripe for them, owing to the fact that the stigma attaching to the term "venereal disease," would prevent a large part of the sufferers from seeking relief there. Nor are special venereal hospitals necessary, since the transmission of venereal diseases within a hospital can be readily prevented. Any one who has seen the wards for skin and venereal patients, in some of the larger and newer European hospitals, will see this fact clearly demonstrated there.

Go on, then with your campaign of education, in sexual matters; with your attempts to prevent, or to decrease prostitution, by improving the social and economic conditions under which we live; with your

efforts to reclaim those who have erred. We medical men sympathize fully with all such attempts, and will give you our most earnest efforts to help you.

But do not forget, while you are making that fight, that prostitution and venereal diseases will continue to exist, for men and women will continue to be weak. You must, therefore, help in the fight against these diseases. We may not all agree upon the means to be employed; but let us be one in attempting to get the better of them.

PRENATAL CARE.

By Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, Boston.

My subject is entitled simply Prenatal Care. It might rather be called "**The Efficiency of Prenatal Care**," for in this paper I propose to take up first, the gain in efficiency to the whole community by the care of pregnant women, and second, how this care can most efficiently be given.

In medicine appreciation of the value of efficiency is showing itself in many directions, and the amount of study now being given to preventive medicine is one of the most hopeful signs of the times.

In combination with the watchword of efficiency is its corollary, the outcry against waste—the waste of our national resources particularly; and curious though it seems that this should be the last to be recognized, we are now becoming appalled by the waste of human life, especially in infancy. It is rather a sad commentary on the commercial spirit of our country that the preventable deaths of little children appear to appeal to the community in general from the point of view of financial loss even more than from any other. The Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Association has been issuing a series of bulletins and publishing many statements of different kinds in the newspapers of this Commonwealth, with the object of arousing the public to the need of more efficient milk inspection; but their newspaper article which has been most widely copied in the press of the country all the way to the Pacific Coast, is a comparatively trivial one giving the estimated pecuniary value of a baby potentially.

Now a baby is of value according to the stuff that is in it, both as to quality and quantity. The quality is largely a question of its inheritance; the quantity a matter of its own vitality, and on both its future efficiency depends. The former is a question of Eugenics and though by far the most important, requires more time and much more study before it can be satisfactorily dealt with—before we can insist that children be well born. The latter is a matter for preventive medicine to grapple with now, by seeing to it that children are born well.

The Committee on Infant Social Service of the Women's Municipal League began an experiment in prenatal care two years ago, with the object of discovering what effect such care has on the coming child, and how it could best be given. We asked of the Boston Lying-in Hospital the privilege of taking under our care some of those among its patients who were expecting to be confined in the hospital itself. The House patients are a superior class to those in the Outpatient Department, and as our work is educational in its nature rather than philanthropic we want as intelligent a class of women as possible. Such work, if of value, will always percolate downward in society; the difficult thing is to raise the class of patient treated. We later arranged with the Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital to add to our list the women applying at its maternity department. It is difficult to get the names of patients as early as we could wish, for most women consider that it is not necessary to register at any hospital until their pregnancy is well advanced, getting their ideas of what care they should take of themselves from neighbors and old wives' tales, so that the average length of time that patients have been under our care has been only between two and three months, but in a large number of cases they have been with us a much longer time, five, six and seven months and in one case for the full term. These last are the cases where we feel we can produce the best results.

The district which has been covered includes the whole of Boston, and we have sometimes had over one hundred women on our list at once. The nurse employed by us has been an exceptionally competent one, however, so that she has been able to visit all of these patients once in ten days; this is our rule, if all goes well with them, and as much oftener as is necessary if they have any sign of trouble. It has required careful planning for one nurse to accomplish it all, but it has been done by method. The nurse visits certain sections on certain days, and by telling the patients when to expect her she is able to find them at home, as they are usually only too glad to see her and make a point of being in when she is expected.

Apart from the question of the prevention of serious illness which I shall take up later, it seems as if the work was of very real value in securing the peace of mind of these prospective mothers. It is reasonable to believe that the mother's peace and contentment must be of benefit not to herself alone, in that the blood flow must be more uniform and the nervous system in better condition when she is happy and at rest than under excitement and worry, and a healthy body and mind for her offspring would naturally result. That peace and content does come from the visits of the nurse to many of these women is evident from the way in which they receive her. The only difficult information for the Chairman of the Committee to secure from the nurse is the appreciative things which the patients say to her, but sometimes a few are extracted from her usually closed lips such as these: "Well,

nurse, I am always glad to see you, for whatever troubles I have they all seem to disappear when I see you," or "Nurse, I would rather see you than any one I know; you give me so much comfort and help that things look different after you have gone." Some patients say, "Every one is so ready to give advice when they see your condition; 'You must do this,' or 'you must not do that;' but I just said to my husband 'I will wait and ask the nurse when she comes,' " and then it transpires that the patient has been advised not to take a bath but to take beer to keep her strength up, or similar illuminating things. She is often greeted, especially among the younger couples, with, "My husband thinks this work is fine, having a nurse call," and the husband is often of great help in suggesting to his wife questions to ask the nurse. Sometimes she is amused to be told that the husband has changed his diet also to that advised for the patient and thinks himself the better for it. The condition of the house often shows a marked improvement on account of the talks which the nurse has with her patients, especially among young foreigners, who like to know the American way of doing things.

The most satisfactory case which we have had is that of a woman who had lost her first child through a contracted pelvis. The delivery required the use of high forceps and the baby died of cerebral hemorrhage. The case had been one of ours, and when the mother thought herself again pregnant she sent for the nurse whom she felt to be a friend, and put herself under her care. This was in early April of last year and the child was expected at the end of December. Some months passed before she was persuaded to register at the hospital and when she did so she happened to come under the care of a young and unmarried physician who, with every intention of being kind, and preventing her from being disturbed over her own future, nevertheless worried her terribly by saying that with the coming child a premature delivery would be tried, and if unsuccessful and this second child was lost, with the next Caesarian Section should be performed. The mother wanted the coming baby to live and not merely a third and problematical one. She did not care what she herself went through, operation had no terrors for her so long as she had her baby afterwards. Through the nurse's visits we understood this and were able to explain it to the hospital staff so that her mind was set at rest by being assured that no avoidable risk would be run with regard to her baby's life. Measurements were made and repeated as often as necessary and about the middle of December she was taken into the hospital for closer observation. In a few days Caesarian Section was performed, with the result that she was delivered of a fine boy weighing 7 pounds, 6 ounces, and has gladly paid us all the expenses of her care.

We believe that if the care is paid for by the patient not only will a more self-respecting class be likely to avail themselves of it, but that a self-supporting work can develop indefinitely and be of much greater

benefit to the community than one supported by charity. It is well to try experiments with money raised for the purpose, but after the experimental stage is passed the work should be made to pay for itself as soon as possible, therefore we encourage the women to pay as much as they can towards the expense of their care, however little that may be. One woman who did sewing for her support to eke out her husband's earnings said, "Yes! I like to help such work," and gave all that she had in her pocket-book, saying "I will have some more for you sometime." The sum of money was small, but the spirit was not. The cost of the care is not large, however, and many of them could afford the whole sum, but until the benefits to be got from it are more fully understood we cannot expect to collect it from more than a few of the patients; but we make an effort to do so, and at the first visit the nurse always gives the patient a leaflet explaining the work and stating the cost. As we do not undertake to do any so-called charitable work, but simply that of an educational character our expenses are practically limited to the nurse's salary and her car fares. The salary is \$1,000 a year, and the car fares amount to rather less than \$150 more, making the cost per patient somewhere between \$2.50 and \$3.00. This does not seem a large sum in view of the results to the patients and to the community.

One of the most important of these results is the prevention of serious illness.

We have had about sixty cases of threatened eclampsia, so diagnosed by the hospitals to which the patients were referred by the nurse, the instant she saw any unsatisfactory symptoms. In none of these sixty women has eclampsia resulted with the exception of one recent case, where an acute nephritis developed two days after the birth of the child, following on a long and very hard labour. As the patient was apparently well when she entered the hospital and had met all the routine tests satisfactorily, it seems as if this case was due rather to the exceedingly difficult labour than to anything which could have been prevented by prenatal care.

Another important result of prenatal care is that the birthweight of the babies whose mothers received it has been distinctly above that of the average child. Williams gives the average weight at birth as 7 pounds, and found that of 500 full term white babies born in the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, to be 7 pounds, 5 ounces, (he separates the white babies as they are always heavier than negroes), our babies, including those who were premature, and those who were colored, averaged 8.9 ounces more than the average full term white child. So long as the weight is not excessive it must be an advantage to a child to have a few ounces more to draw on during its period of adjustment to the new conditions confronting it at birth, and it is of no disadvantage to the mother.

During the past year we have had the gratifying experience of

having fewer premature births and fewer miscarriages than during our first year of work, and our figures in both of these directions indicate another valuable result of care. The premature cases for the last year were only five, and though two of our patients miscarried in the first year, during the last there was but one. This, out of over 400 patients. Our list of still births although not excessive has not been quite so satisfactory as have these others. There were seven of these during the past year, but most of the patients had records which satisfactorily explained these still births as things which it would have been almost impossible to guard against. In the whole two years no patient has died during pregnancy.

The three things which have seemed to us the most striking justification of this work which, undertaken as an experiment, we now wish to carry on and develop are these:

First, that whereas about 8 per cent. of the pregnant women were threatened with eclampsia, in no case did it develop.

Second, that the average birthweight of the babies whose mothers were cared for was 7 pounds 8.9 ounces, which is 8.9 ounces above the average as given by the best authorities.

Third, that the cost of accomplishing these results is less than \$3.00 a patient.

In the course of the study which has been given by the Committee to the period of pregnancy three things connected with child bearing have seemed to me of so much importance that it may not be amiss to call attention to them here, although the connection of two of them with the period of pregnancy is perhaps too loose a one. The first is the desirability of preventing the employment of women at any hard work either shortly before or after child-birth. Laws may be passed to prevent this, as has been done in Massachusetts by the present Legislature, but unless public opinion is aroused in the matter it will not be possible to enforce them. The second is the desirability of adopting in the United States the practice of France, Italy and some other countries of Europe, of obliging manufacturers to set aside a suitable room in their factories where mothers can go at stated intervals to nurse their children, the necessary time for this being allowed them.

The third and most important of all is the improvement of obstetrical practice, first by better teaching in the Medical Schools, and second by doing away altogether with the ignorant midwife.

In closing there is but one thing more to add. We have dwelt at length on the greater efficiency given the individual by prenatal care. Now one word on the efficiency of management in the way of giving this care. The committee is anxious to enlarge the scope of this work in two ways. One is by underwriting the salary of a second nurse who shall be ready to respond to the call of any private physician, to visit his patients as often as he thinks fit, preferably once in ten days, reporting their condition to him and sending for him when anything in

the patient's condition seems unsatisfactory. This would carry out the plan of efficiency of management mentioned above. It is the way in which all effective business enterprises are carried on, and there is no reason why the medical profession should not profit by the experience of business management. The Committee is ready to do this as soon as it can be assured of the demand for the services of such a nurse. The cost per patient would have to be somewhat higher than that for hospital patients because more time would have to be spent in reporting cases to and taking orders from different physicians, but it probably would not exceed \$5.00 per patient. This plan could not presumably be tried at present with patients who can afford to pay for the doctor's visits, but eventually even that might come to pass.

The other way in which the committee hopes to enlarge its work is by sending when desired, to any community wanting to start similar work, some one who can show them exactly how experience has proved it can best be done, and thus helping to forward the time when prenatal care will be as much a matter of course for every woman as is help at the moment of the birth of her child.

The Committee hopes in a very short time to be ready to carry out this part of their program.

PLAY AS MEDICINE.

By Joseph Lee, President of the Playground Association of America.

It seems to me that the laws of health are the most interesting laws there are. The process by which food and drink and air become man is the most interesting process in nature,—a miracle in comparison with which everything else seems common-place.

Imperious Caesar, dead and turn'd to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

But it seems to me infinitely more remarkable that clay, through an intermediate process of vegetation, can become imperious Caesar and take part in shaping the destinies of the world. Air, water, carbon, enter the human body and in a few hours or seconds become character. What just now was a piece of doughnut, morally innocent and unbiased, appears as love or hate or aspiration, partaking not only of human nature but of the form and accent of a particular personality, down to a trick of thought inherited from some remote ancestor.

Or if we say the body does not actually contain character, but it is only the instrument of its release, the phenomenon is hardly less remarkable.

I am no physiologist, and am ignorant as to where the initiation

takes place, at what stage it is that the new substance is met and welcomed, gets its credentials and its sailing papers and is made a partaker of the mystery. The ancient tradition that the blood is the life, the blood bond the basis of vital relationship, seems to have a physiological foundation; for the blood has a great part assigned to it in the process by which matter becomes charged with soul. Once formed, each drop, apparently, sets forth upon its mission, possessed of much at least of the law and purpose of the individual. It knows, or learns as it goes along, the form of the body as a whole, judging with accuracy how much of repair is due to one tissue, how much to another—how much shall be accorded to the arms and legs, how much to the other members—and assigns to each its proper share. And the new tissues instantly understand the secret of the organism and their own part in it. Those constituting the body at a given time are, for their tour of duty, made custodian of the will and character of the individual, entrusted with the tradition, to carry it forward and hand it on to others in their turn. The body is like an army in active service to which thousands of new recruits are every moment reporting for duty on the field, and in which each recruit, as he is assigned his place, knows by instant intuition all that the veteran knows of the structure of the whole and his own part in it.

The body in short is not a collection of material but a process through which material passes every moment. It is like a cloud on a mountain. The cloud hangs there stationary, maintaining nearly the same shape. But if you climb up, you will find that the wind is blowing through it, sending every particle of mist of which it is composed singing along at the rate of perhaps 30 miles an hour. What gives the cloud its existence and its shape is not a certain body of material but a law imposed on material that passes through. Man is not a mass of matter in a certain state but a vortex, a flame, controlling matter that comes within its reach.

What can be done to make the flame burn more brightly? Partly, of course, the question is one of fuel, and one can learn every morning in the newspaper how by using special material, or even a special preparation of familiar kinds, one's vital energy and moral excellence can be enhanced.

But fuel is not the only consideration. A breakfast food philosophy is incomplete. Without food or air, it is true, the man will die. But he will die in any case unless he is in condition to impose himself on food and air and imbue them with his purposes. Insistent heralds of the obvious love to reiterate such startling truths as that Napoleon could not conquer Europe without rations. But how long would it have taken his rations to conquer Europe without Napoleon? How many valiant potatoes could have done the trick?

On what depends the ability to perform this miracle of subduing outer elements to the law of life? What is the way to health? Here

for each of us there is an ideal body to be lived up into, a flower, which the seed was dreaming of, not yet fulfilled.

How can you go to work to realize the dream?

The first shock to notions derived from dealing with inorganic matter is that the body grows not so much by taking in as by putting forth, that the way to accumulate strength is not by conservation, but by using what you have. We are always teaching unfortunate children in our schools that if you take away two from ten you will have eight left. Whereas in all the important affairs of life when you take two from ten you are likely to get about fifteen. If you take away eight, and keep doing it, you may land up with two or three thousand more or less.

There are people that think you can get rested by lying down. Even doctors sometimes tell you to do nothing. This might be very good advice if it were not for two things. The first is the difficulty of knowing how to go about it. What is the shape of nothing? What color is it? Where does it begin, how do you get hold of it, and exactly what is the process of its performance? The second difficulty is that the nearer you approach to doing nothing, the further you are from getting any good from it,—that is to say, regarded as a complete regime. Of course there are rest and sleep and relaxation. But these do not build up. These are the gap between the waves and cease to be there when the waves cease. The prescription to do nothing is like the Irishman's account of how to make a gun—"Take a hole and pour iron round it." Until you pour your iron there isn't any hole.

So the first thing we learn is that the way of health is action. You have got to do something, to use the little strength you have, expend the income that is given you, in order to accumulate power or get well.

So we prescribe exercise, gymnastics, using the muscles, moving the arms and legs. And then we find that the exercise does no good, that going through a set of motions merely makes you tired and after a time bores you almost to extinction,—in fact it becomes a question whether life is worth living at such a cost, even if it could be so lived.

Then as you experiment you find that some motions are less boring than some others. There are combinations of movement that seem to carry a certain satisfaction with them. You can jump with a chastened joy even when you are not jumping over anything. A muscle will do more, and take more interest in doing it, when it is working as a subordinate in some larger combination,—particularly when the whole body is engaged.

But even making general, co-ordinated motions is still a somewhat dry pursuit. You cannot live by gesticulation even of the most satisfying sort. Pretty soon you find there is a mental element in healthful exercise. You are told that you must "enjoy yourself," "have a good time." And so you go yachting, take vacations, travel in Europe, frequent pleasure resorts. We have all of us seen the results of such

attempts. Nothing in the long run seems to produce a deeper melancholy. The pursuit of pleasure is proverbially one in which the pursuer falls constantly behind.

Some people, however, have hit upon a device by which this sort of existence can be much improved. Young men, for instance, will go off into the woods with a pack and a canoe and an insufficient supply of food, get themselves lost, and then see whether they can get out again alive. In this way many successful experiments have been achieved. As soon as the man is no longer seeking pleasure but trying with all his faculties whether he can get out of the woods before he starves, he finds that there begins really to be a little fun in it.

There is evidently something in having to do the thing not for the pleasure there is in it but because for some reason or another it must be done. Subordination to a purpose you will find to be a standing quality in the activity that gives life and health. A pursuit will not enter and build you up, will not lend its strength to you, unless you first lend your strength to it. It is not what you try to get out of a thing, but what you put into it that is added to you.

But it is not every kind of subordination that will make you well. Slaves are not particularly healthy, nor any people who are forced to drudge under exacting task masters.

Usually the best form of subordination is in conforming to the condition of some kind of service. Those who have had most experience, doctors as well as charity workers, will agree that the thing that conduces most to health is work,—work that is recognized and respected, and through which a person takes his part in the world and does his share.

Often—usually perhaps—such work is paid. But as charity workers know, being paid for it is not a necessary feature of the job that cures. A woman taking care of her family is made well by it. A child who does his lessons well in school is getting the same kind of benefit. Many child-helpers have told me that the very best thing for a boy or girl is having some definite duty to do at home which is recognized and respected. In old days the making good of the young citizen took a military form. The Roman took the toga virilis, the young Athenian became a "man" when he reached proficiency in the arts of war.

What is it that gives to work this healing property? It is the consciousness of making good. What happens to people when they have got hold of a piece of useful work is the coming into their life of the sense of holding up their end, of being one of the team, a member in full standing, able to say: "We, the citizens of Boston, who carry on and constitute the city, think so and so."

In short, the healing power of work is in its gratification of the great play instinct to belong—the instinct that makes the city and the state and is seen in boys' gangs and in the team. This team instinct is the source of the necessity of making good and of the life that comes

from doing so. The law of the team implies fulfillment of his part by every member, just as the law of the body makes its requirement of the lungs and the muscles and the rest. Are you the sort of stone that we can use or must you be rejected of the builders? We live according as we feel the requirement of society fulfilled in us, as the boy's life and satisfaction is in holding down third base. The initiations of college societies stand for a constant characteristic of every social whole. Birds will kill their lame comrade because their team sense will not allow them to abandon him, and his disability is a disability in the flock.

As there is nothing that will kill faster than the consciousness of being a lame duck, a useless drag on the working members of society, so there is nothing that gives life like the sense of competency.

* There is one important and very practical thing we can all do to heal the sick through the action of this team instinct to make good, which has so far been very little recognized. Already we are doing much to get people into useful work. Industrial education, employment bureaus, associated charities, doctors, all are working to this end. The other thing we can all co-operate to do is to enlarge our conception of what constitutes useful work so as to include the service that the sick can render. Dr. James J. Putnam has written well and with authority upon this subject. The thing above all others that makes invalids, and prevents those who have once fallen behind in the race from getting well, is the fact that once put out of the running, once below the standard which enables a person to take his part in the industrial work, no other standard is provided. The invalid has no recognized duty to perform. There is nothing definite required of him, and no recognition is given to what he does.

Society, like the individual, has an invisible body toward which it tends. As any person so places himself as to fill out that form, he is received into it. He becomes a true member. The life of the whole passes through and sustains him as the law of the cathedral thrills down through each detail, bursts out in the gargoyle here, restrains the pinnacle there, vibrates upward in the spire and holds every stone in place. This invisible social body varies in its form. It exists in the minds of the people, and changes with their thought. It is the places that the public will, the people's conception, calls for, that can be filled, in filling which a man partakes of the social life. There is a spiritual as well as a material demand and supply. Athens produces philosophers and artists because every citizen's conception of the body politic, because the real Athens of which the Parthenon and the Long Walls are but the material reflection, included philosophy and art. So Sparta produces soldiers, Rome administrators, Yale football players. These fill out the unseen body, the invisible corporation that the members have projected in their hearts.

We must so extend our notions of what constitutes society that even these last, the invalids, are members of the team with a part

assigned to them. We must learn to see so clearly that society's supreme duty is the soul's health of each that the neglect to attribute an honorable function, implying a moral demand, to any single member shall be abhorrent to us. We must in general feel that the invalid must and shall have a part, and in particular there is a task ahead of us in working out definitely for different classes of invalids and different individuals precisely what practiced duties and responsibilities they can fulfill.

We must somehow say to the man that is down: "You are not left out; you as well as the rest have to hold up your end. Perhaps you are the one with the hardest job assigned. You are holding the line at its weakest point. You cannot contribute to material prosperity, but you can uphold the dignity of human nature where it is most imperiled."

And the part assigned to the invalid is indeed an important part. The regiment could never make a charge—there could never be a regiment at all—if those stricken down as it advances were not a part of it. It is because, whole or wounded, sick or well, alive or dead, they are a part of it, partakers of its acts, still advancing with it in their hearts, triumphing in its victory, that there can be such a thing as a regiment, an army or a state. It is Dr. Putnam who has quoted in this connection Clough's lines:

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

What real opportunities exist to be assigned in a given society depends on the opinion of its members as to the functions of that society. A man can be fully a member of a social body only if the part which he can play is recognized.

Heroic souls, it is true, can project their own society, can constitute through their own genius an ideal world and be sustained by it. But for the average sick soul such a feat is one beyond their strength.

We shall have inspired invalids, and genius in homely forms, in proportion as the commonwealth we carry in our hearts shall call for them. The creation of human personality in all its manifestations is an act of faith to which we all contribute or from which we may detract.

The vital potency of the belonging instinct is seen in many ways. It is said, for instance, that politicians never die. So potent to sustain is their function as official representatives of the community's team sense.

Gladstone came very near to verifying that theory. When Balfour became a member of the House of Commons a long row of medicine bottles vanished from a shelf in his room and have not reappeared. Methuselah, I think, was some sort of patriarch or political functionary.

In America the instinct is especially exuberant. Everyone you meet is either a Mason, an Odd Fellow, a Knight of some kind, a pillar of a sewing circle or woman's club, or a member of the Grange, to which everyone belongs, including father. In the old days in Boston they used to have inoculation parties when young people would go down to an island in the harbor and be inoculated with the small pox. So now we have, I believe, tuberculosis clubs; and I suppose that any health resort is more or less of a conspiracy among a lot of invalids to set up a standard of achievement attainable to themselves and lower than the impossible and therefore discouraging one which prevails in the outside world of the robustious. The old Yankee word "jiner"—one who joins—is now descriptive of the American people as a whole.

Work itself may be made greatly more life-giving even than it is when, besides being the method whereby a man makes good as a member of society as a whole, it also affords him the sense of team play in the small immediate group with which he works. The great undeveloped resource in this and every other country is the team sense of the workers. Socialism is utterly on the wrong track in trying to eliminate from industry the element of competition, with its satisfaction of one of the great play instincts of mankind; it is on the right track in preaching co-operation. What we want, however, is not preaching but development of the capacity for co-operation by actual exercise. We want production by co-operative societies, participation of the workmen in the conduct of our corporations, co-operation of farmers in the buying of machinery and supplies and the sale of products, concrete participation in government by the extended application of the town meeting—in short, the utilization of the great human belonging faculty in our work as well as in our play. Team play in industry is the great neglected game and means of health.

As the muscle derives its health from serving in a combination with the whole body, as the body owes its health to serving the purposes of the mind, so the life and health of the whole organism depend on acting as a member of a larger whole. The team law compels each member to his place as the bodily laws assigns its duty to each organ. And this law of the social whole thrills down into all the members of the individual until each feels the swing of the larger orbit and responds. No drop of blood can do its best work, can go singing on its way content and happy, unless the whole body serves the mind and the whole man is a servant to the social whole. We are, for better or worse, citizens, parts of a larger organism. Every tissue in us knows it. Our physical life depends upon our loyalty. It is true such service may bring death in battle or in the hospital, but it is also true that the absence of such service shuts out all hope of life.

But there are other kinds of play besides belonging. Olmsted, reporting his experience with the sanitary commission during the Civil War, said that systematic athletic recreation and the military bands had a great tendency to keep the soldiers well, while sending money home kept up their morale. At the present time American athletic sports are driving out head-hunting in the Philippines as being a more satisfying expression of the fighting impulse. Competition is one of the root instincts of mankind and the commonest elements in all our games. To leave it out of the game of real life would be to make existence flat indeed. A race in which all receive the same prize—because though he did not win, little Johnnie ran his best—will not permanently appeal to any boy or man. To cut the connection between successful exertion and the result obtained is to lame the arithmetic of life and rob it of its normal satisfaction. No man will be either competent or satisfied when the element of competition is removed.

Some people I know always take Walter Scott for a cold. Some consider Trollope a more effective prescription; I believe, however, in reserving his Barchester and Parliamentary series for longer illnesses.

The simplest form of sport I have heard of, invented by a friend of mine when he had nervous prostration, was breathing. He told me it was the only thing that kept him alive. His invention did not consist of finding out that when your breath stops you die, but in learning that he could amuse himself by taking long breaths and letting them out very slowly with a hissing sound. This process, besides providing him an occupation, must have brought the additional satisfaction of being offensive to anyone in hearing. This is what the psychological students of play call "joy in being a cause"—and joy in being a nuisance is like unto it, and a very close second at that.

I remember one time when I was sick a niece of mine gave me a Japanese straw badger, and she fixed him with one of his arms up in the air so as to present a cheerful and enterprising aspect. He was, I think, the first incarnation of Denry the Audacious, Mr. Bennett's late creation. I think in my case it was that badger that pulled me through, though the cure was shared by a nurse who kept me doing things so that I was always looking forward to the next stunt, and a Japanese bird of a cheerful and adequate personality hung in a Christmas wreath.

Just seeing pleasant things is a potent means of health. That is why girls make such good friendly visitors.

Remember also Kipling's lighthouse man who went crazy because the steamers made streaks in his water. When he got on board a ship where the lines ran all kinds of ways, he began to feel better at once. When you have been in a city, where everything goes at right angles, you can feel the vital currents leap up again when you go out and see rounded tree tops and sloping hills. The seashore is good if you don't take too much. But most people I think would die of it if they could not get where there was something besides gray colors and horizontal lines. Traveling would really be as good for us as it is supposed to

be if you did not have to first die,—that is cut off all your other means of life,—in order to indulge in it.

I remember associated charity cases in which the cure was wrought by taking the patient out into the country—even on a walk along Washington Street to see the shops. Perhaps in the Washington Street case there was also the element of the football tactics required in order to win through that thoroughfare.

Next to the play of the eyes there is the play of the hand. Man is a creature of the hand. He was built back from it as rivers are said to grow backwards from their mouth. It was from the beginning of his career as man his point of issue, the business end of him, what the jaws are to the wolf, the claws to the cat. As he first grew up from it, he can be restored through reverting to its use. Man is primarily a manipulator. Perhaps man and manual mean for practical purposes the same. His mind and temperament are built on manipulation and are tuned to it. In a few years from now you will find in every hospital manual occupation provided, fitted to the strength and talents of the different patients.

I believe the greatest neglected source of health is in the rhythmic instinct. Its first and simplest expression, and its completest for most people, is in the form of dancing. The mistake we usually make is to suppose that dancing is for children only. The right age to learn to dance is the age you happen to be; but the best age for the use of the accomplishment is from about fifty on. The instinct is as strong in the latter as in the earlier part of life, and the need of using it is greater in proportion as we tend to become stiff in the joints both of our body and mind. I think the National Conference of Charities should have its folk dances as well as its baseball. You know the last part of the story of the grasshopper and the ant—which has unfortunately been omitted from all editions heretofore—is that the grasshopper took the ant's advice, danced through the winter, and came out in better shape than the ant, who had been sitting all the time over a stove.

Then there is music, the dancing of the mind, which has restored many, from the age of Saul down to the present.

The most important play is play of the mind. All play is play of the soul—the active projection of the man himself as a force in the universe of action. But man is a thinking animal. It is that little head of his that has won out against claw and horn and tooth. And it is the exercise of the mind that sounds the glad sources of his strength and shows him as the gladiator he is.

The mental element is in all play, but most in art and science, and these are the best play of man and the most health-giving. We keep our children now too many hours in school and too many hours doing nothing while there. But school, rightly conducted, is as important to health as out-door play. And in later years the mental kind of play

becomes increasingly valuable. The lawyer averages healthier than the prize fighter, and a man can live longer on music than he can on golf.

Back of this whole treatment, the secret of every cure through play, is that the way to win life is by living it,—the way for anyone to extend his personality is by acting out the personality he has. Here, next the human body, actually absorbed into it or ready to be absorbed, are cells and other molecules sitting round waiting to see what kind of sport you have to offer them. Is your invitation worth accepting, is the kind of game they see going on there one that is worth their while to join? Can you get up such an excitement, such a rush and concourse of those who have already joined, that the on-looker is swept along in the contagion, compelled irresistibly to take a part? The game of health is like getting up a dance or a picnic. You must go in with a vim and a whoop if you want others to join with you. It is the big fire that spreads. Or it is like the method adopted by Mark Twain's Tom Sawyer when he had to whitewash the fence. You remember he did his whitewashing with such gusto and artistic appreciation of his job, that the other boys, instead of pitying him, actually parted with their treasures—even to a dead rat with a string to swing it by that one of them was so happy as to possess—to buy a chance to do his work for him. Now Tom Sawyer is the sort of microbe you must have in your system in order to attract the rest. And it is you yourself,—the actual you that deliberates and acts,—who by the zest and interest of the work you assign to them can give to those already enlisted this triumphant and enticing character.

Of course I have not undertaken to cover the entire ground of play and show the use of every kind as medicine. I have merely indicated some of the chief veins that may be worked.

It is not every kind of dance that is given to a human being to perform. My own list of the play instincts which are the constituting purposes of man (partly indicated in the examples I have given) is—creation, rhythm, hunting, fighting, nurture, curiosity, team play. Of hunting, fighting and nurture, not spoken of above, it may be briefly said that we all know the therapeutic value of the chasing games and of going fishing, of the games of contest and of a good scrap; while having some living thing to take care of, if it is only a dog or a geranium, is the best and fortunately the best understood prescription for keeping almost any woman alive and well.

This list is doubtless incomplete. I give it as a contribution to the notion we ought to be forming of the general outline of that spiritual body which it is given to man to attain.

It is essential at all events to recognize, whether or not my list is the right one, that there are certain words written in our hearts that are the master words, that contain the possibilities of life for us. These are the ultimates, the things in which our actual life consists, to which all other phenomena of living are subordinate, all other vital processes

tributary. Play is the fulfillment of these master instincts. And it is in play, thus understood, that all our other actions find their cause and justification. We use the expression "full play" for a thing that is acting as nature meant it to. The emotions play, the fountain plays, meaning the thing fulfills its function in the world. And so of men. Play is the word that best covers the things which he as man was wound up to do, the things in the doing of which he finds his soul, becomes himself. It is by being citizen, nurturer, poet, creator, scientist, by actively filling out the ideal body waiting for him, that a man can win or save his health.

Securing and Training Social Workers

Report of the Committee, By Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Director Department of Social Investigation, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Assistant Professor of Social Economy, The University of Chicago, Chairman.

The Chairman originally selected for the committee on Securing and Training Social Workers was Professor Graham Taylor, of Chicago. In March, he found he would be unable to carry the work of the section to completion and the present chairman was therefore asked to assume the responsibilities he had to lay aside. It has been her effort to carry out the plans formulated before he withdrew.

On December 5, 1910, Professor Taylor sent, as chairman, to all the members of the section a letter of inquiry asking for suggestions with reference to the program and for special consideration of the following points:

(1) How to secure the co-operation of college professors in bringing the claims and opportunities of social work directly to the attention of their students at the time when they will be most interested in receiving such suggestions.

(2) How we may influence the choice of electives so as to best prepare college students to take graduate work in schools for social training.

(3) Whether it may not be possible for the four schools at New York, Boston, Chicago and St. Louis to combine in offering correspondence courses which may both increase the efficiency of those already at work in the field and prepare them and others the better to take the work of the schools.

(4) Whether it would pay to issue a questionnaire regarding the formation of social service groups or clubs in the smaller cities and larger towns, inquiring especially concerning the needs, initiation, conduct, results and value of the fellowship and co-operation which they promote.

From the replies, so far as possible, constructive suggestions have been embodied in the program either of the general meeting, or of the section meetings. There were, however, notable criticisms or cautions uttered by three members of the Committee, all of whom happened to be distinguished professors of Economics. Professor Doten felt concerned that especial warning might be uttered against the unskilled exploitation of the social laboratory. Professor Barnett felt it wise to consider the policy of subsidizing or of offering special inducements to prospective workers in the social field. He suggested that "the result of such a distribution of stipends would undoubtedly be to induce same persons, who would not

otherwise do so, to take up social work; some of those would probably, he thought, be "less purposeful than their fellows" who have selected that line of service without the inducement of an immediate subsidy, or any other attraction than the nature of the work itself and their belief in their fitness for it. The result of such a policy Professor Barnett fears may be the lowering of the standard both of work and of remuneration in the field of social endeavor. Because, at a time when we are free both to act wisely and to blunder, it is most important to hear all friendly caution, both of these members of the committee were asked to take part in the discussion and to present their views.

A third eminent member of the committee, on the faculty of one of the great Universities, wrote in criticism of the term "Social Workers;" and in order that the Conference may have the benefit of his judgment, and that his statement may receive the consideration due any suggestion made by him, his letter is quoted somewhat at length.

"I am still considerably at a loss to know how to answer the various questions which you ask. In the first place, I am doubtful whether it is desirable that college professors should bring claims and opportunities of what is commonly called social work to the attention of students. All useful work is social work and I do not see any reason for discriminating in favor of certain highly specialized forms of useful work which are vulgarly referred to as social service. I think there is a distinct danger of wrecking useful careers in the case of young men or women who ought to go into business or professional life but whom somebody persuades to drop this work, which is of unquestionable utility, in favor of the kind of work which is at best of questionable utility."

The following program of the meetings, if closely scrutinized, will be therefore a report of the Committee giving in outline the scope and trend of the special movement intrusted to the consideration of the section:

GENERAL MEETING: The Call of the Social Field, Miss Jane Addams; The Appeal to Young Men, Charles W. Birtwell; Training for Investigation, Miss Mary E. Richmond.

SECTION MEETINGS. I. *The Professional School:* Aims and Methods, Professor Roswell C. McCrea, with Discussion by Professor C. W. Doten and John M. Glenn; Co-operation with Colleges, Professor G. E. Haynes; Co-operation with Social Agencies, Mrs. John M. Glenn. II. *The Educational Possibilities of Social Workers Clubs,* Miss Zilpha D. Smith. III. *Training for the Public Service:* For State Institutional Work, Miss Julia C. Lathrop; for Probation and School Attendance Service, Roger N. Baldwin.

In addition to this, however, I shall take the opportunity of stating somewhat more in detail the factors which I believe to be the essential elements in the problem presented to this group.

Recurring to the question of terminology, we would admit that all work honestly, effectively and generously done is "social work." No one of us sympathizes for more than a moment with the eager, ardent and zealous young people who come to us asking how they can escape from "teaching" into "social work." Admitting this, however, we still

claim the privilege of using the term in a narrower and more special sense and to designate by it services rendered to those who are in some wise peculiarly weak.

There is the weakness of childhood, of old age, of mental defect, of moral unsoundness, of poverty and of distress. Each of these groups has its peculiar needs. In order that it may be effectively served it must be handled with reference to definite and formulable principles. All of them have, however, in common the appeal of their weakness. And so with those who would serve. While for the care-taker of children, the minister to old age, the guardian of the defective, there are admittedly, special technique and special abilities, from all alike are required the common characteristics of tact, of sympathy, of revolt against injustice and a love of equality which makes it inevitable that they should endeavor to smooth out rough places. To all should be given a reasonable knowledge of the causes of the inequalities which offend them, a reasonable hope that the painful features attendant now upon the situation of these various groups may be eliminated, and a reasonable understanding of the bearing of inadequate services of any group upon the well-being of the whole community. In addition there may be demanded the determination that the ministry shall be so rendered as not to increase the weakness. Now, ministry tendered in this spirit and with this determination, merges itself in treatment; and for treatment is required the special technique to which reference has been made.

We have then before this section these very large and intricate questions:

(1) How can we find and select those who are gifted with that passion for service, that revolt against inequality, that love of fair play which will make them eager, zealous, intelligent and devoted?

(2) Granted that we can thus secure and select, by what devices and to what extent can we give to these young persons, in addition to this fundamental requirement of ability quickly to recognize weakness, while constantly demanding democratic equality, the further special training which will enable them not only to minister, but to cure.

In these meetings we are laying bare before the Conference the elementary stage at which our thought and our practice upon these points still rests. To be sure, a review of the past decade convinces the observer that real progress has been made. In 1897, fourteen years ago, at Toronto, Miss Richmond made her notable statement before the Conference regarding the desirability of establishing professional schools. In 1901, four years later, Dr. Brackett reported somewhat at length upon the establishment of the Summer School for Philanthropic Workers, established by the New York Charity Organization Society:

"Last year the twenty-four students who registered for the full course, and the six present for portions of it, included graduates from fifteen universities and colleges and workers of some experi-

once from thirteen charitable organizations. They came from eleven states. Three weeks were given to the subject of the care and treatment of needy families in their homes; one week to the care of destitute, neglected, and delinquent children; another week to neighborhood improvements; and another week was divided between medical charities and institutional care of adults. The method of the school is practical. The speakers are leaders in their lines of work; and some of them, spending several days with the members of the class, add the personal acquaintance and opportunities for informal talks." (*Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1901, p. 291.)

In 1903 Professor Graham Taylor and Miss Julia C. Lathrop, with the co-operation of President Harper of The University of Chicago, conducted in Chicago courses of lectures designed to attract workers into this field and to enable those already at work to improve their standards of workmanship. In 1904, again Dr. Brackett called the attention of the Conference to the subject by making it the theme of his presidential address, and the following year Professor Taylor reported as chairman of a committee to consider the subject.

Today the New York Summer School for Philanthropic Workers has lost itself in the New York "School of Philanthropy" conducted by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York and affiliated with Columbia University, whose purpose is "to fit men and women for social service in either professional or volunteer work."

The Boston School for Social Workers maintained by Simmons College and Harvard University, established in 1904, has completed its seventh year of successful educational work. The Chicago Institute for Social Service has become the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, and may be reported as established on a safe pecuniary and a sound educational basis. The St. Louis School of Social Economy, affiliated with Washington University, starting in 1901-2 as a series of Round Table meetings of workers, has passed beyond the experimental stage and has just completed its sixth year of full academic quality and amount. These four institutions enjoy special grants from the Russell Sage Foundation that they may maintain departments of training in social investigation, and The University of Wisconsin has inaugurated work of the same general kind in Milwaukee. We are therefore able to point to a number of these schools as creditable institutions, and to characterize them as essentially professional schools. From them are emerging every year, a number of persons whom we believe to be reasonably prepared to enter upon a life of professional service in behalf of the weaker members of the community, before whose eyes has been uncovered some vision of the remediable and preventable suffering in the world, in whose hearts has been aroused the hope of alleviating some share of this misery, whose wills have undertaken so to serve as not to weaken; and in connection with some aspect of weakness they have been given at least the fundamental idea of treatment.

Not only have we these professional schools, but we have a common agreement as to certain aspects of their task. We know for example that the instruction offered by these schools must be of two kinds, that of the lecture or class room and that of practice under supervision. The idea is shared by all those responsible for these institutions that the candidate for social service should serve a term of apprenticeship, and then have perhaps his "year and a day" of journeyman's work before undertaking the responsibilities of the master-craftsman. The questions which arise are with regard to the ways of securing these opportunities, not at all as to whether or not they should be secured.

With regard to the class room instruction there is substantial accord as to considerable portions of the curriculum, and, with reference to the methods of instruction it is agreed that we shall profit if we learn from our predecessors in the world of professional education, the schools of law and of medical training, to rely upon the so-called "case" method of instruction. To be sure there are as yet neither skilfully compiled "case-books" nor instructors trained in the use of them. But we can hope for an addition to our equipment in the reasonably near future, and while we wait we practice and learn how.

There is, too, reasonable unanimity as to one function which these schools may serve—that of selection. The "conscientious elimination of the incompetent and the unfit" is a task of no mean importance when the object of our service may so easily become the victim of our blunders.

But beyond these points of certainty there lie wide stretches of the problematical. Our relationship to the college and university is interesting from two points of view. Those institutions must rightly be regarded as one important source of supply. And yet what are the chances that among these selected groups of young people the interest for which we stand shall have a fair show? There is, of course, no question of our attempting or wishing to limit our numbers to those who come through collegiate channels. How we may obtain reasonable access to them at a reasonably early period is a question we do well to consider; and if access be obtained to these young people whom we would attract, how we can secure for them the desirable pre-professional training becomes, as Dr. Taylor's letter suggested, a question of great importance.

Besides the problems connected with the regular training offered by these schools, the question suggests itself of how we can render effectual service to those already in the active work. These present themselves in at least two groups—those who, while well-meaning, are untrained and unqualified for any delicate task, such as the attendants in our public institutions for the defective, the aged and the insane in those states in which these tasks are still entrusted to the rudest and most unskilled hands; and those who are highly trained along certain lines, without having that fundamental conception to which reference has been

made, of the relation of any of these groups and its service to the well-being of the whole. The pulling up of the standards in our institutions, without changing the personnel of the staff and the fusing with a social sense the task of the trained nurse, the sanitarian, the dietetic expert, seems to me a task well worth the interest of this section.

For these tasks, such devices as the Extension Course, the Summer Session, the "Course for Attendants" given now both by the Chicago and the New York Schools, the Bulletin of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, are being worked out. Upon their success, reports may be made at some later day when the Conference finds that a section may again be devoted to the discussion of these educational problems.

THE CALL OF THE SOCIAL FIELD.

By Miss Jane Addams.

A lady in Boston this morning read my title, "The Call of the Social Wild." She explained her mistake by saying that she knew I lived in Chicago and she supposed we were all wild there, so far as social arrangements went. Be that as it may, in the great social wilderness of every city a certain social order and decorum is beginning to assert itself. Perhaps it has always been there and the situation simply lacked people who could discover it; or perhaps the people who are now discovering the beginnings of social organization are exaggerating their importance. At any rate, the city wilderness does not appear nearly so wild and woolly as it used to appear.

What is the lure of this field? What is it that we would put before eager young people to make them feel the stir, and the pull and the stress of this life in the city wilderness as something worthy of their steel, of their very finest endeavor. I think we can now put it before educated young people on various bases; at least three occur to me. If a young man or woman is interested in the sterner side of life, the side which has to do with industrial arrangements, with the economic basis, we have only to point to the Committee on the Standards of Life and Labor, newly established by this Conference, to show him that he does not need to join the Socialist Party, although he may if he likes; he does not need to become a single-taxer, although nothing is better for the problems of congestion; but can throw all of his enthusiasm for a better social order into the sort of things which this staid Conference of ours is trying to bring about. An American can discuss minimum wage boards and still be a member of the Republican Party; or an Englishman can discuss better methods of taxation and still be a member of the House of Commons.

A young person possessed with a fine enthusiasm for a new social

program may work side by side with the most careful social workers, who are also pushing it forward. But he must do it all with his feet on the ground. He must not do it from an *a priori* conception of what society might and ought to be. He must know his congested neighborhood and give reasons for the faith which is in him. He need not mount a box on the street corner and preach a new social order, but he must be able to say to the people about him, in regard to the tenement house which needs to be reconstructed and in regard to the street which needs to be cleaned, that he knows the best method of procedure in order to bring about these reforms. And with that backing of careful neighborhood understanding and with definite relations to the city or state or Federal Government he may be as radical as he likes on the economic side. In those Reports from States given this morning, the speaker from Wisconsin and the ones from Virginia and from Washington mentioned distinctive industrial legislation which they felt to be germane to the purposes of this Conference. For the members of this Conference all know that if a woman is underpaid, if her work is sometimes in her hands and sometimes taken out by the fluctuations of trade, she goes in and out of the pauper class. It is, therefore, a matter of big concern to the charitable people whether or not a minimum wage board shall be established.

Then if an educated young person cares more for the other side of life, for that human history which has to do with its gentler aspects, for that poesy which has been embodied in literature, for those softer human qualities which have grown when cherished by similarity of belief or social solidarity, he too can be made most useful in this social field.

Much as we need stern economic study and forceful as is the student of sociology in the problems pressing for solution in the depressed quarters of the city, personally I have discovered that some of the best things are found and put forward by the man or woman who looks at life from this humanistic point of view. Such a young person sees the newly arrived immigrant, for instance, in relation to his past and to the things which his nationality and his race have brought into life; he tries to restore the immigrant to the framework from which he was torn when he came to America. The mind of such a young person nurtures and brings to fruit a certain beauty and culture and human development which would otherwise go to waste. But no one can undertake this humanistic task unless he is willing to bring the fruits of his own culture to bear upon the situation. So to any young person who wishes to go into the social wild and enter it as a field of labor, I would say bring with you all that you can that softens life, all the poesy, all the sympathetic interpretation. You will need it all; and every scrap of history and language that you know, all of that which has made your own life rich, will be fairly torn off your back as you pass through those crowded city quarters.

Then there is the scientific mind which would apply to the old social problems of the household, to the care and nurture of children, to the prolongation of human life and the alleviation of old age, the scientific knowledge of our time. Thus far most of this valuable data has been lavished upon our industries. Our factories estimate to a fraction the amount of power which a certain machine requires; they use every scrap of material, because waste is not only bad business but disgraceful; and when one goes into a tenement house quarter, one longs for a sign that such care is about to be bestowed upon the culture of human beings. When she was the factory inspector of Illinois, I once went with Mrs. Kelley into the Chicago Stockyards; that was years before *The Jungle* was written. We saw some indescribable things which I have never forgotten. There was a room full of girls handling hot animal material, with the fumes of blood all about them, breathing an atmosphere which was simply unendurable. We went from this room into another which was carefully refrigerated, where the atmosphere was cool and clean, in fact, perfectly delightful. But in this room miles and miles of carcasses were being preserved, for they would go to pieces in stifling hot air. The refrigeration was inevitable. Why all this care for the product and so little concern for the producers?

The business man everywhere is using the best appliances that he may preserve his product and make it valuable. On the other side, what have we, the social workers, done for the producers? If we had the business man's enthusiasm and his ability, if we had adequately asserted the claims of the producers, the community would have been obliged at length to recognize them. Let us not blame the business man for his success, but see to it that he shall act as a spur to the rest of us. Will we belittle human fellowship by having it appear that business enterprise is more powerful? Our deepest morality says we must stand by the weak and the wretched and bring them into some sort of decency of life and of social order. Let us collect our data with care, and not rush into foolish legislation which has to be undone. Let us see to it, on the other hand, that we know our people as we go along, this great immigrant population which is so full of romance and charm and of the lure of human beauty and power, if we only have the ability to understand and to uncover it. Let us not permit America to be behind in the science and art of human fellowship, not a whit behind the remarkable material progress which has been made by our business men. Then the call of the social field will perhaps bring into it the best people which America has, by the hundreds of thousands, not always to be called "social workers," but as men and women who are committed to a mighty task.

OF THE ART OF BEGINNING IN SOCIAL WORK.

By Mary E. Richmond, Russell Sage Foundation.

There is an art of beginning, whether we are considering our first steps in trying to find out what to do for an orphaned and destitute little child, or our method of procedure in the larger but related undertaking of trying to reduce the number of destitute orphans in the United States. Both of these social tasks demand a social investigation, though the investigation that is peculiarly my theme is that one which precedes some form of social treatment not for a large group, but for an individual.

In attempting to set down a few preliminary speculations with regard to this art of beginning, I am borrowing for convenience and brevity two words that have come to have a fixed meaning in some of the other sciences, but that can make no claim to scientific accuracy in this particular connection. The science of medicine distinguishes sharply between its laboratory and its clinical investigations. We too need some such distinction. Skeat tells us that the earlier form of the word *laboratory* was *elaboratory*, thus suggesting the workshop in which things can be patiently and carefully elaborated or worked out. The words *clinic* and *clinical* have an equally interesting history. They are derived from the Greek word for *bed*, and mean not merely that method by which the teacher in the medical school introduces a group of students to the art and practice of the medical profession, but apply equally to all those forms of practice in which the *patient* rather than the *problem* occupies the center of the stage.

Laboratory Versus Clinic in Social Investigation.

But the methods of the workshop and of the bedside are always shading into one another, and the pendulum is always swinging now toward one, now toward the other; in social work it seems to have been swinging almost violently of late. I make no attempt to settle the question of which one of these two methods of social service inquiry has contributed or will contribute the more to human welfare. I do not know, and probably no one knows. Probably "both supply indispensable data of co-ordinate importance." It would be interesting to make a list of the social service developments of the last fifty years and to study the history of each, with a view to discovering, if possible, at just what point its progress was furthered by the laboratory and at what by the clinical method. Such a study would show, I believe, that few forms of social betterment have always and under all circumstances been able to utilize only one of these two methods, for few social tasks are so individual and personal that they may not need, at some stage, the aid of the reviewer of armies of social facts, and few social tasks are so wholesale in their nature that

their further development may not depend upon a delicately individualized treatment of units.

Points of Resemblance and of Difference.

Wherein does the clinical method differ from the method of the laboratory? In general outline very little. Both turn to public and private documents, though to documents of a somewhat different sort, and for a different purpose. Both must make their own personal observations. Both must confer with others who know. Both must develop skill in eliciting the truth and in drawing correct inferences. Both must investigate by action, though this process has marked limitations in the social field, owing to the difficulty with which we segregate our phenomena. The statistical enumeration, so much in use in the social laboratory, is almost the only process that is seldom used by the clinician or case worker.

With all these resemblances, differences do appear, however. Neither uses the method of pure science, for both have social betterment directly in view, but the investigator in the one case is working toward ultimate treatment, and in the other toward immediate treatment. Here is an obvious difference between the two types of work. Miss Zilpha Smith has pointed out the urgency and inelasticity of the time-limit in our clinical investigations, whereas the other form of social inquiry has usually an elastic time-limit. But the meanings of the terms which characterize the two methods give us the most striking difference between them. In the one, the patient occupies the center of the stage, and we work out from our subject in many directions, perhaps, but with his condition and needs continually in view. In the other, we "chase in," as Mr. Robert Woods has expressed it, drawing a circle and working from its circumference toward the center.

Social Value of the Clinical Investigation.

With the differences and the resemblances of the two methods thus roughly indicated, are we not ready to agree that, *whenever in the cause of social betterment different things must be done for different people, there the clinical method is necessary?* If we are so fortunate as to know some way of helping the human race forward by doing exactly the same thing for everybody, then we do not need the method of inquiry which is the subject of this paper.

As I have said, the clinical and the laboratory methods are forever shading into one another. Let me attempt to illustrate this interplay in the development of some of our social institutions. Take the public schools: For many years America prided herself on the fact that our public schools were no respecters of persons, that they did exactly the same thing for everybody and in the same way. This was a bulwark of our school system and necessary, no doubt, at one stage

of its development; but we have come to realize, at another stage, that uniformity of treatment is a weakness. Where did the first break in the armor of the wholesalers in public education come? Perhaps in the special classes for backward children. But see how rapidly one demand after another for differential treatment is coming to be recognized—medical inspection, school nursing, open-air instruction for the frail child, and now, last but not least, agitation for vocational counsel based upon the individuality of the scholar and upon the range of industrial opportunity. See to what a degree the public schools have already been invaded by this idea of differential treatment, and yet we are now beginning to dream of a series of delicate adjustments between the home and the school, none of them yet realized, but all demanding at every turn the work of the expert clinician.

My second illustration is taken from a social reform, one with which, during my years of residence in Pennsylvania, I happened to be especially familiar. The child labor campaign in that state began among a small group of social workers who had become interested in child labor reform through their knowledge of the industrial handicaps imposed upon individual children. Social reform is many-sided, and people approach it from many angles. The agitation soon drew in numbers of wholesalers, who joined the local committee for the express purpose of helping to get a new law. So miscellaneous was the committee's make-up that it could not, at first, agree upon any policy even the simplest. A brief social inquiry as to actual conditions soon brought a degree of unity, however, and a law was secured workable in some of its features though far from perfect. Then the wholesalers said, "There, that is done, and we can turn our attention to other social matters." Little did they know of the six years' struggle that had to follow, most of it retail work, consisting of the careful adjustment of the law and of the community's resources to individual cases of apparent hardship. The success of this adjustment depended more upon clinical investigations than upon any other one factor.

Though no reform is safe from both methods, and the line of demarcation between them cannot be sharply drawn, yet the two are by no means identical. Witness the astonishing statistics published in annual reports by excellent clinicians and case workers; witness also the extreme awkwardness of the social laboratory investigator when confronted with an individual case. The possibility of developing a separate clinical technique of investigation has been questioned, but not by those who know what skill has already been achieved by a small group of case workers scattered here and there in some of our American cities and towns. Our schools for social workers must be able to furnish at least the beginnings of training in both these methods. Every young social worker should possess that "thorough interpenetration of both standpoints" of which Mr. Abraham Flexner writes in his report on "Medical Education in the United States and Canada."

The Belated Art of Beginning.

We have seen in the last ten years a wonderful development of specialties in the field of social service, all greatly enriching and diversifying treatment and increasing the possibilities of cure. As a matter of fact, however, differential treatment comes but differential diagnosis lingers. This is no cause for despair. Every department of human endeavor is slow in perfecting its beginnings. Take the art of beginning in the medical profession. We have learned many sorts of things to do for the sick man, but only very slowly are we learning how to find out what is the matter with him. We send him to one specialist after another, operations are performed, courses of treatment prescribed, and many strange things happen. Then at last, if he is fortunate, he falls into the hands of an expert diagnostician who is skilful enough to find out what is really the matter. It is the very last kind of skill to emerge, this skill in handling the beginnings of things. It has been the last thing to emerge in the field of education. We learned many things about pedagogy before we learned, if we yet know, how to start a little child upon the path of knowledge.

So in the social field: We have a congestion of new ideas, we have great faith in them and apply them with courage and devotion, sometimes where they do not belong. Measured by the standard of practical results, our use of our new discoveries is clumsy and our investigations preliminary to treatment fall far short of being as serviceable to our clients as they should be. Rightly considered, clinical investigation is only a part of treatment, it is only the first step, but momentous in its consequences for this reason.

How Can We Develop a Technique?

It may be doubted whether here, any more than in the other processes of social work, we can bring over into our field the methods of the other professions; nor can the "efficiency tests" of the business world be adopted *en bloc* by social service. There has been much talk about efficiency and goodness, to the discredit of the latter. Sometimes, viewing the kind of ready-made social service efficiency that is offered in sample by its advocates, one is tempted to exclaim: "Well, goodness is bad enough, but surely such efficiency as this is worse." But the new scientific management engineers are coming to our rescue, for they teach us that processes must be developed by observation and experiment, that they cannot be imposed like a plaster jacket upon the living body of social work. Each of our standards must be evolved slowly and laboriously from the study of our own operations and our own experiences. These must be subjected to the keenest possible analysis, and, in so far as the business engineers can teach us the habit of analyzing processes, we shall do well to learn from them.

Within the last year some of us have been trying in a very ten-

tative way to apply a few tests to the actual daily practice of social service agencies in this matter of the investigation of individual cases. Take the actual practice of all social service agencies that are making case decisions in child saving work, institutional work for adults, the care of the sick poor, the rehabilitation of families, etc. What, for instance, is their daily custom with regard to consulting outside sources of information—sources, that is, beyond the applicant and his immediate family. What light, beyond the statement of these, do they habitually seek before making the first important decision affecting the welfare of a case under their care? Often what we think we do and what we actually do are quite different. In several cities, therefore, some attempt has been made to discover what the representative social agencies in each are doing about this matter of outside sources of information; what sources are found most useful in probation work, what in protection from cruelty work, what in placing out work, and so on.

In Boston, twenty-four different social agencies have been good enough to prepare schedules covering this information in the first fifty cases treated by each in the last fiscal year. These and the schedules gathered from other cities will furnish nothing final and conclusive with regard to the method of completing a first investigation, but they will suggest a number of sources of advice and co-operation too often overlooked, and will show the shifting of emphasis, the relative value of sources, in moving from one social task to another. I venture to predict, moreover, that they will bring strong confirmation of the idea that the beginnings of case work of whatever kind and with whatever social betterment object in view, have much in common. We are all dealing with human beings, and the fundamental facts of human life are much the same in hospital, public school, court and charity office. What we need is a technique in common, based not upon the theories of academic departments, but upon the detailed analysis, the observation and recording of actual work done and results achieved by social workers of many kinds. Toward such a technique every worker with an open mind can make a definite contribution by developing the habit of studying his own processes, and by learning from his own failures and successes. These alone can never teach him all that he needs to know, but from a large common stock of such observations he can win that progressive standard of excellence upon which good case work depends.

Methods Common to All Social Service Agencies.

It was in the nature of things that, in our earlier stages of development, one charity organization society should learn chiefly from another, one child saving agency from another. The time has now come for us to seek a larger unit. We must learn more and more from

those whose case work experience differs from our own. Only a little while ago I had a very interesting letter on the subject of Investigation from the secretary of a society to protect children from cruelty. Sometimes a good understanding between S. P. C. C. workers and those engaged in other forms of family work has been difficult to secure and maintain. This secretary writes that one reason for this is the difference in methods of investigation. An S. P. C. C. agent is seeking good court evidence—not court evidence only, but this primarily. Now, in the courts, evidence of cruelty or neglect that is more than three months old is out of date.

From the point of view of the charity organization worker, on the other hand, the mere fact that evidence is recent counts for little. Family rehabilitation seems to him to depend far more upon a clear understanding of the things that were true of a family before they fell into trouble at all. The most important single thing, therefore, from a charity organization point of view, is a knowledge of the family's normal life. Social rehabilitation, like rehabilitation in health, must proceed from the normal as its starting point toward the normal as its goal. The record of how many half-tons of coal or how many dollar grocery orders have been given during the last six months, or what this neighbor or that church visitor has seen of the family recently, during its time of greatest demoralization, though sometimes important, is never as important as the question: What did this family achieve at its best? What was it like when socially and economically at high-water mark? It has dropped from that level, but why? What circumstance or combination of circumstances dragged it down? What re-combination of circumstances can get it back where it belongs? From this point of view, questions of direct and indirect, documentary and oral evidence, of the competency of witnesses, etc., fall into third or fourth place. But what a stupid thing for any of us to assume that we can secure the court's intervention where successful treatment demands it, without understanding the court's point of view, without mastering the simplest rules with regard to the nature of legal evidence.

This brings us very near the heart of practical co-operation. Instead of talking about it as a scheme, we have it with us as a daily habit of thought and action when we come to understand the reasons for the necessary differences in method among our various social agencies.

To one who believes that we have an indispensable contribution to make to social progress, to one who is convinced that social advance in this country during the next generation will depend in large measure upon the nation's ability to master administrative processes in detail, this is no question of the more or less skilful handling of a few charity cases by private agencies, but something far more vital. The things that we are learning and forgetting again, the experiences that we are letting pass unnoted, are the very things upon which success or failure

in community action will depend, in so far as community welfare demands that different things be done for different people. The formulation of a sound clinical method is the case worker's debt to the nation, but he has yet to realize the obligation.

It was only by accident, for instance, that I found in a charity organization office the instructive record of a homeless man who had not seen or heard from any of his family for sixteen years, and that I was able to trace the steps by which the investigator discovered that, during more than fifteen years, he had been in the insane asylums of a state far away from all his people. His family had thought him dead. There is wastefulness in a public institutional system that makes no thorough initial inquiry, and therefore loses the co-operation of so strong a character as this man's sister proved to be. In all these fifteen years she might have been a genuine therapeutic resource. The mere fact that a very large sum of money was spent from the wrong source is not so important as the further fact that he was kept away from his people, when in his native state he could have been cared for within a short trolley ride distance of his own family. This meant a waste of life, affection, sympathy. And the process by which the current of this man's life was turned at last is one that can be analyzed. There was no magic about it, though there was a high degree of skill based upon a sound method of work.

A good technique of clinical investigation is needed in every public institution in the United States and in every one of its child saving agencies. The head of a large child saving society in one of the cities in which the schedules before mentioned were being filled out, sent me word that he was unable to furnish all the data required because, when parents came to him and asked him to take their children, he knew only too well that they would never do so if it were possible for them to keep their offspring with them; under such circumstances investigation was, in his opinion, superfluous. This is an extreme instance, perhaps, but too often we find social workers who ought to know better still regarding investigation as a negative process. It is a positive process of the most searching and far-reaching beneficence. It is, indeed, the very cornerstone of co-operation, and of curative treatment. Any contribution, therefore, to an effective technique of investigation is a contribution to human welfare.

THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL WORKERS, ITS AIMS AND METHODS.

By Roswell C. McCrea, Associate Director, New York School of Philanthropy.

Thirty years ago the characteristic practice in preparation for professional service was that of apprenticeship. Now this is largely changed. The lawyer or doctor or engineer who cannot refer to his law or medical college, or his school of engineering, is exceptional. Indeed, it is disparaging not to be able to do so. This change is part of the growth in specialization of recent decades. Technical details have multiplied with expanding knowledge. Professional practice has shared this change and the prominent practitioner has become the specialist. He no longer teaches except as a specialist within the walls of institutions.

Social work is perhaps the youngest of professional specialties, and schools for the training of workers are surely in their infancy. Yet developments in this field have rapidly paralleled those in the older fields, and our educational problems are in large degree a recapitulation of those that have been met and are being met in other professional schools. As with them our scheme of training has naturally assumed a three-fold form. One phase consists of courses of a general vocational sort; a second, of courses of more specific technical character, and a third, of field work of a concrete, practical nature. Which of these elements has dominated in a particular instance, has depended largely on local and contemporaneous conditions.

In the beginning class leadership and instruction were largely in the hands of active social workers. The need of distinct, homogenous courses, and of eliminating purposeless duplication in courses and lectures, together with rapid increase of student numbers, speedily gave rise to the need for permanent staffs of supervising teachers. These have been recruited in considerable degree from the ranks of those trained to teach the social sciences in college classes. Among the advantages springing from this practice has been that of more fully developing the general vocational courses in our scheme of training. The weak side of vocational training by the method of apprenticeship is its absence of theory, its inability to afford a comprehension of principles involved. The social worker needs the broadening of outlook and the ability to interpret activities that come from a study of the larger bearings of social life and of social movements. We surely have little sympathy with the view of the superintendent of a prominent S. P. C. C., who wished to have his subordinates know nothing beyond how to obey orders.

But in developing courses that describe and interpret in general terms there is no small danger of overloading. It is easier to organize and to give such courses than any others. Teachers are more readily found. Because of organic unity and continuity, courses in this line may readily be made very interesting to the average student.

At this stage it is probably true that the social workers at the head of social and civic agencies and institutions can best give "the training in technique developed in everyday practice." Thus far, much of our so-called technical work has been conducted in harmony with this ideal. That it can very much longer be so, I doubt. But in any case it still remains true that training in technique is the principal function of our schools, and we must develop teachers of technique along specific lines who shall do their work quite as effectively as do members of the permanent staffs of instruction in schools of law, medicine or engineering. To do this, general descriptive or survey courses must be subordinated to those of a strictly technical nature, for our analogy is not with the college or graduate school, but with the school of technology. Unfortunately, the technical courses and practice work of our schools are at present in appreciable degree neither so technical nor so practical as our hopes at times lead us to believe they are. This is probably the main reason for the small technical value of some courses. Still, there must be some ground independent of this for the criticism of many of the more mature of our students, that courses are too often popular, impressionistic and sketchy, rather than intensive and thorough; that too much is done for the students in the summarizing of material and in the formulating of precepts rather than by the student in the digesting of material and working out of rules of action, and that practice work often lacks the continuity that would give it largest value. These shortcomings, so far as they are real, are in part attributable to the heterogeneous character of our student body, in part to the crowded condition of our one-year scheme of training and in considerable measure to failure to correlate the different phases of our training work. Let us briefly consider each of these aspects of a difficulty that of course has other contributing causes.

Thus far it has seemed inadvisable to have standards of admission other than loosely discretionary ones. We sift and seek to train people for all sorts of positions from family visitors to the executive heads of tolerably complicated social organizations. In consequence our standard of admission must be very elastic. A result is that we have in our classes individuals of every type and degree of preparedness for social training. On the one hand there is the woman who can make the happiest possible contact with a family in distress, but whose capacity for generalization is limited to the knowledge that tuberculosis should be associated with ill-ventilated rooms and adenoids with backward school children. At the other extreme is the student whose training in college and in the subsequent school of life has developed a keenness and quickness of perception, a capacity for abstract thinking, and a sense of proportion that should furnish an inspiration in any class room. That it often does not is due to the needs of our unusually mixed groups. With all that we can do to eliminate the unfit and the misfit, these groups must remain as miscellaneous as are the grades of work for which we

hope to prepare students. So that the way out would seem to be less through the devising of more exacting and less flexible standards of admission than through that of more carefully differentiating our class groups, (particularly in the larger required courses) breaking them into sections that will make possible a handling of material that takes large account of previous acquirements and experience.

The attempt to crowd as much as possible into a single year's work is responsible for some of our difficulties. With many students this means too much of everything without enough of anything. Twelve hours of class-room work per week with the outside study it should involve, and at least an equal number of hours devoted to practice or field-work with an inevitable waste of time in getting to and from in a large city, are usual student schedules. For many this means overwork or superficial work; for others it means duplication. A contemporary situation will illustrate these possibilities. In one of our colleges for women there is an elective course on Charities and Correction that fills three hours per week of the 12 hour class schedule, representing the full work required of seniors. The field is well outlined, and a large amount of well selected reading and well directed discussion is included. Students presumably give one-fourth of all the time they devote to study to the work involved in this course. With our students, in a field that we should cover more intensively, an equal degree of thoroughness would mean, for many beginners undue mental and physical strain. Superficial work is unfortunately an easy alternative, and into this many students unconsciously fall. The average student does not feel this shortcoming. Courses still contain a valuable element of inspiration and some mental discipline. The fact that it is only through intensive work that the spirit of thoroughness can be developed is lost sight of in the often striking impressions made by many of our really interesting and stimulating courses.

This brings us once more to the desirability of classifying our students according to their needs; and a beginning might well be made by running a line of cleavage between those who come to us with fairly well-defined social viewpoint and social knowledge, and those with less disciplined views and more hazy intellectual background. But this again emphasizes the need for a large degree of instruction in technique in the special vocational courses, and for a closer welding together of field work with class-room work along these special lines. Perhaps the most serious obstacle to the carrying out of this program is the difficulty of finding properly equipped teachers. If we cannot find them already trained for these purposes, we must find good material and train it.

We have got beyond the point where a small group can sit at the feet of a leader in our field, and through questioning and discussion imbibe the method and spirit of his or her work. With rapidly enlarging classes, the only way in which to preserve these contacts is through the lecture method, and this was long ago discarded by professional

schools as a principal means of technical training. The pressing task in this respect is that of shaping the work of our rapidly filling classrooms, as far as possible, to a case method basis of instruction and the relating of outside practical work to class-room discussion.

The problem of the proper direction and supervision of field work has from the start been a pressing one. Where classes have been small, teachers have often been able to have such work grow out of or into the activities of the class-room. This is the ideal arrangement. But with large classes and with busy social workers as teachers, it has been necessary largely to separate and centralize the handling of students in their practice work. At the same time, and for the same reasons, the lecture method has tended to gain a stronger foothold in the class-room. The outcome is often a lack of relation between two aspects of training that should have the highest organic unity. The busy lecturer crowds into his talks the quintessence of a varied experience. These talks can have high training value only when related to the details of experience of students in the practice field. But the making of connections between this practice and the precept of the lecture room is left to the student. The bond should be made closer. In small schools this is easy. That it can be made so in the larger schools is amply illustrated by particular courses. Nothing, for instance, could have had happier results than last year's experiment in the New York School of Philanthropy, of a group that for its field work elaborated phases of housing technique that grew out of a course on that topic. But we must go even farther than this, for the material of the class-room itself must be given a live, real quality that too exclusive reliance on the lecture method cannot give. Professional training schools in other lines have given up this reliance in favor of the case-method of instruction. And I think that an adaption of the case-method to our purposes, so that principles grow out of an examination of real problems—and preferably those arising from day to day in the practice work of students—will largely meet our difficulties. This of course is nothing new. Where groups are small it is found more or less frequently in all of our schools. But the danger is that with growth, it may be displaced by methods that are easier and less expensive in their application to large numbers. The use of the case-method and the tying together of class-room with practice work means concentration on a more limited field. Not so much ground can be surveyed, but what is lost in scope is more than compensated for by training in technique and the spirit of thoroughness, prime requisites in these days of much surveying. It also means either enlarging expenditure on a growing student body, or the restricting of numbers within the bonds set by the intensive use of limited staff and equipment. For enthusiasm is almost the only part of the equipment of the social technician that can be turned out by wholesale methods. But at best the amount of technical training that can be got out of a single year of work is limited. A two-year course will sooner or later be the

outcome. Until conditions are ripe for such a step, we can at least guide our students into positions that have maximum training possibilities, and follow up their early work in the field in ways that will give it high apprenticeship value.

I hope that I have not seemed to speak in a spirit of pessimism or iconoclasm. There is surely no ground for either. The wonder is that in our rapid growth problems have been so readily and wisely handled. My purpose has been merely that of emphasizing pedagogical and administrative difficulties that have arisen in the history of all sorts of professional schools. We may meet these difficulties much as they have met them.

CO-OPERATION WITH COLLEGES IN SECURING AND TRAINING NEGRO SOCIAL WORKERS FOR URBAN CENTERS.

By Professor George E. Haynes, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

While my paper discusses a plan for uniting the Negro college, the professional school and social work among Negroes in urban centers, it has a grain of suggestion which may be generally applied in securing and training white students for social work.

It is only necessary to remind you of the fact that there is an increasing concentration of Negroes in urban centers, and a pressing problem for the Negro is to learn to live in town.

This urban situation, like other great human problems, is fundamentally one of efficient men and women who are thoroughly devoted to the special service in which they are engaged. The condition among Negroes in cities can best be improved by those of their own group whose latent capacity has had superior training directed toward social service.

The youth in Negro colleges furnish the key to the situation, for those less thoroughly trained will not be able to grapple successfully with such serious conditions. Several Schools of Philanthropy are open to Negro students, but these institutions are out of the reach of nearly all of them. Several Negro colleges have offered courses in Economics and Sociology, but in nearly every case they have been scarcely more than class room discussions, often remotely relating to conditions among Negroes. So it is safe to say that, until we started last year, there had been no definite training for social work offered anywhere for Negro students and no arrangements existed to connect them when prepared with the serious conditions among our people in cities. For those who are working to remedy conditions in cities are not connected with a source of supply of capable recruits for social work.

Without delaying longer, some of us made a beginning to secure and train Negro college youth for Social work and to relate the Negro college to urban communities. The plan as started has three parts

First, the preparatory instruction and training in the Negro college; second, the selecting of promising students and providing them with the opportunities for further professional study and practical experience among their own people in cities; and third, the organization of social betterment work in the cities where these trained people may use their ability for social uplift.

First, the preparatory instruction and training of the students should be given in Negro colleges of the South because it should begin during college years of enthusiasm, and because it should be brought to bear upon the large groups of select, capable, enthusiastic Negro youth such as gather at these colleges. In this way prospective social workers may be found. Again, this preparation should begin in the Negro college, because the city conditions among Negroes demand minds and characters which have been moulded by a broad course of education.

Besides, some training for understanding the conditions surrounding my people should be put within the reach of all Negro college students. The problem of social uplift is so great that, in addition to expert social workers, all Negro ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers and others should have the benefit of instruction in scientific methods and the new social point of view. Finally and emphatically, the Negro colleges themselves need to be vitally articulated with the conditions and needs of the Negroes in the communities where these colleges are located. This will help the people and the students and show both the true aim of colleges.

With this in view, we have established at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., a department of Social Science and Social Work. In order to give a thorough preparation for social and religious workers, courses are given in industrial history, economic theory, sociology, economic and labor problems and methods of social work. In the Senior year lectures are given on special problems relating to Negroes. During the past school year lectures were given by experts from several cities on the religious problems among Negroes in cities; delinquents and probation problems; special problems of Negro women in cities; of Negro children; and on Principles of Relief. Running through half of the Junior year and all of the Senior year is a course in the History of the Negro in America and the Negro Problem. This furnishes historical perspective and knowledge of the present condition of the Negro in America as seen from the points of view of various writers.

During the last semester of the Senior year, the students are required to give ten hours per week to methods of statistics and social investigations, and actual field work among the conditions of the colored people of Nashville. Thus we aim to bring the university into closer relation to our people in that city.

And this is just a beginning. We shall not confine our efforts to the students and graduates of Fisk University, but in a similar way we contemplate a general co-operation of Negro colleges for the betterment

of the urban population of our people. However, Fisk University, by its strategic location in the South, by the way it looms up in the minds of Negroes themselves, by its standing among colleges of the country and by its tradition and sentiment for social service, is pre-eminently the place for the inception and development of such a movement.

Second, I turn to the selection of students of promise for Social Work and their further training in New York and other cities. A number of the leading white and colored citizens of New York, who wish to meet these urban problems, have organized the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. This Committee has three main purposes: First, to bring about co-operation among the existing agencies at work among Negroes in urban centers, to find out where additional work is needed and where existing work involves duplication; second, to make provision for discovered needs or to attempt otherwise to remedy the situation, and third, to secure and train Negro social workers.

To carry out the last named purpose, promising graduates of Fisk University and other colleges, who wish to make social work a life calling, will be given an opportunity under the auspices of this Committee to get experience in such social work and to pursue such further study as the social betterment efforts and educational facilities in New York and other cities afford.

We have a field-secretary in New York, who devotes his entire time to the Committee's work, and one of his special functions is to supervise the further training of these prospective social workers. This year, we have selected from two colleges, one graduate each. Our only limit in securing them was a lack of funds. These young people will be provided with fellowships that will afford opportunity for study at The New York School of Philanthropy and Columbia University.

The third part of the plan is the relation of these trained people to social betterment efforts in the cities. This is both cause and effect of the first two parts. In New York and other cities there is a persistent demand on the part of those doing and supporting social work, and a crying need among my people, that the many agencies for betterment shall be standardized and co-ordinated, and that efficient workers be secured and put in charge. We have begun to meet this need and demand. Last year, our Committee laid out the following five year program of work for New York City:

- (1) Registration and co-operation of existing social agencies;
- (2) Co-operation of agencies at work for the improvement of the community at large;
- (3) Improvement of housing and neighborhood conditions;
- (4) Development of employment agencies and facilities;
- (5) Development of thrift agencies and co-operative business enterprises;
- (6) Provision of amusement and recreation facilities;
- (7) Improvement in the relation of the Negro church and other religious institutions to the social conditions;
- (8) Co-operation with other cities in exchange of methods and in securing and training social workers.

Our resources have been very limited, but we have gathered and placed on file for reference, a reliable set of reports on eighteen of the existing agencies; in co-operation with the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, we made a preliminary survey of the largest Negro district in Manhattan. This resulted in a movement of the colored residents themselves for such improvements as better police protection and wholesome recreation and amusement facilities. We have under supervision arrangements for a model boy's camp and for co-operation of all Negro fresh-air agencies. Committees are appointed looking toward the union with us of two or three other important organizations to act as a general clearing house for the city. Workers in several other cities have signified their desire to join the movement.

Let me sum up this brief and fragmentary account of our plan; The urban concentration of Negroes demands a large number of trained Negro social workers. The usual way of securing and training them is to get any one who is available and to put him in charge of social work with the expectation that he will know by intuition and learn from failures to understand what are our most serious social conditions.

Now, if there is any one fact well known, it is that the Negro's situation cannot be helped by inefficient and inexperienced enthusiasts. Our committee goes back to the years of youth, the years of college enthusiasm for service, picks out the people of promise, insures them a good foundation training and gives them opportunity for further professional training and practical experience before entrusting such serious work into their hands.

The plan is feasible; our first year has succeeded beyond our hopes. It is meeting a need of the Negro college youth, and it is meeting the demand of those who have often lamented the lack of competent Negro workers. It is a new departure in the training of social workers, because it not only definitely links the training of the professional school for social workers with educational institutions of college rank, but also links the institutions and the students with a practical working committee, whose officers are to supervise the training of prospective social workers.

We believe firmly that, with financial support and co-operation, we shall give equipment and inspiration for social uplift to a number of capable Negro men and women; that we shall point the way for Negro colleges to articulate themselves with the increasing urban life; that we shall raise the standard and increase the efficiency of social betterment work among the urban Negro population of the country, and that we shall suggest some methods of connecting college youth with the social problems which confront the Nation.

POSSIBILITIES OF SOCIAL WORKERS' CLUBS.

By Miss Zilpha D. Smith, Boston.

(Abstract.)

The possibilities of social workers' clubs in smaller cities and towns,—rather than standardizing methods of work,—is my subject; for the latter is and should be merely incidental.

My experience is long though narrow; I hope, however, to draw out other experience and discussion by stating what seems to me the advantages of such clubs, and the principles to be followed in their conduct.

I became a missionary for such clubs in small communities when on inquiry at our State Conference last fall, I found there were absolutely none in Massachusetts outside of Boston. And yet it is from the smaller places that there comes the plaint of loneliness in social work, of want of comradeship.

There are but two ways of learning how to render service that is truly social. First: From our own experience with the people whose interests we serve. Second: From one another. Opportunity is the first condition for success of either method. The results of contact with the people are richly brought to this Conference, which is in itself an exemplification of the second method, learning from one another; and the growth of such Conferences, National, State and City, are evidences that the second method is highly valued.

But this second method may take other than the Conference form. To increase the points of contact among social workers, the opportunities for knowing one another, is to prepare the soil in which a common spirit of service, of tolerance, and of intelligent working together may grow.

Four things have been tried successfully in various places to increase the opportunities for contact.

1. Grouping as many of the social service offices as practicable in one building, a central city or neighborhood building.
2. Publishing a directory of all the philanthropic and civic agencies of a city or town.
3. Arranging meetings like these Conferences, regular or occasional.
4. The professional club, a social gathering of social workers for their own education and personal acquaintance,—the kind of club of which I am now to speak.

The oldest and youngest of such clubs in the United States are right here in Boston; the youngest in an outlying district. The older, our Monday Evening Club, has nothing more tangible to show than a library, small, imperfect and imperfectly used.

Like this Conference, the Club formulates no opinions. Yet it has a large, increasing and loyal membership, because it gives inspiration and a strong sense of fellowship. It has been one of the chief factors in bringing

about cordial co-operation between our many social agencies,—not perfect co-operation, but effective. It is such a factor because, in the club, we have learned to know each other better.

Practical Considerations.

First. Begin early. Start your club as soon as your town has a dozen paid workers representing different phases of social work. The advantages of personal acquaintance, of learning in detail about one another's purposes and plans are much more easily gained in a club of even fifty or one hundred workers than in one of five hundred.

Second. Keep it a professional club,—a worker's club. To limit the membership to paid workers in the philanthropic field, interpreting that field very broadly makes this easy. Each may bring a guest, so volunteer workers will be present without altering the Club's professional standing.

Third. Make membership fees and all expenses very low, in order to gather in all who can and will belong.

Fourth. Within professional limits let the membership be as broadly representative as practicable of many different kinds of social work. One exception may be noted. In a place where there is a large proportion of one kind of workers already closely associated together, and likely therefore to dominate the club, draw your by-laws to leave them out at the beginning. After a few years, however, when the club is fairly welded together and a club spirit has grown up, open the door and invite the excluded group to come in on equal terms.

Fifth. On the question of whether such a local club should undertake work of its own similar to that done by the agencies employing its members, I am not prepared to lay down any principle, though each club needs to adopt a principle.

My own belief is that a social workers' club as its city grows will more surely keep its breadth of membership and discussion if it refrains from executive work and from specializing on definite tasks.

Sixth. My sixth principle, and a very important one, is to arrange the programs of the meetings, from year to year to include the members of the Club. There is sometimes a tendency in our search for inspiration and knowledge, to swing the other way. The presentation of problems, each in five minutes, allowing the members of the Club to use their wits in suggesting the solution, this being followed by a statement of what actually has been done; and the presentation of the work of an agency by half a dozen employees, each representing a different aspect of its service, have provided not only interesting meetings, but a means of making known members of the Club who were not the chief executives of their various agencies.

For inspiration, fellowship, education, co-operation, four roots from which many good things grow, I urge each of you to go home and start a Social Workers' Club.

THE SELECTION AND TRAINING OF PROBATION AND ATTENDANCE OFFICERS.

By Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis.

The most marked development of recent years in public agencies for caring for children has been the growth of the work of probation and attendance officers. Attendance officers are in many parts of the country called truant officers, but their function is only in a small degree that of dealing with truancy. Probation officers are to be considered in this paper only in their relation to children, the work of adult probation being quite different. Where not otherwise stated, the paper deals only with urban conditions.

Ten years ago there were but very few probation or attendance officers in the United States, certainly less than one or two hundred. To-day there are nine to eleven hundred probation officers and eleven to fifteen hundred attendance officers, paid out of the public funds and giving practically all of their time to the work of caring for children. These are not only rapidly increasing groups throughout the country, but their work is being extended and defined. Their functions have grown so rapidly that their development has been irregular, indeed almost chaotic, and dissimilarities in the work of these groups in different sections of the country are striking.

In general, both groups of officers deal with children whose homes are defective. They must supply the community and personal forces for the well-directed upbringing of these children. Such a delicate function as this demands a high type of man or woman, yet in many parts of the country this service is either on a purely political basis, or on an inefficiency basis,—that is, these positions are regarded as easy berths for superannuated office holders, teachers, or other worthy but incapable persons, although in a few communities a more rigorous test of fitness is required for this service than for almost any other department of governmental activity. Between these extremes are standards of every degree of excellence.

In order to state the requirements for social efficiency in this service and to indicate with precision the training demanded for competent probation and attendance officers, there must be an exact understanding of their duties and functions. The work of the two, while fundamentally alike, differs considerably in detail and in scope.

The Work of Attendance Officers.

The usual duties of the attendance officers are to investigate and correct the cases of non-attendance at school, whether they are due to truancy, illness, neglect, or any other cause. The work is usually arranged so that each officer has a definite geographical district covering a number of public, parochial, and private schools. The work includes

constant reference to other agencies of the diversified cases involving poverty, illness, contagious disease, illegal employment, neighborhood gangs, neglected children and immorality. The attendance department of many schools is also required at certain times of the year, usually during the summer, to make a school census in the districts in which conditions most need attention, in order to furnish a working basis for a complete school registration at the beginning of the school year. The department is also charged in a few cities with the issuance and supervision of newsboy licenses.

The Work of Probation Officers.

The chief duty of the probation officers consists in the care of individual children assigned on probation to the officer after hearing in court and, in some cities, after treatment in a correctional institution (parole cases). The children in the care of the probation officer are either delinquent or neglected, boys or girls, white or colored, who, under some systems, live in one geographical district, and under other systems, in various parts of the city. The probation process in all cases is similar,—the constructive working out of the problem of the individual child and the individual family for a period of months or years, in which work of constructive probation the officer calls to his aid the various social agencies of the community. He also makes inquiries and investigations for the court in all cases which are to be heard.

In some communities where the work has been poorly defined the probation officer often assumes the functions of both attendance officer and police, dealing with neighborhood gangs, neighborhood quarrels and disturbances and complaints involving children.

We are discussing here, however, only the functions of probation and attendance officers as contemplated in the large majority of the laws, and not these superimposed functions due to local conditions and administrative necessities.

Similarities in the Work.

Comparing the duties and functions of attendance and probation officers, it will be seen that they have in common—first, the treatment of cases of children in families living under practically the same social conditions; second, investigations of the same general character, the investigation of each case covering a specific difficulty,—in the one case, non-attendance at school, and in the other, some offence against law or some neglect or failure of parents,—together with the background of social conditions of which the specific difficulty is a part. Both probation and attendance officers are constantly engaged in utilizing for the solution of their cases the various social factors and agencies of the community.

Differences in the Work.

So much for their points of similarity. The conspicuous difference between them is that the chief business of the attendance officer is investigation, while the probation officer exercises that function only as incidental to the process of constructive probation. The attendance officer is occupied 90 per cent. of his time in doing what occupies the probation officer but 10 per cent. of his time. There is also a fundamental difference in the general character of the work of probation and attendance officers, due to the fact that their responsibilities are different. The attendance officer is responsible for the school attendance in his district, for the explanation and, if need be, the correction of each failure to attend school. Each offence or failure must be treated as a unit and is the basis of operations. The probation officer does not deal primarily with an offence,—he subordinates that to a condition. He is charged with the responsibility of working out the problems of individual children and families for a length of time, examining and correcting fundamental conditions. The attendance officer adjusts the offence, using the agencies of the community for his purpose and seldom supervising the case for a long period of time. When the condition in any case is so serious as to result in repeated difficulty the attendance officer brings that case to the juvenile court for treatment, the child being commonly turned over to the probation officer for the purpose of working out a solution.

The attendance officer works on the general situation, referring and adjusting cases,—the probation officer is the specialist, working out specific individual cases. The attendance officer corrects the immediate condition,—often the symptom,—while the probation officer corrects the fundamental condition of such cases as present serious problems. The attendance officer treats the cases needing temporary care or adjustment only,—the probation officer, the cases needing continuous directed care. The large run of cases treated by attendance officers are less serious than those which come to probation officers, because the probation officer gets chiefly the cases which have gone beyond the ordinary efforts of school and home.

Result of These Differences.

The differences cited would of necessity indicate some difference in point-of-view and training. They have been pointed out because it is often assumed, either that the work of the two is practically the same, or that it is so different that the requirements for the one cannot be held as the requirements for the other. It is obvious that there are differences which must be considered in selecting officers for the work,—but they are not such as to require different types of persons. At present the officers in the two groups are, generally speaking, selected from two widely separated fields of experience and training.

It is unfortunate that in many cities friction exists between attendance and probation officers, due to a more or less natural difference of viewpoint,—the attendance officer feeling that the probation officer who tries children out again and again after failures on probation, is not serving the best interests of the community by not seeking a commitment,—and the probation officer feeling that the attendance officer is only too ready to see the factor of school attendance, high district percentage, etc., and fails to consider often enough the power of careful, continuous effort for a child under probation in his own home. A definite agreement and correlation of work in each city should remedy such a situation.

The Factors of Selection.

In considering qualification for selection the questions arise: (1) to what degree personality should be taken into consideration, including the suitability of persons of various ages or sex or color for this work; (2) to what degree education and technical training are factors; (3) the relation of this technical training and education to practical experience.

Personality.

It should be perfectly clear at the outset that less attention should be paid to technical training and education than to the factors of personality and temperament. No system of selection should be advocated for a moment which does not permit of the greatest freedom in determining those factors. This work, as has been pointed out, is more intimate, more broad, nearer the deeper emotions and the vital factors of the life of families than the work of teachers or of persons in most other branches of social service. A public officer, clothed with powers which no visitor of a private association has, creates a relation which is at once more authoritative and more fundamental. In most cities the officer has the power of removing children temporarily from parents, for cause. It should be, therefore, most emphatically stated that personality, with all the standard and many of the unusual virtues and qualities, should be the prime requisite in such an officer, over and above education and training. Practically all examining bodies under the merit system of appointment have allowed fifty to seventy-five per cent. for personality, the remaining twenty-five to fifty per cent. being divided between education and experience as brought out by a written test.

In this connection it is obvious that persons with physical infirmities, of unprepossessing appearance, who are untidy or ill-mannered, or who otherwise repel on first appearance, should never be considered for this public service. Yet it is an unfortunate fact that appointments of just this kind have often been made. There are instances of an officer with a wooden leg, of another with one eye gone, of several with impediments in their speech,—and of a number of vulgar and ill-

mannered persons who must equally repel those parents and children with whom they deal. Even the most ignorant and low-lived parents recognize the qualities that make gentlemen and gentlewomen and are, of course, not only entitled to, but need all the more, representatives of the public service who shall be courteous, well-bred and well-mannered.

Age.

Immature persons just out of school or college, often applicants for this work, are not likely to command the same influence and respect among children and parents as do somewhat older and more mature persons. On the other hand, elderly persons are to be objected to, largely for their lack of force in dealing with parents and children. Of course, the service needs persons of all ages, some older and some younger, in order to reach most effectively the various kinds of work and people. While earnest and vigorous young men may be the very best kind of supervisors for most delinquent boys, neglected children and girls need mature women, and certain types of older boys of sixteen to eighteen do better with men not too near their own age.

There are many instances of appointments as probation officers and attendance officers, of retired army men, too old for other public work, and in one instance of an ex-superintendent of a workhouse, who was a politician of many years standing and, of course, familiar only with the methods of handling the roughest-criminal element. Another had had experience as a second-rate detective; another as a deputy sheriff; and several others as street missionaries.

An examination of 213 probation and attendance officers in the four largest cities of the United States shows the average age to be about forty years, the probation officers averaging considerably younger than the attendance officers,—seventy per cent. of the probation officers being under forty, as against forty-four per cent. of the attendance officers. Only twenty-six of the total number, or twelve per cent., were over sixty years of age, and only twenty, or nine per cent., were under thirty. These figures would indicate, among other things, that the probation service is attracting younger people, while the attendance service is taking persons who have been already some years in other work. In order to prevent the employment of immature persons in this work, several legislatures have prohibited the appointment of persons under the age of twenty-five years as probation officers, and the boards conducting examinations for attendance officers under civil service have been almost uniformly careful not to select young and inexperienced persons.

Qualifications.

The qualifications of either a man or a woman for the work, must be practically the same. It cannot be stated that a woman or a man is preferable for the work, because it is evident that it needs the

ability and experience of both. There is only the question as to the relative number of men and women needed. The same holds true in regard to the selection of colored men or women as attendance or probation officers, it being generally agreed that where a large colored population is to be handled, colored people are in every way better qualified to establish the natural friendly relations which are necessary for successful attendance or probation work. Requirements in cities with large foreign populations may make advisable the appointment of persons of various nationalities, a consideration which might often outweigh those of age, sex, or training.

The qualities necessary for this work are difficult to state, for they are numerous and varied. As a prime requisite, however, an officer must be genuinely interested in the work for the sake of the work, not for the dollars and cents he is getting out of it. The spirit of social service must underlie his selection of this work and his every-day routine. Not only must that spirit include the desire to assist in the making over of adverse social conditions, but also an abiding and moving interest in the problem of the individual. It is on this that all this intensive, warm, human work is built up, without inclining to sentimentalism on the one side or the colder, social scientific view on the other. Such a viewpoint, though hard to ascertain in a written examination, can be discovered, examined and tested by the right kind of examiners under a merit system.

No question of the actual hours of service, of being paid for so much time, should be involved. The work must be done and the officer's natural interest should keep him at it regardless of time limits. Even a well-organized office, starting out with the right point of view and good material, can become disorganized by the gradual growth of the spirit of time service. There are instances of officers who failed to do their full share of work because they felt the compensation was inferior. On this point it may be said, however, that the pay of both attendance and probation officers, in cities at least, is equal to any other branch of similar social service, varying from \$75 to \$100 a month. An examination of the salaries received by 216 officers in the four leading cities shows that 204 of them were receiving considerably more than they had received previously, and eight were receiving an equivalent amount.

An officer must avoid being officious or dictatorial. He must be tactful, sympathetic and patient, not only because tact, sympathy and patience bring better and speedier results, but because the court or school must, through these officers, maintain a favorable standing with the people whom they serve. The service in a number of communities has been brought into disrepute by officious and bullying tactics on the part of some of its representatives.

In addition to tact, sympathy and patience, the qualifications of energy and resourcefulness are highly desirable. The spirit of service

is of but little avail,—likely to degenerate to sentimentalism,—if it is not accompanied by a vigorous, well-directed energy. Lazy officers are to be found in almost every large force in the country. Resourcefulness is a necessary quality because of the many varied and complicated situations which an officer is called upon to handle without hesitation. The ability to apply every force in the community and to do it with discretion, arouses a feeling of confidence among the people with whom the officer deals. This confidence is the basis of the sentiment behind the best work,—that these officers are employed to help parents, not to fight them. Officers who are in the habit of scolding, laying down the law, of making an investigation with the attitude of mind of a detective,—that is, the facts at any cost, will not succeed in solving individual cases, or in building up a sentiment favorable to the enforcement of the law.

Training.

As to the actual education necessary, it is clear that the character of the work requires at least a minimum of a grammar school education, and should ordinarily require the training equivalent to that of a high school. Since the factor of personality is so important, no specific education, except that actually necessary for the work (a grammar school education) can be urged as a requirement. It is desirable, of course, to secure, if possible, persons who combine personality with a thorough education, especially that of a nature relating to the work, such as is offered by the few schools of philanthropy and by many colleges.

Of 170 attendance and probation officers in the four largest cities of the United States, about whom information was secured, only 47 or 27 per cent. were high school graduates. Sixty-eight, or 40 per cent. had never got beyond the grammar schools, although it is gratifying to know that seventy-four, or 44 per cent. had taken some special course relating to the work either before or after their appointment. Thirty-six or 21 per cent., were graduates of a college,—a remarkably large number perhaps when it is remembered that the compensation in this work, averaging \$75 to \$100 a month, does not ordinarily command the services of college graduates. Several of the thirty-six were the chief officers, who, in most instances, are college men or women.

Experience.

An examination of the experience of 144 probation and attendance officers shows that eighty-three, or 60 per cent. had had no previous experience in children's work (fifty-three of them, or 66 per cent. being attendance officers, as against thirty, or 47 per cent. probation officers). Twenty-nine, or 20 per cent. came to the work from teaching, and twenty-nine, or 20 per cent. from some form of social work. This,

however, is an unduly small proportion (40 per cent.) with previous experience. Surely no other profession involving such responsibilities would accept so large a proportion of untrained and inexperienced workers, and the newness of the work is, of course, its only explanation and excuse.

An officer approaching his or her task with considerable individual responsibility, yet with no practical familiarity with the problem, is likely to make many errors, and so do many children and parents gross injustice. He must have not only the intense interest in the problems of child life, but an accurate knowledge of adverse conditions and the manifold methods by which to meet them.

The professionally trained social worker is needed particularly in this work, trained not only in social theory and conditions in a school of philanthropy or similar course, but more particularly in actual work, where a technique has been developed and the period of learning by frequent errors has been passed. Since the salaries paid to attendance and probation officers are usually somewhat higher than in other lines of social service, it is quite possible to secure persons from other lines of that work,—settlements, children's aid work, charity organization societies, etc., in which individual responsibility of assistants is not so great and in which there is usually competent direction and well supervised training. A young man or a young woman who has the background of social theory secured in school, and then trained in such volunteer organization, may well advance himself or herself by entering the attendance or probation service after a few years of practical experience, thereby bringing to the work not only a well-founded social training, but practical contact with local problems. Graduates of schools of philanthropy are to be desired, preferably for the reasons indicated, only after considerable practical experience in social work following the school training.

The probation officer needs, perhaps, to be an even better trained social worker than an attendance officer, at least if not better trained, a person with more conspicuous qualifications of personality and point of view. It is not a question of more training or less training, but of different training. The probation officer, above all, needs patience, tact, persuasion and ability to win the confidence and friendship of children and their families. The personal equation in probation work is even greater than it is in the work of an attendance officer. His position is even more responsible, for it is the last effort of the community before recourse to an institution. He is the specialist in the moral diseases of childhood.

The situation in rural districts, in which private agencies are usually lacking, and in which the problems of childhood must be met chiefly through the effort of public officers, calls especially for well-trained men and women. The schools and court should be made to appreciate that a highly trained officer in these districts is able to do

more in organizing and developing the resources of the country, because he is the only agent in the field,—the only adjuster of adverse social conditions to social remedies. His opportunities and responsibilities are greater than in the city, and his training should fit him to be the intelligent guide of the work for children in his community.

Examples of Training and Experience.

As examples of good and bad training, the following are cited: An unfortunate representative of the probation service was a young woman of splendid ideals and intentions, an honor graduate of a large university and a special student in a school of philanthropy, but almost hopelessly sentimental in her attitude toward social work. She was, in addition, so informal in her dealings with children that she failed to secure their respect. She had doubtless been spoiled herself in her early childhood and her attitude towards children was calculated to spoil them. Her impulsiveness often brought her and the service into trouble.

Another, a man in middle life was deemed undesirable because of a long connection with a reformatory institution. While a man of splendid personality and high ideals, he had become pessimistic as to the ability of probation to change environment, believing most court children were born criminals and that institutions were the only places for them. Had this been merely a theory, subject to the teaching of experience, it would not have made him an undesirable probation officer, but it was a conviction born from years of experience dealing with some of the most hopeless kinds of cases.

Another man, an applicant for a position as attendance officer, had had a grammar school education, had worked in a wholesale house until early in his twenties, was then employed in a railroad office, got interested in politics and was appointed a deputy sheriff, in which capacity he served for a number of years. He went again into business life, but an interest in the kind of work he had done as sheriff prompted him to apply for a position as attendance officer. A long contact with criminals and no contact with children would hardly commend a man in middle life for such work, although he was seriously considered on account of his interest and general ability.

As examples of adequate and proper training, I cite an instance of a young woman, a graduate of a high school and a normal school, who, after some experience in the grade schools, voluntarily chose to become a teacher in a local parental school. Her interest in the problems of the boys in the institution made her feel that more could be done with children before commitment, and she applied for a position as probation officer which paid several hundred dollars less than her teacher's position and required two months more work a year.

A young man, interested all his life in sports, a member of boys'

clubs, a leader in his high school and college activities, evinced a great interest in social studies during his college course and specialized in college during his last year in social research. Upon graduation he became an applicant for the position of probation officer. While he did not have the practical experience, he furnished the most promising material for rapidly acquiring that experience.

Another instance is that of a woman in middle life, a graduate of a normal school who had taught kindergarten and primary grades, had then gone into nursing, had qualified as a trained nurse and had experience in that capacity in several large cities. In addition she had a broad and intimate acquaintance with the church and parish work in her home city. She was just the kind of person needed in the attendance or probation service for cases of neglected children and wayward girls.

Training After Appointment.

The training of the chief officers should, of course, be superior to that of assistants, not only from an educational standpoint, but from the standpoint of practical experience in the work. Their administrative ability, it is to be presumed, should include in every instance the ability to train their assistants. Indeed, a large proportion of the best training which probation and attendance officers get, is received after their appointment, through well-directed instruction by their chief officer, and also in evening courses in such institutions as schools of philanthropy. Chief officers can, however, do much themselves by requiring their assistants to read well-selected books, to discuss matters relating to their work in periodical meetings of all the officers, and to encourage them in attending conferences of social workers. It is a well recognized fact in educational circles that one of the functions of school principals is to train teachers. It should be recognized among probation and attendance officers that one of the chief functions of the head officer is to train his force to constantly increasing efficiency. For this purpose, a college education is a highly desirable qualification.

Summary.

To sum up, the points to be observed in the selection of attendance and probation officers are:

1. That the factor of personality is much more important than any other and can be tested fairly under a wise merit system of competitive examination.
2. That very young or elderly persons are not desirable,—though a well-selected force should have a variety of ages, sexes and persons of various races and nationalities, where needed.
3. That at least a grammar school education is the minimum educational qualification, and a high school education a desirability, with a college education as a desirable requirement for the chief officers.

4. That every officer should take before or after appointment, special courses related to social work either in a school of philanthropy, or, if there be none available, in a local educational institution, and should have continuous training under the direction of the chief officer.

5. That persons in the probation or attendance service should have had previous experience in dealing with children.

6. That the probation service particularly requires men and women of conspicuous personality, careful training and much practical experience.

7. That the civil service examination, conducted by persons who understand thoroughly the human and social problems of this public service, is the best means of obtaining officers, avoiding all questions of personal, religious or political influence.

8. That this form of public service in rural districts needs to be developed on as high a professional basis as in the city, for the attendance or probation officer in the country has greater responsibilities and opportunities than those officers in the city.

Conclusion.

It will be said that the standards here set forth are too conservative,—that we should insist on better salaries, a training at least as thorough as that of teachers, and the ideals of securing men and women especially fitted by the college or professional school. Those standards are ideal, but they are not practical to-day. This public service needs now the elementary fundamental qualifications set forth to develop its present anomalies into an effective, well-defined and intelligent system.

The placing of the attendance and probation service on a sound merit basis, where officers do not have to consider political influence or “pull” to secure or retain their positions, the cultivation of a sentiment favorable to this form of social service, and the standardizing of the work of attendance and probation officers,—these three things are most necessary at the present time for the general development of the work. Efforts for securing better trained and better qualified persons are almost futile until we have accomplished that much.

The attendance officer, even more than the probation officer, needs to be elevated in the public esteem. He is too often regarded as the children's police, and has too often himself approached his problem in that spirit, to have established any extensive feeling of high regard for his work. The probation officer appeals at once to the public by the daily efforts of human interest in the upbuilding of individual and broken families, and by the popularity of the juvenile court. The work of attendance officers needs to be stated, developed and emphasized, for it is through them as a clearing house that many more children will be in the future cared for without recourse to the juvenile court.

Joint Section Meetings

THE COMMITTEES ON

**CHILDREN: FAMILIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS: and
LAWBREAKERS**

A SOCIAL POLICY FOR DEALING WITH THE RECREANT HUSBAND AND FATHER.

By Joseph C. Logan, Secretary of the Atlanta, Ga., Associated Charities.

In attempting to formulate a social policy for the treatment of the recreant husband and father, the two phases presented by nearly every instance of dependency must be especially considered namely, the need and the claim of the individual family and the future welfare of the community.

If only one of these phases is in the mind of those who would deal with this problem, they will fail both toward the individual and toward the community. If they forget that there can be no complete substitution for the husband and father any more than there can be a complete substitution for the mother, they may rob children of something which might have been preserved for them and for which no adequate return can be given. If they offer no aid because they fear to set an example which may encourage other men to neglect their families, they commit more apparent injustice.

The legal responsibility of the head of the family towards the support of the wife and children being a matter of comparatively recent development, is not yet crystallized into what the lawyers call custom. It is customary for men to support their own families but not to attempt to make other men do likewise. The permanence of any law depends upon custom—upon it the enforcement of law finally rests. Custom exercises a social control which is more effective than any other external influence in life.

That desertion and non-support are so common is due, I believe, to the fact that their consequences have not been realized, and this realization expressed in the administration of our laws.

There are no general statistics of desertion and non-support in America and I can give only suggestive figures.

Out of 22 annual reports of Charity Organization Societies for the year 1910, chosen at random, it was found that half of them, including

those of such cities as Cleveland, Philadelphia, Washington and Jacksonville, contained no figures on the subject. An examination of the eleven which did attempt some statistics, showed an average of 12 1-2 per cent of all cases to be deserted or non-supported families.

Chicago reported 1,204 deserted wives in a total of 14,195 cases, or 8 5-10 per cent. But in the same report is a chart prepared in 1907 of the causes of distress, direct or contributory, in 1,000 families, in which chart desertion was credited with 15 7-10 per cent. Pittsburg reported that out of 1,149 families with whom eight visitors became thoroughly familiar between October 1, 1909, and July 1, 1910, it was found that 479 or 42 per cent, were in distress because the man of the household had either run away or had habitually wasted his possible earnings in drink or unnecessary idleness.

Dr. Devine, in his Causes of Misery, found 10 per cent of the 5,000 cases of dependency which he studied, to be deserted women.

If the homeless men and single women in the foregoing reports, or studies, were eliminated from the total number of cases and the percentage was that of families dealt with, it would be considerably higher. If the non-support cases were always grouped with those of desertion, it is evident the percentage would be higher still. In the 5,000 cases studied by Dr. Devine, the non-support cases were equivalent to 2 per cent of the whole, raising the percentage of the two causes combined from ten to twelve per cent.

But no adequate conception of this problem can be attained by an examination of the experience of out-door relief agencies alone.

A census of the children in the day nurseries of Atlanta the first of May showed a total of 155, seventy-three of whom were neglected or deserted by their fathers. Of seventy-five children in the city orphanage, 26 were deserted. The Orphans Home of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church had 186 children, 65 of whom were deserted or abandoned by their fathers. One-third of the 99 inmates of the County reformatory (for boys under 16) came from deserted homes. Thirty-seven per cent of all the children in these institutions were children of recreant fathers. At the same time the Associated Charities was dealing with 51 deserted women, having 136 children.

These figures are given merely as suggestive, but there is no reason to suppose that they are abnormal, except the fact that there is among our population a considerable number of cotton mill operatives, among whom early marriages are frequent, and desertion unusually common.

While there is some awakening to the alarming extent of this evil, it is not general, and has taken no such root upon the public agencies as the campaign against child labor, tuberculosis, or housing reform. As referred to, Pittsburgh appointed a committee on the specific problem, Newark has made special effort to punish deserters, and Washington has set a pace for the rest of the country in securing and administering rational laws upon the subject. New York and Chicago have created Domes-

tie Relations Courts. The Hebrew Charities have established a National Desertion Bureau, and may be said to be more alive to the evil than any other group.

It is difficult to find deserters; when found, their wives often forgive them and refuse to prosecute; the percentage of recreant husbands and fathers who reform is small. Altogether, it is a discouraging field for charitable effort. Besides, new and wider duties have fallen fast in recent years upon those who have been in social work. They are taxed to the limits of their strength. Knowledge comes fresh from the Sage Foundation every week. Yet we always welcome light from that source, and a national study by it of the extent and social cost of desertion and non-support would help every agency which sought to emphasize its importance locally.

From the standpoint of individual localities what should be the program?

The treatment of dependency where desertion or non-support are present should follow the same fundamental principles which have been found essential with other types of poverty. There should be investigation of a more rigid character, if anything, than is insisted upon in other instances. This investigation should endeavor to find and bring the man back if he has gone away. It should determine, as soon as possible, whether reconciliation should be attempted and if so should seek every opportunity to re-weld family ties between man and wife. The man should always be seen if possible, as well as his relatives, former employers, friends, or acquaintances. These should later be enlisted either in a rehabilitation or a breaking up process. Through them the man can often be found. They, at least, can give some idea whether any reliance from a financial standpoint can be placed in him and can supply other essential information which can be had in no other way. Through investigation alone can it be determined whether the co-operation of the wife is sincere.

This investigation should be insisted upon, not only where the application is to an outdoor relief agency, but where it is to a day nursery or a child caring agency, institutional or otherwise. The assumption of the duties of the man, in some form or another, is involved in an appeal to any charitable agency by a deserted or neglected family.

The investigation should determine promptly whether persuasion is practicable, or whether, if the man be present in the family periodically, he should be eliminated, or, if he be absent, whether he can be found.

If persuasion can be applied, we should lean to it as offering the most adequate relief. We should broaden our conception of the persuasion to be exerted, so as to include all reasonable efforts to overcome by every resource available any remediable condition which may be influencing the man's action. If it be another woman, drive her away instead of driving the man from his family. If it be debt, pull him

out; if it be illness, cure him. Mr. Waldman contends with respect to the Jews, that drink has nothing to do with this problem. The conclusions of Miss Smith and Miss Brandt show that this is not true with respect to other races. In the 234 cases of desertion studied by Miss Smith, intemperance was given as the chief cause in 79 cases. In 574 which Miss Brandt analyzed it was present in 325. Says the 1910 report of the A. C. of Boston in a study of non-supporters, "In seeking the apparent causes of the failure to support, all but two conferences give intemperance as the chief, and 243 of the total number of 352 men are more or less habitual drunkards."

Here is a task in helping these men to overcome their handicaps. This conference is having a good deal to say concerning the treatment of drunkards, which may be applied in the treatment of the recreant husband.

In connection with an effort to help overcome misfortune, induced or accompanied by deficient character in the man, we cannot succeed by working with the man alone. The co-operation of his wife is essential to success. Things must be brightened up around him. With a realization of the wages of sin, should come some hope of the rewards of righteousness. Here lies an open field for the religious service of men who would win other men for God. There is no telling how much could be accomplished by the friendship of strong men to other weaker men who are failing in their duty to their families and losing their grip on all that is good and noble. The strong men have not fairly tried. To the women visitors who have won back to their duty towards their families men who have neglected them, must be yielded the palm for a faith and service that, generally speaking our men have not shown.

Cases could be cited to show that persuasion usually involving prolonged visiting may effect reconciliation and reformation, but if reconciliation does not succeed, the effort at persuasion need not make matters worse.

If this suggestion for treatment looking toward rehabilitation by private agencies is sound, we must all be conscious of our shortcomings with respect to it. Too often, we prolong the agony by doles, or count the man out in the first round, and proceed to "provide" for the wife and children by encouraging the wife to work herself to death while the children develop the consequences of neglect. Either course is indifferent and unjust. Either destroys hope for the family as a unit.

Persuasion will naturally involve probation if improvement is not forthcoming through private efforts alone. If the probation system is inefficient it will supply no power which the private agency cannot exert, and will merely prolong the evil conditions. Our experience has been that probation will often succeed with non-supporting husbands where private efforts are ineffective.

A requirement of probation should be the application of the man's

earnings for his family, preferably through payment to the probation officer of a given amount regularly. If he remains in the family, his earnings, even to the last tithe, should go to them if necessary for a decent standard of living. The court should consider the wife and children first.

The court that permits a recreant father to keep ample spending money for himself, while the wife must go outside her home to supplement what he provides under the court's order, is sacrificing the woman and children to the man's self indulgence.

If the man fails to avail himself of the opportunities of private persuasion and aid, and to mend his ways under probation, he should be further prosecuted and his punishment should be to labor in bondage for his family under an indeterminate sentence.

Desertion and non-support must not only be viewed as a crime as serious as any in the decalogue, but treated as such in the enforcement of the law. It is blighting the lives of thousands of children every year. Carry out in your imagination how many thousands are being thus affected in America with its population of upwards of a hundred million, if in the one community from which I come, there are 333 known out of a population of a hundred and fifty thousand. It makes no difference from the standpoint of the character of the offense whether it is affecting one hundred thousand American children at a given time, or five hundred thousand. Were it consistent with spiritual law, many of them had better be brained by their fathers at one blow than left to recruit the army of evil with dependence and disease and crime. Wives and children who are left dependent by desertion are victims of torture, if not of death.

Desertion in Georgia, as in most of the other states, is a misdemeanor and, with us, punishment of offenses which do not arouse public indignation is largely a matter of business with prosecuting officials who have fees involved. The prosecution of non-supporters and deserters ends too often in reconciliation, temporary at least, to make the officials enthusiastic about it. Even in those communities where the fees are eliminated a reconciliation leaves no showing in convictions. When last year one of our influential county commissioners was approached to urge that the county send for a man who left a wife and five children dependent, he replied that he had rather pay the money out of his own pocket than set a precedent which would cost the community thousands of dollars.

Should not every social agency in a community combine to break down such ignorance and indifference? To do this, they must develop a new social viewpoint toward the problem of the recreant husband and father, which throughout, demands patient but unflagging efforts to utilize the man for his home—in the home, if possible—in the penitentiary, if necessary.

A great stride will be taken in the development of this viewpoint

when the social agencies of any community tackle the problem together. To get together, they must first admit their limitations and co-operate intelligently. Success depends primarily upon good case work by organized charity and children's agencies—case work which not only illustrates its opportunities and finds the weakness in its facilities, but which builds up, in pragmatic form, knowledge of the extent and effects of the evil.

Following the revelations of such case work we may expect all children's institutions to defer action with respect to the children until persuasion has been tried, and to add their hearty support to progressive measures.

We may look for decisive action on the part of the courts as to probation or confinement of the man, and greater readiness to force from him the means to enable mother and children to maintain a decent standard of living together.

We may look for a public sentiment which will demand the enactment and enforcement of laws which make this more practicable.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF FAMILY DESERTION AND NON-SUPPORT LAWS.

By William H. Baldwin, Washington, D. C.

(Abstract*.)

The importance of the subject of family desertion and non-support has not decreased during the last six years. A former paper on the subject was presented in 1905. Of the replies received to the question addressed to many charitable societies throughout the country, as to whether the evil was decreasing or increasing, 9 per cent. declared that it is decreasing, 27 per cent. thought it stationary, while 64 per cent. declared that it is increasing. It still occupies a large place in the work of every charity organization society, and the economic burden which it imposes rests heavily on other agencies also.

The importance of the subject is emphasized in the social problems connected with children, where it has come to be more fully understood that juvenile delinquency is often the direct result of lack of proper provision for the physical wants of the child, and that food and clothing must precede moral teaching and discipline to render them effective.

An examination of the laws of all the states at the beginning of 1905 showed that desertion or non-support was a misdemeanor in 40 states, a felony in 4 and a quasi-criminal offense in 1, while in 4 there was no law on the subject.

*Full text of this article may be obtained by writing to the author, Mr. William H. Baldwin, 1415 First St., Washington, D. C.

Since then, 14 states have passed laws making the offense misdemeanor, 11 states have made it felony, and 4 states have provided for compensation of the families of men under sentence. Nineteen other laws passed by various states relate to details concerning the definition, the evidence or other features of the law. In addition to this, 18 states have passed 20 laws, making contributory dependency or responsibility, on the part of adults, for dependency and neglect in the case of children, a misdemeanor, punishable in many cases by a fine of \$1,000 or imprisonment for one year or both.

In this legislation, three principal tendencies are discernible: 1. To make the offense felony, for the purpose of securing the extradition of offenders and to make a greater impression upon them. 2. To hold parents or guardians responsible to the juvenile court when they do or omit any acts which contribute to the dependency or neglect, as well as to the delinquency, of the children for whom they are responsible. 3. To establish special courts for dealing with cases of non-support and neglect, known as Domestic Relations Courts. This last development is the most recent and not the least important.

The offense to which these laws relate is peculiar. In reality it consists in failure to support the family. Non-support at first glance seems to be a private matter. It becomes a public offense when society is obliged to furnish support for the family, or when lack of it destroys the home and demoralizes the children. It should therefore be punished, but the punishment is difficult because the question is complicated by the private relations involved.

Considering the man only, it would be quite proper to give him a longer sentence than the pickpocket, for instance, but to do so would simply aggravate the injury to the family. The indignation so justly felt in behalf of innocent women and helpless children, has prompted the enactment of some laws involving very severe punishment. So far as these deter others from similar acts they may be beneficial; but regard for the interests of the family suggests that in this offense, more than in any other, it is best to seek first, whenever possible, to restore the normal family relations.

It is the conflict between this appreciation of the gravity of the offense and a regard for the family which has led to such diverse provisions in the various laws. The ultimate purpose of all these laws is to oblige the offender to support the family, and to diminish the burden which non-support lays upon the community.

The number of states having felony laws has been increased from 4 to 13. The reason for the change to felony in almost all of these has been to make extradition of deserters who have gone to other states possible. It was wholly unnecessary to make the change on this account, but there was also, in some cases, a belief that a more severe punishment would be more effective.

Prosecuting officers usually think the severity of the law an

advantage, because it enables them to use the possible punishment as a club to secure compliance with the law, without an actual trial. Almost all these laws contain provisions for release on a bond or promise to furnish support or to comply with an order to pay a certain sum at stated intervals. So far as the terror inspired by a possible state prison sentence prompts the man to do his duty, it is an advantage. On the other hand, those who are interested in the families and in the results which the prosecutions have on them, see that the wife hesitates to charge her husband with felony, that having been nerved by ill-treatment to do this she is likely to relent, and that there are difficulties connected with the more severe charge which are absent from a proceeding which is confined to the inferior courts.

On account of the especial fitness of the juvenile court to deal with questions involving family relations, there has been a growing tendency to give it preference over the ordinary courts by bringing in it cases of non-support involving children, either under the contributory dependency provision of the juvenile court law, or by the transfer to it of the work formerly done under the non-support law by the police or municipal courts or justices.

The first Domestic Relations Court was instituted in March, 1909, in Buffalo, N. Y., and reorganized July 1, 1910. The method of procedure followed is for the court to ascertain, with the help of a good probation officer, the status of the case when it first comes up. The first object sought is reconciliation, next rebuilding of character, and then the collection of money for the support of wife and children. In the beginning attorneys were sometimes employed by one or both sides, but after it was found that the court acted in the interests of both sides, the employment of attorneys became infrequent.

When other efforts fail the court sends the defendant to the penitentiary for six months in default of a bond to support. It is unfortunate that hard labor cannot be made a part of this sentence, and that the man's confinement means that the total support of the family, while it lasts, falls on the public authorities or private charity; but it is stated that the men are usually willing to support their families before the expiration of the term, and if so, they are released on probation. These excellent methods are having the results which might be expected. The number of imprisonments is small, and the collections, which were less than \$2,000 in 1909, rose to \$40,000 in 1910 and are now being made at the rate of \$5,000 a month, with a tendency to increase.

A Domestic Relations Court was established in Manhattan and another in Brooklyn on September 1, 1910. These courts have jurisdiction in all cases of non-support in which the offender is charged with being a disorderly person, as well as those involving failure to support poor relatives, and two magistrates were assigned to each. The Department of Charities and Correction has also established a

Bureau of Domestic Relations adjacent to each court to which application for relief usually comes first, and this bureau has been able to adjust many cases, and relieve the court of a great deal of work.

There are, however, some drawbacks. First, the court in Manhattan has no adequate system of probation, and the lack of it is only imperfectly supplied by the Bureau of Domestic Relation. Second, the courts can not punish as they deserve the men who fail to comply with its orders or who, for any other reason, need such punishment. The limit of the workhouse sentence is six months, and the labor connected with it is not so hard as to be a deterrent. All contribution to the family stops when imprisonment begins, and the result is that in many cases the wife soon joins her husband in asking for his release. Third, the Domestic Court of Manhattan can not dispose, as the city court of Buffalo can, of those non-support cases in which the charge is misdemeanor under Sec. 482 of the Penal Law, of which there is a considerable number, but must bind them over to the Court of Special Sessions for final action. This restricts the control of the court over these cases. Further than this, because a disorderly person is only a quasi-criminal, the court is unable, in most of the cases which come before it, to reach the offender if he has gone, or afterward goes, out of the state, a thing easy for him to do on account of the geographical position of New York City.

Possibly under the influence of what has been done in Buffalo and New York City, a Domestic Relations Court has been established as a part of the Municipal Court of Chicago. This court was given jurisdiction over all violations of certain city ordinances relating to offenses in connection with minors, and also of violations of certain state laws relating to desertion, contributory dependency or delinquency, etc. The court began operations April 3, 1911. The Chicago court does not have jurisdiction in certain cases involving cruelty, drunkenness or disorderly conduct as related to husband and wife.

The account given of these Domestic Relations Courts, in which the judges specially interested in the subject are dealing in a comprehensive and intelligent manner with cases of non-support, with the definite purpose not so much of punishing the offender as of preserving or restoring the normal condition of the family, furnishes the strongest evidence of a growing realization of the importance of this subject, and of the particular difficulties connected with it.

To give the Domestic Relations Courts in Buffalo and New York City complete jurisdiction over all cases of failure to support wife or children, whether accompanied by abandonment or not, would be a logical and reasonable development of the present situation. The Domestic Relations Court in Chicago under the present law of Illinois, where the offense is a misdemeanor, has such jurisdiction and can reach deserters in other states.

Some General Considerations.

Consideration of all the facts brought out indicates that the offense should be misdemeanor, and not felony. There are only two reasons for raising the offense to felony, the desire to be able to reach deserters in other states, and an impulse to inflict a severe punishment in order more effectually to repress the evil. The first of these is much the more influential, but is wholly without foundation, while the other is only partly so.

The widespread, but entirely mistaken impression that extradition under a misdemeanor charge is impossible has done much to protect deserters. This impression is probably due to the fact, not only that local authorities do not care ordinarily to go to the expense of bringing back minor offenders, but also to the fact that Governors discourage extradition for petty crimes, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Conference of Governors on Inter-State Extradition, which was held in 1887.

On the other hand, there are good reasons why the offense should not be made felony. (a) The severity of the law hinders prosecutions, and acts as a deterrent upon the wife. (b) Lack of power in the lower court weakens procedure. Cases are usually begun before a magistrate, and often do not get farther, because the man is released on a bond or promise to support. The disadvantage is that the lower court has no power to punish, and can only threaten to bind over for severe treatment, instead of giving the man the alternative of imprisonment with hard labor, if he does not change his course. (c) Conviction is not so easy, for if the case reaches the higher courts as felony, juries are not likely to convict.

National Desertion Bureau.

A noteworthy development has taken place in connection with the United Hebrew Charities of New York. Partly as the result of a report on abandonment made at the Conference of Jewish Charities in St. Louis, in 1910, they established a bureau in charge of a skilful attorney, who succeeded in locating, in nine months, 174 deserters out of 249 who were brought to his attention. Encouraged by this success, the National Desertion Bureau was formed, with which the members of the Jewish Conference in all parts of the country co-operate. Their machinery has been very successful and interesting. There is no reason why those in states where the offense is only a misdemeanor should not participate in this excellent scheme for reaching men who are avoiding their family duties.

It should be remembered also that Ohio, New York and Indiana, which have felony laws and which stand in the first rank as to their efforts in dealing with this evil, as well as Michigan, also have laws making the offense a misdemeanor or a quasi-crime, and that it is under

these laws that all but a small proportion of the prosecutions are carried on.

While no law is good which does not permit of extradition, it is much more important that the law should be so framed that it will secure the best results in ordinary non-support cases, and in those in which it is not necessary to go outside the state, than it is to have it effective in reaching men who desert to other states, of which the number is relatively smaller, and who cannot be reached under any charge without considerable trouble and expense. It is unfortunate, therefore, that there should be such a feeling that it is necessary to make the offense felony on this account.

Important Points in Desertion and Non-support Prosecution.

1. The case when brought should be heard in a court especially devoted to the subject of family relations, rather than to other crimes or property interests, whenever it is possible, by any adjustment of the judicial machinery to arrange for this. If the volume of the work connected with this subject is not sufficient to occupy the whole of a court, it should be arranged that all non-support and desertion cases should be heard by the same court, and if possible at stated times in separate sessions.

2. Whatever the arrangement about the work of the court may be, good results can not be obtained if the judges are changed from time to time. The work of such a court can best be done by a judge who realizes fully the importance of the problems with which he is dealing, and by a kind of natural selection such men are likely to be chosen for such places.

3. The punishment should always be with hard labor; no non-support law can be effective without this stimulus to the delinquent husband; and it should be certain, not optional with the judge.

4. There should be some reasonable compensation for this labor. In several states and in the District of Columbia, the law requires that forty or fifty cents a day be paid to the family of the man while he is at work in the reformatory or work house. The advantage of such a provision is that it permits the judge to punish the man without also punishing the family. The effect on the man is salutary, and as a machine for relieving the state of the expense of supporting either the man or his family, this arrangement more than pays for itself, and the idea that the money paid for the labor is a burden on the state or county is a decided mistake.

5. The court in which cases are tried should have an adequate force of probation officers, in order to be able to investigate the cases carefully before the court renders its decision, and also to follow up the men released on orders to support and see that payments are regularly made.

6. There should be a systematic method of making collections. This can best be done by keeping a record of the orders, and the dates when payments are due, in the court, and by promptly following up any delinquent through the probation officers. Men who will pay a small sum each week if watched will be less likely to pay if the sums are allowed to accumulate. In some places it is customary to order the payment made directly to the wife, and this would be the best way if only the court knew that the payments were being made, because it brings in no outside influence between husband and wife.

7. The law should provide that the order to support shall continue so long as the court thinks it necessary.

8. Any person may make the complaint when an offense against the public has been committed. The agent of any organization interested in such cases already has this right, therefore, and the only question is as to how or when it shall be exercised. In many cases it is better that the case should be begun by some one other than the wife, when she is deterred by fear, or there is a probability that the chance of reconciliation will be less if she acts.

9. As to including illegitimate children in the law, 54 replies out of 61 to the question think they should be included, though of these, 7 say they have had no experience, and only 7 say that the present law is adequate, or express any doubt about including them. In many cases present laws embrace only a civil proceeding, with inadequate support for a limited number of years, and in some states there are no laws. The question of including them therefore depends on local conditions, but it is important that in one way or other support for them be ensured.

It is perhaps not essential that there be uniformity in non-support and desertion laws, but the selection of the best tends to uniformity. The Commission on Uniform State Laws, after several years study and deliberation, adopted a uniform law at its meeting in August last, which has already been passed by Kansas, Massachusetts, and perhaps other states, and was introduced in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and some others. On the principle that its work should not be too radical, and should take the line of least resistance, the Commission left the grade of the crime and the matter of hard labor undecided, expecting the statutes to settle those points as they saw fit. A modified form, which clears up these points, and makes several minor changes which further study has suggested, but which in other respects follows the language of the Uniform Law, has been drawn up by the author of this article. Lack of space forbids its presentation here*.

It is important that we take a reasonable view of this subject, and that we do not let the impulse to punish make us forget the true

*A copy of this modified form of the Uniform Law is given in the full text of this address which may be obtained by writing to the author, Mr. Wm. H. Baldwin, 1415 First St., Washington, D. C.

purpose of the law, which is to overcome the evil. This can best be done by making the offense misdemeanor, with an adequate punishment by hard labor and a reasonable but certain compensation for the family, so that all non-support cases, whether accompanied by desertion or not, can be tried in one of the lower courts, which shall have full jurisdiction in working promptly, patiently and steadily for the best results to the family and the community.

DISCUSSION.

MISS MINNIE F. LOW.—While the possibility of court action in dealing with the recreant husband and father is engaging the attention of social experts, the possibility of non-court action is the vital principle involved in dealing with such delinquents. Court action should be, and I trust is, the last resort in the category of social usefulness. The recreant husband and father is the cause of much suffering and distress, of untold heartaches and despair, of family disintegration and collapse, of demoralization and delinquency in the young. Family life is the foundation of the state, and the man who deliberately and maliciously disrupts it, is a menace to society, dangerous to its well-being.

In justice to the recreant husband and father, however, dare we say that the entire burden of blame rests upon him? Are there not mitigating circumstances, which in some measure shift the responsibility to society, which censures, condemns and convicts?

The recreant husband and father, is found in every rank of society. The social worker has no place in the adjustment of domestic difficulties, unless distress or privation of some sort enters into the reckoning. "Money covers a multitude of sins." The man who supports his family, can do as he sees fit, unless his wife complains, which she seldom does. She more often covers up and hides from public view, the many blows that strike at home and happiness. It is in sheer desperation, when the wolf is at the door, or the mental anguish becomes wholly unbearable, that many a peace-loving, sensitive little wife or mother seeks the friendly aid of an organized agency.

Where preference for the company of other women, drink, gambling or other vices enter into the problem, disorganizing and disrupting family life, it is not always possible to find a line of action that will be effective and create a radical change for the better. Be this as it may, moral suasion, I firmly believe, in ordinary instances, should be the first step. Litigation should be a last resort, and no action should be instituted unless every resource and every ingenious plan devised by experts has been exhausted.

While the recreant husband and father is a sad reality, the family difficulty question is by no means a hopeless one. As a result of persistent demand made upon us by the neighborhood people, the Bureau

of Personal Service became involved in an array of marital troubles, demanding much time, thought and attention. Both men and women sought our advice in family matters. We never take definite action in any given matter, until parties are heard. When a complaint is made against a man for non-support, cruelty or other misdemeanor, resulting in family neglect, he is asked to call at the office at a certain time. The person making the complaint is asked to call at the same hour. After an exhaustive hearing of both sides of the controversy, we try to render an impartial decision. The obligations we impose upon the head of the family are usually complied with. While there are exceptions, the usual result of our effort is to get and maintain a proper adjustment without court action.

A deplorable fact, discovered early in our career, was that many persons go to police stations in their immediate neighborhoods, to air grievances, real and imaginary. To do away with petty, degrading litigation and adjust the less serious complaints, we have one of our social workers at the local police station each morning. Through her efforts litigation between husbands and wives, parents and children, and between neighbors has been reduced to the minimum. The courts have commented favorably upon this particular branch of our work. In fact, there is no more responsive body in the City of Chicago than the men upon the bench, who, together with the police department, have become our strongest allies.

Prevention of litigation, is also the principle persistently applied by the Juvenile Protective Association, as well as by the Legal Aid Society. These two organizations, with the Bureau of Personal Service, have kept more than three thousand, five hundred live cases along the lines of domestic difficulty and non-support, out of the courts of Chicago during the past year. In all matters pertaining to the above classifications, where marital happiness is at stake, arbitration and conciliation are the aim.

In instances where husbands and fathers are not providing sufficient support, or where such contributions have entirely ceased, we require the men, whether living at home or apart from their families, to bring a weekly allowance to the office. Realizing that the law requires them to support their children, and that court action will follow failure to do so, the great majority comply with our demands. We are very careful not to make these demands excessive, or to handicap the men from properly maintaining themselves. In cases where their income is not sufficient to meet the family obligations, after deducting the amount required for their own maintenance, the family income is supplemented by aid provided by the relief department of the Jewish Charities.

During our last fiscal year, from May 1, 1910, to May 1, 1911, we collected a trifle less than seventeen thousand dollars from recreant husbands and fathers. We had in all 490 domestic difficulty cases, involving questions of support, cruelty and incompatibility; of this

number 429 were disposed of in the office and only 61, or about 8 per cent were referred to the court. The money that went directly into the family coffers, where reconciliations were effected and the heads of families turned over their earnings to their wives, is not included in the sum above mentioned.

The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, having twelve district offices, registered 2,417 complaints under the same classifications, and found it necessary to prosecute only 10 per cent of all such complaints.

The Legal Aid Society handled 893 original complaints during the past year. The majority of these were adjusted out of court. When as a last resort we and the other societies mentioned, institute proceedings, the courts appreciating the nature of our work, enter into the merits of each case in a spirit of true helpfulness.

A few of our cities are carrying the idea of humane social service emphasized in the Juvenile Court into the courts dealing with problems concerning adults. I refer principally to the Domestic Relations Courts, in which the City of New York has taken such an active lead. On the first day of April of this year, Chicago formally opened such a court. For years prior to the opening of this official tribunal, the established social agencies unofficially heard, decided and acted upon matters identical with those to be found on the daily calendar of the Domestic Relations Court. This court exemplifies the fact that social service has invaded our judicial system, and that social workers play an important part in the human problems incident to litigation, where persons and not property are the vital question at issue. The establishment of this court in Chicago was the direct outgrowth of the social work developed by philanthropic and protective associations. The Juvenile Protective Association has one of its workers at the court every day to listen to complaints, take histories and give advice.

While the law is back of the Domestic Relations Court, and while the presence of the judge lends dignity to the proceedings when it is necessary to take matters before him, the plan, the idea and the spirit, embody the fundamental principles of true philanthropy. The man, the woman, the child, what is best for them, for the home and for society, are the questions paramount in the minds of those engaged in formulating the policy of this new court.

One of the most useful laws we have on our statute books today is the Contributing Act. Parents, guardians or persons having the custody of children can be prosecuted for contributing to their dependency, neglect or delinquency, and if found guilty can be punished by fine and imprisonment. The court can, however, use discretion in suspending sentence and release the defendant from custody on probation upon his entering into a recognizance with or without sureties, in such sums as the court may direct.

All such matters, as well as domestic troubles, are heard in the

Domestic Relations Court. This law makes it possible to take criminal action against men who live at home and refuse to support their children, where, technically speaking, the act of abandonment has not occurred.

The problem of desertion has caused all people regardless of creed well-founded concern. The National Conference of Jewish Charities recently established a National Desertion Bureau with headquarters in New York City. Co-operation has been established between all the larger and many smaller communities throughout the states.

The Bureau is run in a systematic, business-like manner. The Jewish press has taken kindly to the idea, and is the great medium through which publicity has been attained. Pictures of deserting husbands, when it is possible to secure them, are published in papers having a country wide circulation. Although the National Desertion Bureau is still in an experimental stage, having been organized about six months ago, results are encouraging. Concerted action on the part of all the communities facing the desertion problem among Jews, must eventually result in some definite conclusions for the good of society.

It is my earnest hope that this great National Conference of Charities and Correction will not adjourn without appointing a National Committee on Desertion to work together with the Jewish Committee for the good of all humanity. We come together year after year to talk about our troubles, but we do nothing definite. The time has come when we must act and act together as a unit if we ever expect to suppress, hold in check or abolish family desertion with all its attending evils.

THE COMMITTEE ON

CHILDREN: and FAMILIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF RURAL NEW ENGLAND.

By John R. Howard, Jr., Secretary of the Thomas Thompson Trust, Boston.

My paper is the result of a rapid survey of the twenty-one small towns in one county in Vermont. The county is bounded on one side by the Connecticut River and the land rises from there into steep, rocky hills, from 200 to 1,800 feet above sea level. Six of the towns are on the Connecticut River and are served by two railroads; two of these towns, being much larger than the others, will be left out of the survey and will be spoken of hereafter as the "big towns." One good sized stream and a railroad serve four more of the towns in the North and two others are similarly served in the west. The other twelve towns are from three to thirteen miles from any railroad, for the most part over rough, hilly roads.

The oldest town was settled in 1740 and the youngest in 1780. In 1830 the small towns had a population of 24,500; they have now about 13,000, a decrease of 46 per cent. In the same time the two "big towns" in the county increased from 4,400 to 13,000, an increase of 212 per cent. About two-thirds of the population live on outlying farms, the average distance between farms being about one-half mile. The smallest town has no village church or school; it has five voters and, at a recent election, went dry by one vote. There are eleven villages in the twenty-one towns, with ten inhabitants in the smallest and about four hundred in the largest.

The decrease in population is partially accounted for by the fact that, when first settled, the community was over-populated, much land not suited for farming being occupied. Only about one-third of the county is fit for agriculture and the balance is hardly yet struck. The population is nearly all poor native stock; a few French Canadians are found where lumbering is going on and a few Irish in the larger villages. There have been 6,360 births and 6,465 deaths in the last twenty-five years.

Here, as elsewhere, the enterprising young people leave for the cities. Of young men and maidens and middle-aged people there are few, and these not equal to the old people in intelligence, physical vigor and hopefulness. Against this steady outflow there is beginning a small counter current from farms of states to the West and from cities.

The farms in the fertile regions are managed with fair intelligence and some approach to modern methods. Such farms, however, are few compared to the many which are managed in the old-fashioned, slipshod manner. The distance from shipping stations discourages enterprise. Farm wages average \$25 a month and board for single men, \$35 a month and tenement for married men. Other labor is paid \$1.50 a day.

Besides the lumber operations by outside capital, there are in nearly every town two or three saw-mills, occasionally a grist-mill and further, a basket factory, glove shop, gasoline engine factory, tannery, a few creameries and one large water-power plant.

As there is only one licensed town in the county, all liquor must come in by express. There is much drinking among the lumber men, a few in each village who drink to excess, and the usual cider always in hay time. There are two halls in the county where dances are had, at which considerable liquor is consumed, but it is brought in by individuals for their own consumption. There is little social drinking anywhere. In every town, however, liquor can be obtained by those who know where to get it.

In the last five years there have been five arrests for drunkenness in the twenty-one towns, and ten for breach of the peace. In the same time there have been half a dozen prosecutions for the illegal sale of liquors.

The moral conditions are, on the whole, surprisingly good, but in two of the villages there are nests of immorality which pervade the whole village. In one of these there is a house of prostitution, the only thing of the kind in the county. Sexual relations are loose in some of the remote hill towns and there are a few weak-minded women who are known to be prostitutes.

Recorded crimes are few. Examination of newspapers show two men "sent up" in the last four years, one for stealing a horse and one for assault. A trial for murder is now in process. There is one boy from this section in the State Industrial School, who has been there a number of years. The three boys getting into court in the past four years were put on probation.

A special study of poor relief in five typical towns for the past ten years, showed an average of \$489 per town per year, or 48c per inhabitant. Of this 10 per cent. went to the doctors, although only one of the five towns has a resident doctor. In four of the five towns an intimate history of everyone aided in the ten years was obtained. Of the thirty-one families the causes of incapacity were: mental weakness, 8; old age, 6; sickness, 6; drink, 3; widowhood, 3; shiftlessness, blindness, morphine, tuberculosis, each one. The refreshing thing about the poor relief seems to be that, except for occasional tramps or devastating family disaster, emergency relief has no place, the old-time neighborly kindness making it unnecessary. In every one of the towns where the relief was studied, one or more of the paupers or mentally deficient was traced back to one family, known throughout the county for its moral pervers.

The only recreation in these towns is found in the socials held by the Grange and churches once a month. Seven of the towns have no hall of any kind in which to hold such socials, consequently they are held in church buildings where there is no dancing possible. Each of the other towns has a Grange hall or a Town hall, and the Grange, after its secret business meeting for members only, opens its doors to the entire community for the social entertainment and dancing.

In addition to the Grange there are Good Templars in one town, the Odd Fellows in four and the Masons in two. The village which seems best to be holding its young people from going away, has seven lodges among its 250 people and, at present, no religious service but Sunday School. Something happens there nearly twice a week. This is in one of the fertile townships where less labor brings larger returns and work is given a secondary place to living. Three miles further from the railway than the other village in the township which enjoys the same fertility, it is bigger, cleaner and more alive.

These church and Grange socials are attended chiefly by those in the villages; many of those on the farms, particularly in Winter, find it impossible to attend. Three or four of the towns are within driving distance of the "big towns," where the moving picture show and au

occasional play are to be seen, but for many in the hill towns, such an excursion is an event. Outside of the village there are men whose only social diversion is to come to the post office twice a week and, in fully two-thirds of the territory the rural delivery has removed even that incentive to sociability. Some of the women do not leave the farms twice a year.

There are 43 churches in the 41 villages of the twenty-one towns. The average number of members is 50. There are 42 Sunday schools, with an average membership of 58. Considering the church and Sunday school members as different individuals, there remains two-thirds of the population without apparent church connection. Of the 36 churches from which statistics were gathered, the average value of the church property was \$3,300; the average expenses, including the minister's salary, \$552. Where there are two churches in the village the antagonism is sometimes quite sharp, as where, in one town, each church had its own grocery store for years, the members adhering very strictly to their respective stores. The preaching is of the old-fashioned, doctrinal kind, and, as an extremely intelligent woman in one of the towns remarked, "It is a sign of progress that the men won't go to hear them."

There are 124 public schools in the twenty-one towns, 28 of them graded. The length of the school session varies from 28 to 36 weeks. There are 157 school houses, 49 of which are now unoccupied. Ninety per cent. of the school houses have one room and one teacher; 9 per cent. have two and one three. There was one new school house built in 1910; one had new furniture. Ninety-five of the 124 schools have dictionaries or reference books; 13 have libraries with an average of 28 volumes. Twelve of the twenty-one towns have public libraries with an average number of 1,500 volumes, but few of them have reference books, so that they do not serve the schools and belong in another category. Eight of the schools, $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., have 8 pupils or less; 40 per cent. have from 8 to 15 pupils; 41 per cent. from 15 to 25; and 11 per cent. have more than 25. There are 178 teachers, of whom 78 are men. The men receive an average of \$37 a month, which includes what is paid for their board, the women \$35.

Thirty-three per cent. of all the teachers have been in the school one term; 23 per cent., two terms; 25 per cent., three terms or one year; and 19 per cent. more than one year. In most of the towns it is difficult to get teachers and, in a few towns where it is easy, one wonders what kind they can be. In one hill town, out of thirteen teachers engaged, only eight put in an appearance.

In the twenty-one towns there are 530 children between 5 and 8 years of age, 80 per cent. of whom attend school; 1,663 between 8 and 15, 98 per cent. of whom attend school; and 492 between 15 and 18, 57 per cent. of whom attend school. There are 16 pupils over 18 years of age. Of the children between 15 and 18, 89 per cent. of the boys

attend school and 87 per cent. of the girls. These are the reported figures, but they are probably much higher than the actual numbers. There are two high schools and one academy among these towns, with 16, 42 and 28 pupils respectively. In addition, there are 21 pupils in secondary schools outside the state and 160 advanced pupils in the elementary schools of the towns.

The average school tax for 1910 was 57c on a dollar of the "grand list," or \$100 of assessed valuation. The average amount received was \$2,960, two-thirds from the local tax, one-third from the state. The average cost of the schools in 1910 was \$15 per school per week, or \$22.60 per pupil per year. Ten years ago the cost per pupil was \$14.50, the tax rate 47c as against the present 57c.

The amount spent for schools is 38 per cent. of the total expenditure of the towns. Twenty-seven per cent. is spent for maintaining roads, 5 per cent. for the poor and the other 30 per cent. for officers, police, bridges, elections, interest, labor, and the hundred and one miscellaneous items of a town's budget.

To sum up, the facts to be faced in these towns are as follows: (1) A constantly decreasing population, the remnant being made up of the aged and the weak, for the most part without joy in living; (2) the beginnings of a movement back to the country; (3) large regions unsuited to productive farming or at an embarrassing distance from the markets; (4) poor schools with neither the money nor the social life to attract good teachers; (5) weak churches without the money to procure good ministers or a realization of the need of spiritual leadership; (6) a great dearth of recreation; (7) a large proportion of men, women and children isolated from normal social relationships; (8) a people without leaders.

RURAL HEALTH CONDITIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

By Mrs. Edith E. Powers, Pennsdale, Penna.

(Extracts).

In comparing the standard of living in the country with that of the city, the student is bound to confess that there are great difficulties in the way of tabulating any one set of conditions as more normal than any other set. Side by side with the use of obsolete English forms such as "You be, and I be," and "done" for "did," you will find in some sections considerable reading of good literature. But it is true of Pennsylvania conditions as I know them that there is almost no reading among the farmers except of the weekly or tri-weekly local newspaper.

The food consumed by farmers is only too good. There is great variety. Numerous brands of dressed cabbage, (I have seen five at

Grange Picnics), marvelous and delicious layer cakes, flaky pie crust and spicy cookies make up for overdone meat and underdone bread.

I have just finished making a brief study of what a city man could have who earns \$25 a week and what a farmer gets who lives approximately on the same scale; the comparison shows up enormously in favor of the farmer. Of course we know it does in the fresh air and sunshine line! The standard of living depends everywhere upon the necessities and luxuries which are within one's reach and upon the ability to have or not to have plenty of rooms, bed, and bath, and dining rooms especially.

In cities where rents are high there is overcrowding of bedrooms and this alone will lower the standard of living. This may be true in the country but it is not likely to be. The standard of cleanliness in cooking is high but the standard of bodily cleanliness is not high, especially in winter, because of the almost universal absence of bath rooms and running water in the houses.

There is better health throughout country neighborhoods than in cities, because of fresh air and unheated bed-rooms, yet sanitarians have called attention to the fact that the death rate in the cities is falling more rapidly than in the rural districts. This is the case undoubtedly because there is a want of supervision of health in rural districts and epidemics get underway which there is no sufficient organization to check. In one rural county in an Eastern state a physician reports the following:

"No township seems to have deliberately paid its health officer, and but one town deliberately paid its poor physician. The others paid various bills for 'quarantine' and 'fumigating' and 'fees' and other misleading items. There was no way in which to distinguish between the care of the poor and the sick poor except to guess, and to figure on what I happened to know about. A——, the richest and largest township has no health officers, and spent \$200 for the poor in a population of 4,000 people living in an area of 93 square miles. B——, the poorest township, with a population of 1,000 and an area of 36 square miles, paid her health officer \$28 and her poor physician \$23. One township has 2,170 inhabitants living in 51 square miles of territory worth one and one-eighth million dollars. Its supervisor is paid \$352.95 a year for a few days' work. Its officers are paid \$612.95. It costs \$274.79 each year to elect these officers and I understand each township is to spend about \$5,000 for good roads. The health officer that cares for these 2,000 people over 51 miles of territory gets \$42.53 a year and the poor physician \$34, while the sick poor get helped to the munificent sum of \$59.36 or 2 1-2 cents from each citizen. The health officers get almost exactly 2 cents a head for caring for the inhabitants over 51 square miles of land. The supervisor gets out of each inhabitant seventeen cents a year, the officers get 30 cents, while the sick poor take from each citizen almost 3 cents. The discrepancy is too glaring

to need comment. A community assessed a million dollars and probably worth two millions spends \$40 a year on public health and \$60 a year on one-sixteenth of its population for sickness."

In old times epidemics were not so common in country neighborhoods as now, and this was no doubt due to the virgin soil and unpolluted waters which were free from germs as they are not free at present. Today the city has recognized the farm's disease germs as the chief source of contamination in the milk supply.

The farmer's disease germs are chiefly induced by the privy or out house, the well, the barn yard and the slaughter house. There is no adequate health inspection of rural districts. When the circumstances under which healthful surroundings are procurable are under the immediate control of each individual household they are apt to be perverted through ignorance and neglect. Cities have learned to control the selfishness of individuals in all questions of health but in the country the farmer patiently puts up with a nuisance maintained by his neighbor in order that his neighbor may show similar lenience toward his nuisance. The moderns are preaching the installation of modern plumbing on the farm, but the final word has not been spoken, for this is one of the luxuries which the farmer cannot afford to have until better education brings better farming and better farming brings more money into the farmers' pockets. In the garden spots of Pennsylvania where fifty bushels of wheat are raised to the acre, the farmer has modern plumbing, but it is safe to say that on the average Pennsylvania farm producing 18 to 20 bushels of wheat to the acre, farmers cannot afford anything better than the outside privy. Ways of making this sanitary they could practice.

Almost the whole of the rural population depends upon the shallow wells for its water supply and much of the sanitary oversight occurring in these districts centres about this point. Many an epidemic has been traced to such a source, small household epidemics they usually are; sometimes, however, the "town-pump" becomes infected and a whole village suffers. A case of this kind happened in a small village near our home when I was a child and 60 out of the 80 inhabitants became ill with typhoid fever and 10 died. The privy or out-house with its rarely emptied cess pool contaminates the ground on which it stands, and the ground water which percolates through the soil infects the well.

The conditions of the average manure pile and the country slaughter houses are unabated nuisances also, but people endure these things rather than make themselves unpopular with their neighbors. The ill built country slaughter houses are over-run with rats. Rats feed on offal and if the offal is from a trichinous hog, these rats cannot escape infection. If a hog kept at a slaughter house eats a rat, the chances are 55 in 100 that it will become infected. From one-fourth to four per cent of all hogs shipped from certain localities are offal fed, so we need not be at

all surprised that one-half per cent of all the hogs examined at the large abattoirs are trichinous. Furthermore since so much offal fed pork is placed upon the local market in country towns, we need not be at all surprised should we find that a quarter or a half of all the pork sold by many country butchers is infected with trichinae. Tuberculosis is spread in the same way.

If it is still true that the chances of living are increased through residence in the country, why is it necessary to deal with the question of rural hygiene? The answer to this is that the death rate does not tell the whole story of public health. So far as the real welfare of a community is concerned, the standard should be that of the efficiency of the lives in the different age periods. I believe that diseases of the eyes, ears and throat are more common in the country than in the city, owing to lack of dispensaries and the expense of treatment, and city people recognize these diseases as promoting general inefficiency rather than increasing the death rate. Neglected teeth are also common. A poor condition of the skin due to want of bathing and ventilation is frequently seen. There is great prevalence of disease of the digestive organs due to improper food and overeating. There is always too little difference between the food the farmer consumes when he is doing hard work in the open air and when in winter he is not working so hard. The farmer eats enormously of meat and may require it. He eats most largely of pork which he always keeps on hand, either smoked or pickled. Strange to say he eats but lightly of green vegetables and of these most largely of cabbage, which is the least digestible.

Tuberculosis is not so frequent in the country as in the city, but there are many unrecognized cases of it in the country, whether because truly unrecognized, or because the doctor fears to name it. When this fearful disease gains a footing the spread of it through families is very rapid owing to ignorance regarding its treatment. I have seen such cases huddled into small kitchens, the patient sleeping and living close up to the kitchen stove day and night and the family living and eating there. I have seen one member after another go down with the disease, as after one death, no precautions were taken, no rooms fumigated, no bed or body clothing burned. An anti-tuberculosis campaign for rural neighborhoods is much needed.

THE COMMITTEE ON
CHILDREN with the NATIONAL PROBATION OFFICER'S
ASSOCIATION

THE NEGLECTED AND THE WAYWARD CHILD IN RURAL COMMUNITIES.

By Edwin Mulready, Deputy Commissioner of the Massachusetts State
Probation Commission.

It is fair to assume that my selection to open the discussion on this topic was because my work among the dependent poor, and later as a probation officer, was performed in so-called rural communities. For nearly eleven years my work as a district probation officer gave me a jurisdiction of fifty-six cities and towns, with a population of nearly 335,000.

Crime, neglect, waywardness, delinquency and dependency are not co-existent and cannot be made to correspond with state, city, town or county lines.

Recently, when contemplating a visit to the city of New York for the purpose of agitating a certain principle of judicial work, we were warned that this great city was wholly unlike Boston, and that regulations and principles that might work very well here would probably never find a place in the metropolis. The visit demonstrated the fact, if such demonstration was necessary, that the same principles of right action that obtained in Boston were found in New York, and that the same problems, accentuated perhaps, that confronted our people exist there.

The neglected and wayward child in the rural community is the product of about the same conditions as is a similarly unfortunate child in a large city. The immediate cause of the neglect or waywardness may be different and may require special treatment because of that difference, but the real condition is about the same.

In a country store not long ago some of the older members of the community were discussing the ever increasing and terrible crimes of the youthful criminals of this day and generation, and all joined in denunciation of the lenient treatment accorded to the juvenile offender, and in a demand for such amendment of the law as would insure more effective punishment for these potential convicts. I have said all joined but one exception should be made, for seated behind the stove was one old gentleman who listened but took no part in the discussion. Finally this listener turned to Mr. S., who was the loudest in denouncing the boys of today, and inquired: "Do you recall the night that we started

in the south end of this town and proceeded to the north end, tearing down the fences as we travelled so that all the cattle in the place were running promiscuously in the streets when the farmers got out in the morning!" Of course, Mr. S. was obliged to admit the adventure but by way of extenuation insisted that no great harm was done, except the trouble caused to the owners of the cattle.

The boy of yesterday did not steal the lamps from an automobile for many reasons, only one of which need be stated, namely there were not any auto lamps. For the same reason they did not throw stones at electric lamps, they did not grease the tracks of a street railway nor do many other acts of the boy of 1911. But stripped of all their glory I am convinced that the boys of long ago were not so different from the boys with whom we have to deal.

While the neglected child and the wayward child belong in different groups still they are, in a large majority of cases, the product of similar conditions. The worst cases of neglected children that have been called to my attention are those that reside in a rural community. The reasons for this are obvious. In the city there are agencies for detecting the neglected child that are absent in the country. It is sometimes said that "everybody knows the other fellow's business" in a rural community. This intimate relation often makes it difficult for a neighbor to complain of unwholesome conditions, even when he knows such conditions exist. In the city, the policemen, the social worker and many others come in contact with cases of neglect and treat them without any feeling of a personal nature.

While these remarks may not apply with equal force to the wayward child, I think they do to some extent. The high strung, ambitious, energetic child, without the opportunities of the city boy, is more apt to become a wayward child in the country where there is little to interest and still less to gratify the ambitions of such a youngster. Whether the child is wayward or neglected the duty of the community is clear, and for every reason, social and economic, the members of the community should take up the work for the boys and girls.

In the discussions of this conference there has been hardly a subject which is not directly related to the topic now under consideration; law breaking, drunkenness, housing, health, recreation, vocational training, all intimately concerned in the question of the wayward and neglected child. Naturally we think of the neglected child as one whose physical wants are not supplied, one not properly fed and nourished, insufficiently clothed, etc., but there are in every rural community children who are woefully neglected, even when their physical condition receives some attention. On the part of some communities there is a forgetfulness of the rights of children that is deplorable. I am now concerned about the economic conditions for which the community is directly responsible.

Children have the right to live under normal, healthful conditions. If there were not a thousand other reasons I believe that the community

has no right to place a liquor saloon before the children to stand as a menace to their welfare. The community has no right to permit the existence of a road house or other sink of iniquity, for children often make inquiries about the existence of such places that parents may not be able to answer without embarrassment.

"Play as Medicine," by our good friend, Mr. Lee, commends itself to me as a valued contribution, not only to this conference but to the entire country. Many a boy and girl is starving, not for enough food but rather for that kindly interest which they have a right to demand from father and mother, and also because the parents and the community at large have deemed it wise to deprive them of the right to play, the right for proper recreation. Better to provide properly conducted recreation centres, even in rural communities, than later to provide reformatories and jails.

The words of Bishop Lawrence seem so apt that they will bear repetition:

"I know of no illustration of the essential oneness of the community so strong as the story of the prisoner's life; how the social, sanitary, and religious conditions of his boyhood and his home led him to drink and to crime, and how the neglect of the community has compelled it to support the unfortunate through life." How often is the truth of this statement of the good Bishop forced home upon us as we investigate a case in court, concluding as we must that the problem we are considering is caused directly by the neglect of the community.

A court in the city of Boston has diminished in a single year by over four hundred the complaints against children in that community by causing an investigation of such complaints before the children are brought to court. Why not every community exert itself a little in this direction? If a boy is brought to court and placed on probation a "big brother" comes forward with an offer to defend the boy, to feed him, to clothe him and to see that regular employment, fitted to his condition in life, is furnished. Why is it necessary for the boy to enter the court room in order to secure the services of a "big brother?"

The boy is committed to a reformatory and immediately steps are taken by the community to teach him a trade and make him self respecting and self supporting? Why not take greater care of the boy who behaves himself, and incidentally teach all of the boys that it pays to properly conduct themselves?

When Judge Baker of the Boston Juvenile Court addressed the Chamber of Commerce and urged the members of that great business organization to take some of the boys from his court, with a knowledge that they were court boys, and endeavor to make a place for them in their establishments; and when the appeal was received with favor and the experiment was tried, then this community was making history.

The religious influence should be felt in this work for the wayward; if our Christianity counts for anything, we should make use of it

in this very important work. Interference with the religious belief of any child should not be tolerated, but the co-operation of the religious element that should surround every case, must be sought. I have never met a Protestant minister, a Catholic priest, or a Jewish rabbi, who would not lend his co-operation in this work if properly approached.

While it has been said that the wayward and neglected child are in the same class, and that the cause for the existence of each may in a majority of cases be found in the neglect of the parents, it cannot be denied that the neglected child is the innocent victim of miserable conditions and should be treated with the consideration that his unfortunate condition deserves. The practice obtaining in some states of bringing neglected children before a criminal court should give way to a more humane manner of handling the unfortunate.

Some one has said "treat the boys and girls of the present by a proper method and the problem of delinquency and dependency will disappear with a generation." May we not demand of the men and women of today that in their community life they shall do their full duty by the wayward and neglected child to the end that we shall see better conditions without the sacrifice of a generation.

THE COUNTY WORK DEPARTMENT OF THE Y. M. C. A.

By Albert E. Roberts, Secretary of Rural Work of the Y. M. C. A.,
of New York.

The County Work Department of the Young Men's Christian Association stands for the discovery, the development, the inspiration and the training of leaders. We believe that every problem of country life can be solved by leadership and we are not so much concerned about the introduction of a new organization into the country community as we are that the regularly established agencies such as the home, the church and the school shall function properly. On this basis we become a supplementary agency, oftentimes a substitutionary agency and in many cases we address ourselves, first to the awakening of a community consciousness and afterwards to the development of a community conscience.

The County Work of the Young Men's Christian Association differs from the city work in that it places the emphasis almost entirely upon personality and advocates the minimum of material equipment and the maximum of volunteer effort. The activities of a local organization are conditioned upon the available leadership in the community and we recognize that every man and every boy has something to give to make the community better. We seek to work with boys rather than

for them and even when we are dealing with destitute and neglected cases the appeal is made to the heroic rather than to the sentimental side of the individual.

One of the lessons we have learned is that the older boys of the country communities are often the most valuable assets in social service. Many of our secretaries make it a practice to encourage the Big Brother idea among the boys of high school age and some are systematically promoting an interest in the wayward boy on the part of the apparently careless and thoughtless older boy or young man of high school age.

The introduction of corn growing contests in many of the country communities under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association has been giving neglected boys something to do and the opportunity of social contacts with other boys changed these neglected boys from liabilities into assets. Poultry raising contests, county-wide relay races, week-end hikes, camps, play festivals, mock trials, visits to points of interest and similar activities have in hundreds of cases changed the tendency of boys and young men with a natural bent toward a criminal life to a real desire to be, not only good citizens, but to join with the other boys in the motto of the organization—"Help the Other Fellow."

The idea of community service which has been so wanting in the country communities is rapidly displacing the spirit of individualism which is the curse of country life. Exclusive sects and denominational sections which have retarded the extension of the social teachings of Jesus are giving way in many of the organized counties to a larger vision of the possibilities of what can be done if a life is interpreted unselfishly and thrown alongside the life of one less fortunate.

In the town of X—seven older boys had been meeting in the harness room of a barn. They had no teacher, but a wise and consecrated leader was steering their organization from the rear. One of their activities was Bible study and they had been studying the lesson of the good Samaritan. On a bitterly cold day the leader of the "gang" noticed a little lad without sufficient clothes to keep him warm. Calling the members of the "gang" around him he said as he took a twenty-five cent piece from his pocket—"This is all the money I have. I was going to spend it for something else, but I have decided to help to buy some clothes for the young kid. Are any of you with me on this deal?" It is needless to say that the members of the "gang" emptied their pockets and the spirit that animated these boys became contagious so that the boot and shoe dealer and the clothing store men were glad to co-operate with the result that new clothes were provided and when they put them on the boy it is said that the lines in his face changed from vertical to horizontal. The spirit of service dominated the lives of these older boys. The neglected boy was helped but in the words of the leader of the "gang"—"Gee, it made the little kid feel good, but it did not make him feel as good as it made us feel."

The promotion of this spirit it will readily be seen is one of the

most valuable thing that can happen to a community and hundreds of stories of this sort could be told of the way in which the County Work is not only helping wayward and neglected boys as this boy was helped, but is promoting a spirit of unselfish Christian service that will make it impossible in the coming years to have wayward and neglected children in the country communities.

Reports from States

To a greater degree than has been attempted for any previous Proceedings, the specific items of information, from the Corresponding Secretaries have this year been grouped under Topical Heads. What is given below consists of a few general remarks on the aspect of things from each Secretary. With these, and also under the Topical Heads have been incorporated the Oral Reports made at the first General Session of the Conference by chosen representatives.

The Topical Heads will be found in alphabetical order following the brief general reports.

ALABAMA.

MAURICE WILLOWS, BIRMINGHAM, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

With the commission form of government on trial we are hopeful of an awakening on the part of the general citizenship in matters civic, philanthropic and charitable. A municipal housecleaning is progressing in the cities adopting this form of government.

ARKANSAS.

J. H. REYNOLDS, PAYETTEVILLE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The management of the charitable institutions of the state has materially improved in the last two years, due, not to any law, but to the Governor's selecting a better board to administer them. The Governor is fighting for a change in management of the penitentiary, but the politicians will defeat his plan. The board at present is made up of state officers; the Governor is trying to have an appointive board created to administer the institution.

CALIFORNIA.

W. ALMONT GATES, SAN FRANCISCO, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The people of California have put the public service corporations out of business of running the government and have elected a Governor and legislature who listen to the *vox populi*, the result is that we have a list of eighteen measures affecting social questions. These are given under the various topics which follow. In addition to those given, the last legislature abolished the race track, the slot machine, and passed a local option law for liquor licenses.

There never was a time when persons and organizations were discussing social questions as much as to-day.

COLORADO.

WILLIAM THOMAS, DENVER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The outlook for a continued and systematic betterment of social conditions generally is good. The work done by the last legislature is evidence of much progressive thought and action. The public more and more realize the necessity of a constructive policy in matters pertaining to the conservation of the human being, and it is believed that in the near future, greater attention will be paid by the public authorities to the preservation of mankind than to the preservation of property.

ORAL REPORT BY A DELEGATE.

The State Board of Charities during the past few years has dignified and broadened its work. It has made the visiting and supervising and advising the various charitable institutions in the state decidedly worth while. The board visits the institutions twice a year and has brought about an improvement in the character and standards of the work. The knowledge that the institutions are open to inspection by the public boards has had a notable effect, for without any new law, without any special campaign, there is coming official supervision and control of our charitable and correctional institutions.

CONNECTICUT.

CHARLES F. KELLOGG, WATERBURY, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The social outlook in Connecticut is fairly encouraging, although the state still holds its conservative position in many matters,—particularly in the care of dependent children and in the work of public poor relief. The greatest measure of progress is perhaps seen in the state-wide fight against tuberculosis, which includes the state commission, the county sanatoria, and several active local anti-tuberculosis societies. Some advance is also noticed in the development of public playgrounds and the work of organized charity societies.

DELAWARE.

MRS. E. F. WARNER, WILMINGTON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Our social outlook was never better; public conscience is awakened to the best interests of human welfare and Delaware is in close line with her sister states.

Our most keenly felt social needs are: a state board of charities, or official supervision of the charitable and correctional institutions; a hospital for infectious diseases; a temporary home for women and children; federation of all charitable and philanthropic agencies in the various cities.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

GEORGE S. WILSON, WASHINGTON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Our legislature, which is the Congress of the United States, adjourned last spring leaving unfinished much of the work that was pending on social questions. Some of these bills have passed the senate, several are reported favorably by the House Committee, but unfortunately conditions in the House were such that during the entire session the District of Columbia, which is supposed to have consideration one day every two weeks by the House of Representatives, had assigned to it only one day, and received only thirty minutes that day. So everything was left hanging in the air. We have adopted a somewhat comprehensive social program which was recently presented to the Commissioners and which will be put before the committee of Congress. While our general legislation failed in the appropriation bill, it provided for some institutions, and provides for the completing of the removal of our penal institutions into the country.

FLORIDA.

CHARLES P. HALL, PENSACOLA, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

In Florida we have a State Children's Bureau, probably the only state-wide children's bureau in the country. This bureau takes up every case in the state that pertains to children in any way, and not only acts as a clearing house, but provides the money so that the proper care can be given.

GEORGIA.

JOSEPH C. LOGAN, ATLANTA, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Georgia legislature last year extended the pensions for Confederate veterans, and failed to pass the Compulsory Education Law for Children. Under the Juvenile Court Law in 1908 a Juvenile Court has been instituted in Fulton county which heretofore has had the benefit of only one juvenile probation officer in the police court. It is contemplated by the authorities of this court to attempt the placing out of negro juvenile offenders. The county has hesitated to build an institution for this type of offender, because it was estimated there would be 1,000 or more to be taken care of immediately. The Prison Association of Georgia covering the whole state has been organized, and employs two paid workers.

HAWAII.

ORAL REPORT BY JAMES A. RATH, HONOLULU.

The most important item of our territorial legislation this year was the appointment of a Health Commission composed of five men, to examine into the health conditions thoroughly, especially to discover

how our swamps can be filled and our almshouses improved and tuberculous conditions removed.

It seems strange in a country that has 365 days of sunshine in the year, the paradise of the Pacific, that there should be so much tuberculosis. The previous legislature appropriated \$18,000 to fight tuberculosis, and the last legislature was asked to appropriate \$35,000, and it appropriated \$50,000 instead. Another gain is the provision by our territorial legislature for the appointment of two probation officers, a man and a woman. Five-years ago they passed a Juvenile Court law on the condition that it carry no appropriation. They assured the Juvenile Judge that if there was no extra money needed to carry on the work, they would pass the law. This year they have allowed us probation officers.

IDAHO.

ORAL REPORT BY O. P. CHRISTIAN.

Idaho is a state of equal suffrage and we believe that the women are a help and a good influence. We have a local option law and a certain seizure law which makes the dry counties really dry. Out of twenty-seven counties we have seventeen dry. We have the best child laws so far as I have been able to discover, giving the Children's Home Finding and Aid Association absolute control and enabling us to bring delinquent parents into court to answer for their wrongdoing. We go into the different localities and visit the families and tell them they must clean up and make their homes more attractive and that they must take better care of their children or we will take the children away from them. The last legislature passed several laws relating to the placement of children dismissed from the industrial school, appropriating money for buildings for the use of the Children's Home Finding Society, and caring for the feeble-minded.

ILLINOIS.

ORAL REPORT BY JOSEPH BOWEN, SPRINGFIELD.

The legislature which has just adjourned appropriated more money for State Charities and passed more acts that were endorsed by the new State Administrative Board, than any legislature in the past. For the coming two years for the State Charities we will have over ten million dollars, which is about three million dollars more than has heretofore been appropriated for any two years. The legislature has made provision for the creation of a new State Hospital to cost a million and a half. The law provides that not more than 1500 people shall be kept in it at any one time, and that there shall be an acre of ground for each patient. In addition the insane in alms houses have been removed. On the first of July the new law will become effective, and the state will take over as its own, the Cook County Hospital at Dunning, where there are 2,500 patients. Other acts have been secured for which the

charitable workers have been conducting campaigns 20 years, for instance, an adult probation law. Two thousand five hundred acres of land have been bought for the new prison at Joliet, which will cost five million dollars. Great progress has been made in the matter of minor labor, employers' liability, workingmen's compensation, etc. The 10 hour limit law and civil service will go into effect July 1st.

INDIANA.

ORAL REPORT BY W. H. EICHORN, BLUFFTON.

One of the gratifying things in Indiana during the past year has been the fact, that the legislature, although of opposite political faith from the previous State government, has adopted no reactionary legislation. The Board of State Charities has power to condemn and regulate, and has condemned and regulated county jails throughout the state. We have a new Hospital for Insane with a capacity of 1,100, built on the cottage plan. We have a Tuberculosis Hospital with a capacity of 100, and an appropriation made to increase its capacity 300. A Hospital for Insane Criminals has been provided for and is to be built within a year. The licensing system has been in force and is producing excellent results. Among the new things we have adopted a uniform law for the adoption of neglected children, under which the Board of State Charities has to give its consent to the adoption. A Child Labor Law has been enacted which is not all that we desire. We have appointed a commission to investigate and report to the next legislature with reference to a State farm, in order that we may get rid of the county jail.

IOWA.

ORAL REPORT BY G. S. ROBINSON, DES MOINES.

Our last General Assembly enacted laws for the promotion of sanitary conditions in shops and factories. It enacted laws for the protection of milk consumers in all the municipalities of the State; and created an employers' liability commission whose duty it shall be to investigate labor conditions and accidents, and to ascertain where the burden of bearing the expense of those accidents should fall. The General Assembly also improved the condition of the various institutions by enlarging their support. The soldiers' orphans are now the wards of the State, and the managers are authorized to place these children when placement is desirable. One of the important acts was to authorize trial courts in cases of first offenders for felony, to suspend sentence and place the committed person on probation; and it enacted a law for the sterilization of certain persons with the idea of avoiding the increase of criminals and defectives.

KANSAS.

ORAL REPORT BY H. C. BOWMAN, TOPEKA.

Since 1873, one Board in Kansas has had charge of the insane, the epileptic, the home for feeble minded, the blind and deaf schools, the orphans' homes and the girls' and boys' industrial school. Last year we

united the penal institutions into one Board, and the educational institutions into another Board. The Governor approved the act uniting the penal institutions, but he vetoed the act uniting the educational institutions for the reason that he didn't like the words and terms of the bill. But the Governor and the people of Kansas are in favor of an educational commission. When our next legislature meets we will have a system different from any other State. The last legislature passed an act requiring every private charitable or benevolent institution wishing to solicit aid in more than one county of the State, to obtain a certificate from the State Board. The penalty for soliciting without such certificate is from ten to a thousand dollars.

KENTUCKY.

MISS FRANCES INGRAM, LOUISVILLE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

When Kentucky passed its last Compulsory Education Law it took a great step in advance. This law dovetails absolutely with the child labor law; it compels attendance of all children to the fourteenth year and of all children between fourteen and sixteen who have not completed the fourth grade. The law is being adequately enforced in some communities; in others there is a growing realization of its value and its enforcement is only a question of time.

The women of the state, realizing first the educational need, formed School Improvement Leagues throughout Kentucky. The Southern Educational Association becoming interested in the tremendous efforts on the part of the women, came to their aid and a state organizer was appointed, —the Southern Association bearing half the expense and the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs the other half.

In Louisville, the Woman's Club took the initiative in bettering the school situation. The Commercial Club of the city soon assumed the burden and the excellent law giving Louisville a School Commission was passed at the last session of the Legislature. The Commercial Club then invited the women to unite with it in electing a good Commission. This was done and now Louisville which was twenty years behind in its educational work is taking a mighty leap forward. The new regime plans to introduce industrial training into the grades and to extend its educational system so that the ninety per cent. who do not attend high school will in a measure be prepared for life's work. Two of the public schools are being used as social centers.

MAINE.

E. P. WENTWORTH, PORTLAND, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There is progress all along the line of social activity, although it is not as rapid as might be wished. The various institutions of the state are all improving in equipment and methods of work, and are receiving the sympathy and cordial support of the general public. Great interest is shown all over the state in the fight against tuberculosis; there is a wide-

spread desire for the establishment of juvenile courts and though they have twice been turned down by the legislature, they are sure to come soon. The advocates of a state board of charities and correction are disappointed but not discouraged and they will continue the fight until they win success.

MARYLAND.

H. WIRT STEELE, BALTIMORE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The social outlook in encouraging; public opinion is in a fairly healthy condition, especially in the city of Baltimore. Some of the needs of the community which are likely to be realized soon are a Bureau of School Hygiene in the Department of Education; large increase of tuberculosis nurses in the Health Department; law requiring the tubercular test of all dairy cattle; a state farm colony for negro consumptives; an adequate employer's liability act; greater provision for the insane; separate provision for the criminal insane; more adequate provision for the feeble minded; better treatment for inebriates.

MASSACHUSETTS.

JOSEPH LEE, BOSTON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There have been three important reports of commissions which will probably lead to legislation another year; one on the defective and delinquent and the causes producing them; one on workman's compensation; and one on factory inspection.

MICHIGAN.

JOHN B. MONTGOMERY, COLDWATER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There were two bills introduced in our last legislature which, if they had become laws, would have greatly affected the present and the future of the charities of the state. One was the bill to establish a central board of control for all state institutions, and the other provided for a central purchasing agency for all public institutions.

Michigan can boast of some excellent laws relating to charities and correction, although there is still much to be wished. The State Board of Correction and Charities, in their last biennial report have made recommendations on the following points: That the law be amended to give the state board power to enforce its suggestions to the institutions; that child placing agencies be licensed and supervised; that lying-in hospitals be licensed and inspected by the state board; that a state hospital for crippled children be established; and that county agents be appointed on recommendation of the state board.

MINNESOTA.

A. W. GUTRIDGE, ST. PAUL, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

In connection with the awful forest fire at Baudette and vicinity in the extreme north of the state, the Minnesota Branch of the American Red Cross raised and expended about \$75,000 for the relief and re-estab-

lishment of the sufferers. Several laws have been enacted looking to the prevention of forest and prairie fires, the protection of the forest generally and to encourage reforestation. The work was placed under a new department at the head of which is a Chief Forester.

One important act of the recent legislature was the passage of an indeterminate sentence law, covering all crimes except murder and treason; another was the abolishment of capital punishment. Great changes were made in the public school laws, especially with regard to inspection and manual training and domestic science. The boards of education are authorized to employ visiting nurses.

It has always seemed that public opinion is in a thoroughly healthy condition in this state concerning matters of social importance. Some bills of great importance to the people of the state failed of passage at the last session of the Legislature, but the failure was purely due to accident. A very important bill that the public demanded, relating to a comprehensive plan of dealing with tuberculosis throughout the state, was supported by both the public and the members of the Legislature, but failed by accident.

MISSOURI.

W. T. CROSS, COLUMBIA, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The meeting of the last annual session of the National Conference in Missouri has had a most salutary effect. A more thorough understanding of the modern program of social reform remains with the people. Partially as a result, the State Conference trebled in enrolment and attendance last year. There is at present forecasted an effort to work out a more scientific organization of the charitable and correctional scheme in the state, and this better knowledge on the part of substantial citizens will be our best guarantee of enlightened legislation.

On the east side of the state, the Social Service Conference and School of Social Economy of St. Louis, are both developing vigorously. In Kansas City, on the west, the new Board of Public Welfare is opening up entirely new fields of public social betterment work. And at the center, the State University shows a willingness to supplement the work of the State Board of Charities and Corrections and to teach practical sociology popularly to communities of all sizes. Through lack of facilities on the part of the State Board important problems must go untouched. At the same time the coming year will probably see an unusual awakening and development from the standpoint of community problems.

NEBRASKA.

A. W. CLARK, OMAHA, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

During the past year more interest has been taken in social subjects than usual, which culminated in the passage of more than a half dozen laws by the last Legislature relating particularly to social subjects.

Discussions of papers along these lines at the Conferences of Charities and Correction aided greatly in successfully molding the necessary sentiment to accomplish these results.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

WILLIAM J. AHERN, CONCORD, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The social outlook in New Hampshire is encouraging. The public seem anxious and willing to support many of the suggestions offered for social advance. This is reflected by the generous response of the Legislature in making appropriations for the betterment of conditions in institutions caring for the dependent, defective and delinquent classes and also in making provision for commissions to investigate social problems that are troubling the public mind.

Private philanthropy is also becoming more and more interested in social progress. New Hampshire, however, is behind many of the other states in the care of her dependent children. A bill introduced into the Legislature to regulate the placing out of dependent and neglected children in family homes and for their subsequent supervision by agents appointed by the State Board of Charities, failed of passage.

NEW JERSEY.

ORAL REPORT BY A DELEGATE.

New Jersey has codified and revised its poor laws and has passed an Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Act. It has extended beyond any other State the indeterminate sentence; has secured appropriations for research work in the subject of Eugenics, and has passed a sterilization bill for defectives; has put the factory inspectors under civil service rules, extended child welfare work, and provided for fire stairs in factories and school houses.

NEW YORK.

ORAL REPORT BY ROBERT W. HILL, ALBANY.

The most far-reaching improvement made in New York is the revision of the rules of the State Board of Charities, whereby more complete control is given to the Board over private institutions. Under these new rules plans of new buildings must be submitted in advance, and adequate air space be provided for hospital patients. Private institutions that heretofore have been more or less beyond our control are now brought within satisfactory supervision by the State Board. Defectives will be committed to the new State Institution known as Letchworth Village for Feeble Minded and Epileptics. The first contract for the New York State Training School for Boys has been signed and approved by the State Building Commission and advertisements are now appearing in the papers asking for bids for the work. It is hoped that shortly we will see the tangible results in the form of people in these institutions intended to be a model State Training School for Boys.

NORTH CAROLINA.

MISS DAISY DENSON, RALEIGH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The social outlook is bright; many more advanced ideas are given newspaper notice and our people are alive to a share in the important movements of the day. Sanitary reform and civic cleanliness are being stressed by the women's clubs and many organizations, including our most efficient Board of Health.

NORTH DAKOTA.

ORAL REPORT BY FRANK D. HALL, FARGO.

The former legislators of North Dakota are beginning to think of something besides wheat. Our last legislature passed a Juvenile Court law based upon the Indiana law, also recognized the request made by Ex-President Roosevelt that the laws regulating the importation of dependent children be changed so as not to prohibit the exchange of children from one State to another. A law was passed making it a punitive offense to keep a baby farm. Provision has been made for a sanatorium for tuberculosis and the Board has control of all State institutions. There have been one or two associated charities established in the State. We have no State Board as yet. The Crittenton Home, one of our best institutions, has erected a building costing \$18,000. Many new hospitals have been established throughout the state under the auspices of the Roman Catholics, and several Protestant hospitals.

OHIO.

H. H. SHIRER, COLUMBUS, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY S. J. HATHAWAY.

We have passed a bill which has written into it several measures that tend to eliminate the last vestige of political domination of our institutions. This bill also carries with it a provision that prison made goods shall be used in the political departments of the State. Contract labor was abolished five years ago. We have a bill authorizing the Governor to appoint a commission of two to study, revise, consolidate and recommend amendments of various children's laws of our State. *The Survey* recently characterized that piece of legislation as one of the most progressive made by a State Legislature in 25 years.

OREGON.

W. R. WALPOLE, PORTLAND, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Everywhere is the dignity and importance of social service being emphasized. The Junior League, of Portland, is an organization of young women under thirty years of age which aims to educate its members in social service work. Delegates to the different philanthropic agencies are appointed with due consideration for the adaptability of each young woman for the work. She is expected to visit the board meetings, and the insti-

tution, if there is one, and to familiarize herself as far as may be possible with the detail of the work, so that she may not only report to her League intelligently as to the aims and results of her particular institution, but also train herself to be an efficient helper if it should become necessary.

The Big Sisters movement is composed of women who are doing practical work in connection with the girls who come into the Juvenile Court of Portland. It is patterned after the Big Brother movement.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Carl Kelsey, Philadelphia, Corresponding Secretary.

The trend of public sentiment is to be seen partly in legislation enacted, and partly in that which was proposed but failed of enactment. It is to be observed that, for the first time within the memory of man, a note of criticism appears in the reports of the State Board of Commissioners of Public Charities. The note is not very loud, but it is a hopeful beginning. There was evident too in the legislature a desire to keep the appropriations within the estimated revenue of the State. The various institutions (not including educational institutions) applied this year for \$19,579,208, and of this sum the Board recommended \$10,970,040, in addition to \$3,000,000 for the indigent insane not included in the above.

Following the plan of last year, a conference of the social agencies of Philadelphia will be called in the near future at the Mayor's office, to promote plans for more effective work among the various distinctively Summer Charities. A new law authorizes the officers of poor districts in all counties to—"make an appropriation yearly to incorporated associations maintained by gifts and voluntary contributions, and formed for the purpose of assisting, relieving and giving medical care and attention to the poor, injured or sick."

Legislation which failed included acts authorizing psychopathic wards in certain hospitals; commission to report upon a state system of work-houses; authorizing the pensioning of superannuated employees in public institutions; providing for the sterilization of certain feeble-minded persons; placing the control of county jails and prisons in boards of prison inspectors; abolishing the State Board of Commissioners of public charities, to replace it with a Director of public charities; establishing a reformatory for women; providing for a commission on juvenile courts, probation officers and the needs of juvenile delinquents; placing moving picture shows under much closer supervision; regulating night work in factories for boys under sixteen, also the night work of messenger boys. It should be noted that frequently the mere fact that a bill is introduced indicates a rising sentiment in the State.

RHODE ISLAND.

THOMAS B. MAYMON, PROVIDENCE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Our institutions, charitable and correctional, are well conducted and well managed. Some of our needs are: a temporary detention home for

juvenile delinquents; a state hospital for advanced cases of tuberculosis; a change in the settlement laws which at present hamper the work of the overseers of the poor.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

A. T. JAMESON, GREENWOOD, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Bills for the establishment of juvenile courts and for increasing the capacity of the state industrial school were passed by both houses of the legislature, but were vetoed by the governor, who seems unfriendly to every cause for which our Conference stands.

TENNESSEE.

E. P. ANDERSON, NASHVILLE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The political situation in our state is such that we have been able to do but little. We have not been able to get the appropriation bills passed and our institutions are now running without any money from the state.

ORAL REPORT BY MRS. J. D. HAMMOND, NASHVILLE.

We have had a splendid campaign for playgrounds. In Nashville we have formed a central council for the charities of the city, with the view to securing a city survey. This council has agreed to undertake to secure playgrounds this summer for the colored people of the city. The negroes of Nashville stand ready to equip and supervise four playgrounds if we can furnish them. We have a Governor who is in thorough sympathy with all forms of social progress, and we hope to have child labor legislation, and other reform legislation very soon.

TEXAS.

JOHN L. GREEN, FORT WORTH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

In local communities public health questions, child welfare and neighborhood activities are constantly being discussed. The churches seem to be awakening to the fact that the dominant note of the hour is social service.

The administration of penal institutions through a commission composed of three members is an act of the last legislature.

UTAH.

ORAL REPORT BY MRS. I. S. DUSENBERRY, PROVO.

Utah is a suffrage state so you may know that we get a good many things through the legislature which we would not have otherwise. For instance, we have an eight hour law. The last legislature made many appropriations for new buildings for our various institutions. An educational department with forty-five pupils has been established in our mental hospital. We have a psychological clinic in connection with our university.

VERMONT.

J. EDWARD WRIGHT, MONTPELIER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY JOHN E. WEEKS, MIDDLEBURY.

In Vermont we have one of the best sanitary codes, and we have recent legislation regarding medical examination of schools and the prevention and treatment of blindness in infancy. We have an appropriation of \$50,000 to meet a bequest of \$50,000 for the establishment of an institution for defective children. Appropriation for an institution for the criminal insane has been made and also for added facilities at our industrial school where we are to have the segregation of the good from the bad children, and the older children from the younger. We are abolishing corporal punishment, for we have become convinced that this is hurtful to the best development of the children.

VIRGINIA.

J. T. MASTIN, RICHMOND, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY DR. HATCHER.

There has been no session of the legislature during the past year. Several movements are on foot in the State, first to establish a State farm for drunkards, second a state institution for white feeble minded children. The work for colored female delinquents or delinquent colored girls is promoted by the colored women of the state and they are raising funds by subscription of the colored people, and then they will work for state aid to establish it.

A Virginia Child Welfare Conference was held which brought together a large number of people. A group of young physicians took hold of this with the utmost enthusiasm, giving freely of their professional knowledge.

WASHINGTON.

MISS VIRGINIA M'MECHAN, SEATTLE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Since this Conference has met, Washington has won the proud distinction of being the fifth State in the Union to adopt equal suffrage. The notable acts of our last legislature include the Initiative and Referendum, an eight hour law for working women, a Juvenile Court and Workingmen's Compensation Act.

The outlook, judged from the standpoint of opportunity, could not be more favorable for the development of correct social ideals. Great activity and social enterprise is being manifested throughout the state in general, and Seattle in particular. The danger is that this sudden awakening may tend to develop social measures more rapidly than will conduce to a sound and logical foundation.

Ideas that are akin appear to be developing simultaneously in the minds of many people, and are giving rise to numerous enterprises that

have a tendency to overlap in function. While this activity shows a most healthy condition, it also indicates that this particular period of our history represents the psychological moment to direct the ideas of our people that they may develop in harmony with modern philanthropic thought. The Northwest offers one of the greatest fields in the country, wherein to lay the foundations of a new social order. We feel that the time is ripe for the National Conference to meet with us and to give our people the proper stimulus, not for increased activity, which would be impossible, but for rightly directed activity.

Two recent enterprises deserve special attention. The Know Your City Civic Institute, whose subject this year is the Religious and Moral Forces of Seattle, represents a broad co-operative effort on the part of the churches, in which Catholic, Protestant, and Jew have united. The Civic Forum, whose primary aim is the creation of a keen sense of individual responsibility for the common weal, will hold weekly meetings during the months of June, July, August and September.

WEST VIRGINIA.

ORAL REPORT BY JAMES DUNN, WHEELING.

There has been a law passed in West Virginia establishing a state sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis, a much needed institution. A good child labor law has been passed, due to the efforts of the child labor committee. Other laws passed provide for medical inspection of school children; and the employing of matrons in jails and workhouses. In the last year Wheeling has established an associated charities, a Y. M. C. A. and three well equipped and supervised playgrounds.

WISCONSIN.

M. J. TAPPINS, MADISON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The social outlook of this state seems to be favorable to the advancement of all matters pertaining to public charities and institutions for the care of the defective and delinquent classes.

The legislature which is in session at the present time seems to be inclined to be very liberal in the matter of appropriations for all the charitable and reformatory work. No appropriation bills have yet been passed, but large appropriations are recommended by the finance committee.

Generally speaking, there seems to be a very active interest taken by the charity organizations and the local officials of the different towns and cities in bringing about better conditions in the administering of charities and looking after the care of the defective and delinquent classes. The agitation in reference to the prevention of tuberculosis has inspired vigor along other charitable lines.

NOVA SCOTIA.

I. W. MACMILLAN, HALIFAX, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Nova Scotia has no large cities, and is thus not pressed by social problems like some of its sister Provinces and States. The people are getting interested in social service. The churches, through their Moral and Social Reform Boards are becoming a source of public instruction.

CANADA.

ORAL REPORT BY DR. HELEN MACMURCHY, TORONTO.

There is throughout the whole Dominion evidence of a great awakening on moral and social questions, which is shown by organization in the churches for moral and social reform. A Conservation Commission has been established not only for the natural resources but for the health of the people. In housing reform the cities of Hamilton, Winnipeg and Toronto are, through their health officers, making efforts toward amelioration of conditions. Playgrounds are springing up here and there, in Halifax and in other cities and in those new cities of the West where there are still large spaces for playing. A Child Welfare Exhibition in Montreal in 1912 is looked forward to as a move in this direction. Compulsory education is being carried up, and medical inspection of schools is increasing. Instead of the old central prison in Toronto we have now a prison farm where there are no prison bars, no prison guards—only foremen—and where there is no prison garb and where the prisoners are called boys.

ASSOCIATED CHARITIES.

KY.—New Associated Charities at Winchester. The Associated Charities of Louisville has become the Registration Bureau for the outing work of the city. An outgrowth of the A. C. has been a Charities Endorsement Committee, consisting of six members, three from the Commercial Club and three from the Board of Trade.

MD.—The Federated Charities of Baltimore have created a Polish District under the direction of a Board consisting of Poles, with a Pole as paid District Secretary.

N. C.—Several new Charity Organization Societies have been established.

OHIO—Charity Organization Society of Youngstown has taken up the improvement of two neglected districts in which the majority of families are renters and foreigners.

Akron has reorganized its Associated Charities which was discontinued for several years.

PENNA.—After some discussion as to the advisability of trying a general registration bureau to be maintained by the city, a number of agencies in Philadelphia have established privately such a bureau to replace the older one maintained by the Society for Organizing Charity.

WASH.—Three new Associated Charities have been formed in the State.

BLIND AND DEAF.

DEL.—New appropriations: \$1,500 additional for Blind Commission (total, \$3,000 annually); \$500 for securing census of deaf-mutes, feeble minded and defective children in the state.

MO.—Association for the Prevention of Blindness formed, with committeemen in all districts of state. Society for the care of the blind formed in St. Louis, with purpose ultimately of extending operations over the state.

NEB.—Appropriation of \$12,500 for additional land for the School for the Deaf at Omaha.

N. C.—New law aimed at the prevention of ophthalmia neonatorum

OHIO—Increased appropriation for the use of the State Blind Commission, particularly for the purpose of providing workshops and special instruction for the blind.

In Cincinnati there has been organized a workshop for the blind under the auspices of the Association for the Welfare of the Blind. This follows the scheme developed at Dayton and Cleveland several years ago.

VT.—By an appropriation of \$50,000, the Legislature of 1910-1911 made effective a bequest of a similar amount, by which the Austine Institution was established at Brattleboro a few years ago, for the education of the deaf and dumb.

WASH.—An act appropriating \$50,000 for a new building for the School for the Blind.

CHILD LABOR.

ALA.—State Child Labor Committee reorganized.

CAL.—Minors under 18 years of age are prohibited from working between ten o'clock at night and five in the morning.

DEL.—Child Labor Commission created to investigate child labor conditions and report to next Assembly.

FLA.—A progressive Child Labor bill lost. There is no prospect of better conditions for two years.

GA.—Boys under sixteen are freed from messenger service from nine at night until six in the morning.

KY.—The outlook in the child labor field is most encouraging in Louisville. The labor inspector was able last winter to induce the proprietors of the moving picture shows to dismiss all amateurs under sixteen years of age.

MASS.—Women and children in manufacturing and mercantile establishments have been divorced from their work for all except 54 hours in the week instead of 58 as heretofore. In practice the law affects the men also. Messenger boys under 21 have been separated from their jobs during the hours between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M.

MINN.—Perhaps the most carefully drawn child labor bill which was ever presented to any legislature had the support of all concerned, but by accident failed of passage.

MO.—A new state-wide child labor law for children under 14, except in agricultural labor and domestic service.

Permission given for pensioning widows with children under 14 by the county in which Kansas City is located.

N. H.—The new Child Labor Law is modeled after the law recommended by the National Child Labor Committee and will be as far advanced in its enforcement as any in the Union.

A Society for the Betterment of Child Labor Conditions with Headquarters in Dublin, has been established. It co-operated with the State Board of Public Instruction in behalf of the new Child Labor Law.

ORE.—Child Labor Law amended as follows: Forbidding the employment in the telegraph, telephone or public messenger service of any child under sixteen years. No child under eighteen shall be employed in any such establishment or in the delivery of goods after ten at night or before five in the morning. The law placed the issuing of permits in the hands of the Board of Inspectors of Child Labor rather than with the school authorities on the principle that it is the business of the inspectors to be familiar with the conditions under which the children work, rather than of the school authorities; also provided expenses for the work.

Compulsory education law amended, raising compulsory age limit from 14 to 15 years of age; this also amends the Child Labor Law and raises the age limit of that law during the school term, thus preventing children under the age of 15 from working during the school term.

Law was passed prohibiting boys under the age of 16 working in or about engines in logging camps. "Whistle boy" is a favorite occupation, but a dangerous one.

S. C.—Child Labor Committee active and secured law removing all exceptions to child labor under age of twelve—a small gain.

VT.—More stringent law against child labor, Vermont now has a branch of the National Child Labor Committee.

CHILDREN'S ORGANIZATIONS.

BOY'S CLUBS AND BOY SCOUTS.

COL.—The Boys' Club at La Junta was opened in July, 1910. It owns and occupies a three-story building, equipped with modern devices for the development of brain, brawn and good will. The directors and superintendent of the public school have jurisdiction and the manual training department is under the supervision of a public school director.

KY.—Boy Scout Movement has been organized throughout the State.

MINN.—The Boy Scout Movement has been organized with headquarters at St. Paul.

N. S.—All over the Province the Boy Scout Movement has been taken up enthusiastically. In the cities and large towns it is a rare boy who has escaped the contagion.

CHILD PLACING, AND CHILDREN'S HOMES.

CAL.—Law providing that all child placing agencies shall obtain permits from the State Board of Charities before engaging in such work, and making it a misdemeanor for any organization or person to engage in the work of placing children or soliciting funds therefor without such permit.

CONN.—The New Britain Children's Home has planned to erect a large congregate building to take the place of the three small houses that it now occupies.

Bishop Nilan of the Roman Catholic diocese of Connecticut, has appointed a board of trustees to arrange for the establishment of a State Orphanage for children under four years of age, to be conducted under the auspices of that Church.

Plans are also being made for the establishment of a Polish Orphanage in New Britain, to be constructed, probably, on the congregate plan.

GA.—The superintendent of the Home Finding Societies of North and South Carolina has begun the introduction of placing out work in Georgia, and the organization of a Georgia Home Finding Society has been started with every prospect of success.

MD.—The Children's Aid Society has reorganized on a state-wide basis.

PENNA.—Law amended to allow courts to place children at board, and directing that the payment of the board be made by the proper county.

Pawn-brokers restricted as to purchasing articles from children under sixteen.

The second annual meeting of the Lehigh Valley Child-Helping Conference, including the three or four counties of Eastern Pennsylvania which have pressing social problems, because of the existence within their borders of numerous mines and factories, was held in May, 1911.

During the year the Juniata Valley Children's Aid Society has been organized, and the old orphanage is to be the receiving home. The new organization will represent the State Society in that district.

VA.—Opening of the Bonney Home for Girls, at Norfolk, with the purpose of providing home and industrial training for indigent white girls.

WASH.—Seattle has completed a large building for the permanent use of its Children's Orthopedic Hospital.

S. P. C. C., ETC.

ALA.—Law appointing county officers to enforce laws for the prevention of cruelty to children.

MASS.—A matter of small spectacular value but of great importance to the future has been the establishment by the S. P. C. C. of local organizations in many centers throughout the state. Once established, these organizations tend to concern themselves not only with cruelty and neglect, but with the causes thereof.

MO.—Permission has been given to St. Louis to establish a Board of Children's Guardians, somewhat on the Indiana plan.

OHIO.—A commission of two to be appointed by the Governor to codify all laws relating to children and to recommend desirable amendments.

In November, 1910, there was held in Cleveland the first Western Reserve Conference on the care of neglected and dependent children. Since then there has been organized the Western Reserve Child Welfare Council. The purpose is for co-operation and mutual benefit and it will doubtless be productive of more intelligent work by the various agencies in that community.

TEX.—Texas Children's Welfare Conference was organized in 1910. Its purpose is to advance the physical, mental and moral interests of the children.

WASH.—Juvenile Aid Association for the protection of neglected and delinquent children organized in Seattle.

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT.

CONN.—A very successful municipal exhibit was held for two weeks in Hartford and was attended by more than 14,000 persons. The exhibit was planned by the Civic Club of Hartford which succeeded in enlisting the active co-operation of the various city departments.

MD.—An extraordinary number of new movements have been inaugurated, such as: The Greater Baltimore Scheme, the City Wide Congress, the Federation of Commercial Bodies, the Women's Civic League, the Hopkins Endowment Fund.

MINN.—In St. Paul a most important social work has been carried on by the City Club—a new organization, dealing not only with city planning but also with social questions. A law enacted by the last legislature permits the city to change materially the course of the Mississippi River within its borders and to occupy the present river bed. This will have great effect upon the social conditions of the city.

S. C.—Charleston Community Club organized for civic betterment.

N. S.—As a result of a week's civic revival, the Greater Halifax Conference has been formed. It associated together all the bodies, both official and voluntary, which are engaged in tasks aiming at civic betterment.

CONVICT LABOR.

ALA.—The state is alive to the evils of the fee and convict lease systems and the next legislature will probably bring about changes.

CAL.—Law providing for the state use system of labor in the state prisons.

COL.—Some years ago a system of placing convicts to work on the public highways without the supervision of armed guards was adopted. The honor system has been used and escapes have been few. The plan has proved a great success and is being extended. At the reformatory a plan has been adopted whereby men serving the last thirty days of their sentence are put on the public roads to work and are paid \$1.00 for each working day, thus giving them a small financial stake when ready to return to the outer world. Jail prisoners also work on the public roads.

MO.—Provision for gradual substitution of state account work for contract labor, by convicts at state penitentiary.

ORE.—Decided forward steps as regards prison administration. Convicts are placed on honor system and for two months over 150 men have been working outside the prison at other state institutions and on the public roads without guards. Manual training shops are being installed. The prisoners receive a certain sum for such labor as they perform over and above the regular tasks assigned to them. The Governor has appointed a committee to consider the question of prison labor.

R. I.—With the change in the Wardenship of the State Prison a system of profit sharing between the prisoners and the state on the revenue derived from the prison contract was introduced. This is the first experiment of its kind in Rhode Island and seems to work well.

TEX.—Provision for the abolition of the convict lease system.

DESERTION AND NON-SUPPORT.

CAL.—Law providing that in cases of wife and family abandonment, the man may be sentenced to the county jail and worked on the highways of the county, his family to receive \$1.50 a day from the county for the labor.

COL.—Non-support has been made a felony.

MASS.—If you desert your wife without going through the divorce court, you will be subjected to what has been called "the Washington law." You may be fined and the fine paid to the probation officer and handed over by him to your wife or children (or to the city, town, person or organization supporting them); or if you do not behave under your probation, you may be sent to a prison or reformatory and fifty cents a day paid by the superintendent or keeper thereof to the probation officer for your wife and children.

MINN.—A crude desertion and non-support law has been enacted.

VA.—Law making it a misdemeanor for parents or guardians to neglect to support their children under fourteen years of age, or to subject children under seventeen years of age to vicious or immoral influence, encourage any child to commit a misdemeanor or to send a child under seventeen to certain places.

FEEBLE MINDED AND EPILEPTIC.

CONN.—Mention was made in the last report of the establishment of a State Colony for epileptics by the General Assembly of 1909 and of a small appropriation of \$25,000 for the purpose. Within the past year a farm was bought in the town of Mansfield and a superintendent has been engaged. In the present legislature, hearing has been had upon a bill to appropriate \$325,000 for buildings for the proposed colony, and it is probable that a good part of the sum will be granted.

N. C.—The most important legislative act touching upon charities and correction was the passage of the law establishing a school and home for the feeble minded, \$60,000 bond issue.

PENNA.—A commission was appointed to take into consideration the number and status of feeble-minded and epileptic persons in the commonwealth and the increase of such persons, and to report to the general assembly at its next session a plan or plans for the segregation, care and treatment of such defectives.

VA.—The opening of the Virginia State Epileptic Colony, near Lynchburg, May, 1911, for insane epileptics.

WASH.—Two new modern fire-proofed buildings have been erected at the State School for Feeble Minded at Medical Lake, also new boiler house and shops.

HOUSING.

CAL.—An act amending the Tenement House Law, increasing the restrictions all along the line.

KY.—The excellent Tenement House Law for cities of the first class passed at the last session of the legislature can be made effective only by the passing of city ordinances, providing for the appointment of tenement house inspectors. In Louisville, no such ordinance has been passed and it is only in a general way that the law has been of value. The Health Department of the city is attempting to regulate certain sanitary conditions and the new tenements are being constructed according to the provisions of the new law.

MD.—In Baltimore the office of Chief Tenement Inspector has been created and provision has been made for assistants.

MASS.—A committee of Boston-1915 has combined a comprehensive plan for housing reform with concrete application in specific instances in the city of Boston (with some hope of extending the same to other cities), from which radical results may be expected in time.

OHIO.—The city council of Columbus has passed a building and housing code which has been considered by experts as one of the best in the country. Efforts are now being made to secure adequate means for its complete enforcement.

PENNA.—The Philadelphia Housing Commission, organized last year, has been re-organized and has employed an executive secretary.

A city planning conference met in Philadelphia in May, and the extensive exhibit in connection with it was continued until the middle of June, daily lectures being held on various aspects of the housing problem.

INEBRIETY.

CAL.—Law providing that drug habitues or inebriates may be committed to a state insane hospital for not to exceed two years, a definite term being fixed.

D. C.—A bill for the establishment of an inebriate asylum failed of consideration in either house last year, and has been reintroduced. There is a growing public sentiment back of this bill.

FLA.—State-wide prohibition has been lost as an amendment to the constitution by direct vote of the people.

MAINE.—The county of Cumberland was authorized by the State legislature to establish a county farm for the employment and reformation of inebriates, vagrants and other misdemeanants. Males may be committed to the county farm by the courts, the length of the detention not to be prescribed other than that it shall be not less than three months nor more than one year. The county commissioners may release inmates on parole at any time after three months. The county commissioners of Cumberland county favored the bill and it is expected that they will at once go ahead to select a proper site and erect necessary buildings.

MASS.—This has been a great year for divorce in Massachusetts. The Bar and the Bottle,—the Darby and Joan of inebriety—have had the decree nisi, passed last year, made absolute,—that is to say, the attempt to repeal the separation has failed, in spite of a most vigorous campaign by the liquor interests.

A splendid site of about 700 acres, twenty-five miles from Boston, has been secured for a new state hospital and detention colony for inebriates, and the system of caring for drunkenness in connection with the present institution has been greatly developed through the organization of parole and field work.

VT.—Provision for the commitment of habitual drunkards by the probate court to the care of institutions or of individuals for treatment.

INFANTS, CARE OF.

ALA.—Birmingham's Associated Charities has organized a Committee for the Prevention of Infant Mortality.

D. C.—Additional milk stations have been established for the distribution of pasteurized and modified milk for babies.

- KY.—The Babies' Milk Fund Association, after three years' work, has become so well established that instead of conducting stations during the summer only, it now has four stations operating throughout the year.
- MICH.—The bill for the licensing of maternity hospitals has been signed by the Governor and places all such hospitals under the direct supervision of the Board of Correction and Charities. On the whole, Michigan has made some excellent improvements in her law relative to children and the outlook for still greater efficiency in the future is very encouraging.
- MINN.—Minneapolis has organized an Infant Welfare Committee.
A state law requires that all infants born in lying-in hospitals shall be brought to the notice of a Juvenile Court.
- MO.—Crusade against infant mortality being pressed in St. Louis. Movement on foot to have child welfare exhibit during winter of 1911.
- NEB.—Law regulating maternity hospitals, maternity boarding houses and lying-in hospitals, and the placing out of children born therein, and the proper reporting of all such children. Placing the authority to license and operate under the state board of health.
- N. H.—Law providing for the equal guardianship of minors by both parents. Stringent laws regulating lying-in hospitals and infants' boarding houses. The State Board of Charities and Correction has the power to license the same, upon proper certification by the local boards of health, and also has the right of after-supervision.
- VA.—Establishment of a Baby Hospital near Richmond under the direction of the Richmond Instructive Visiting Nurse Association, to care for indigent sick babies during the summer months.
A law requiring all maternity hospitals and homes for infants where children under five years of age, not relatives, are boarded, to obtain license from the local boards of health on the recommendation of the State Board of Charities and Correction. This Board was given supervision of and authority to visit all children under sixteen years of age, not legally adopted, placed out in this State, all delinquent minors before they are committed to the reformatories, all prisoners paroled from the penitentiary and paroled inmates of the Laurel Industrial School and the Negro Reformatory.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AND REFORMATORIES.

- ALA.—Appropriations made to place the Alabama Industrial School for white boys upon a modern basis with ample buildings, industries, etc.
State Reform and Industrial School for negro boys created at Mt. Meigs.
State aid, regulation and supervision given to the Mercy Home and Industrial School at Birmingham.
A state reformatory for white girls, 12 to 21 years was created.
- COL.—New law providing for the sentencing of first offenders between 16 and 18 years of age to the State Reformatory.
- CONN.—The new state reformatory at Cheshire for various classes of male offenders from 16 to 25 years of age is approaching completion. In addition to the appropriation of \$400,000 made for the purpose in 1909, a further appropriation of \$230,000 has been granted for the construction of needed buildings.

MAINE.—The separate boards of trustees of the state school for boys and the industrial school for girls were consolidated into one board known as "Trustees of Juvenile Institutions" consisting of five men and one woman. The compensation of each trustee was fixed at five dollars a day for the time actually employed and necessary expenses.

MO.—Report made by St. Louis municipal commission on delinquent, neglected and dependent children, resulting in plan to move present city industrial school to the country.

OHIO.—Four parole agents for the girls' industrial home. After July 1, 1911, this home shall be in charge of a matron.

TENN.—Fifty thousand dollars appropriated for the erection of buildings for the Reformatory for Boys, established in 1907. The farm for location of the reformatory has already been purchased by the state.

VT.—Industrial School at Vergennes is to have new dormitories. Appropriation \$28,000.

VA.—Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls opened June, 1910, at Bon Air.

A public free school has been established on the grounds of the Negro Reformatory.

INSANE.

CAL.—Law providing for the voluntary admission of insane patients in state hospitals.

Cottages for the treatment of insane by hydro-therapy and electro-therapy at state insane hospitals have been completed and opened and have shown good results.

The asexualization law passed two years ago has been used in the insane hospitals on both sexes with satisfactory results.

CONN.—The new State Hospital for the Insane at Norwich is being steadily developed in accordance with a systematic plan toward the proposed limit of an institution for 1,000 patients. Hearing has been held before the appropriations committee of the present legislature upon a measure to appropriate \$424,000 for new buildings for the hospital but the committee has not yet made its report.

The superintendents of the private sanatoria for mental and nervous diseases in the State are now organized as the Connecticut Society of Alienists and hold meetings periodically. The Connecticut Society of Mental Hygiene is working in a quiet way for the welfare of the insane.

An entirely new building upon a new location is approaching completion for the use of the Waterbury Hospital. The new hospital will be a model of its kind and will cost about \$300,000 for a building to accommodate 75 patients.

MD.—State Care of the Insane will mean the gradual removal of patients from the County Alms Houses.

Separate State Hospitals for colored insane are under construction.

MICH.—The State Psychopathic Hospital at Ann Arbor and the Michigan State Sanatorium at Howell are the institutions of latest origin in Michigan. The State Psychopathic Hospital was the first of its kind in this country.

Through the initiation of its work there has been established uniformity in medical standards and records in the State institutions for

the insane. During the past year there was conducted a course of instruction for physicians of the State Asylums at which a representative of each institution for the insane attended. The medical director of the Psychopathic Hospital has made some very interesting observations showing the occurrence of hereditary factors in patients admitted. It was found that 64 per cent. of the patients had among their ancestors or families, either insanity, apoplexy, paralysis, psychopathic abnormalities or chronic alcoholism. It was further observed that the greatest number of patients came from among those who do housework, and the next highest number from among those engaged in agriculture, transportation and other out-door work.

NEB.—Appropriation of \$800,000 for additional buildings at the hospital for the insane at Lincoln.

N. C.—Law providing that women whose husbands are insane may sell property for support by special proceedings approved by the judge.

OHIO.—The law requiring guardians and near relatives of patients in State Hospitals to pay for their support has been in operation since August 15, 1910. It has met with very little opposition and the public seem to appreciate the fair and honest effort being made by the Board of State Charities to enforce the provisions of the law.

ORE.—Under the initiative law the people of the state voted to establish a branch asylum for the insane in the eastern part of the state. At the last session, an appropriation was voted to provide for the building and its maintenance.

S. C.—Hospital for the insane is being enlarged.

S. D.—Law providing that only fire-proofed buildings shall be constructed for the housing of the insane and that a particularly specified space shall be provided for each patient.

VA.—Special provision for the custody of the criminal insane by the erection of strong and suitable buildings at the Central and Southwestern State Hospitals.

WASH.—New hospital for the insane opened at Sedro Woolley, to relieve the pressure at Steilacoom.

JAILS, PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES FOR ADULTS.

ALA.—State prison inspector empowered to inspect insane asylums, all camps employing state or county convicts, and such other places, including mills and factories as designated by the Governor.

CAL.—Law compelling the appointment of a matron in a county jail if a female prisoner is confined there, prohibiting the searching of a female prisoner by a male jailor, and requiring absolute separation of the sexes in the county jails.

Plan of discipline in San Quentin Prison has been radically changed; the parole system has developed, the use of the strait jacket greatly reduced and a better spirit exists. A new concrete cell house of 800 cells is nearly completed.

CONN.—A bill has been favorably reported in the Legislature for the appointment of a commission to consider the establishment of a state reformatory for women and to report the results of their investigation two years hence.

D. C.—As a result of appropriations within the past three years, a new workhouse for the District of Columbia has been established on a tract of land of about 1,100 acres located 20 miles from Washington in the state of Virginia. Buildings of a somewhat temporary character have been constructed from lumber cut on the land and the institution is now fully established with about 400 prisoners. Much preliminary work in the way of building of roads, grading and erection of buildings has been done. Stone is being quarried and crushed for use in making roads in the District of Columbia and plans have been prepared for the erection of several brick kilns. There is an indefinite amount of stone and clay available and it is proposed to supply the District government with a large part of its road making material and with bricks for paving and building purposes.

Another large tract of about 1,500 acres was purchased in Virginia as a site for a reformatory, but the appropriation for buildings at this site failed last year because of an agitation in opposition to the location of a reformatory so near the vicinity of Mt. Vernon.

GA.—Counties containing large cities are authorized to employ nurses at the county jail.

MAINE—In 1909, a law was enacted giving to the State Board of Prison and Jail Inspectors power to carry out their own recommendations concerning all equipment and management at the expense of the county in which the jail is located, in case the county commissioners refused or neglected to do so. By the power this law conferred the Board was able to remedy many of the evil conditions prevailing in some of the county jails of Maine, and there was an encouraging prospect for future improvements in the buildings, equipment and management of these institutions. Certain political influences, however, were brought to bear against this law and it was repealed by the last legislature. This was a decided backward step, and some greatly needed improvements in our county jails have thus been indefinitely postponed.

N. H.—An appropriation of \$800 was made for the expenses of a committee to consider the question of a state workhouse, such committee to report their findings to the next legislature.

The New Hampshire State Prison has just adopted the same plan of grading prisoners that has worked such admirable results in raising the standard both of living and conduct on the part of the men in all the large penal institutions of the country.

N. C.—Prohibition of the use of stripes for misdemeanants and increased commutation for prisoners at the state prison.

OHIO—A reformatory for women which shall accept all female offenders over sixteen years of age. It will be unlawful to commit a misdemeanor to any other institution for more than 30 days, except in cases of juvenile delinquency.

There was recently instituted in the Columbus Workhouse an honor system which promises to be an interesting study.

VA.—A law concerning rules for the government of jails and the reduction of sentences of prisoners therein confined, and to provide for the enforcement of the same.

WASH.—At the State Reformatory at Monroe, erection of fire-proof administration building, a superintendent's residence, and a dining-house wing, all built by prison labor.

LABOR, ACCIDENT COMPENSATION, HOURS, CONDITIONS, EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY, ETC.

ALA.—State Board of Mediation and Arbitration created, to pass on labor controversies between employers and employes within the state.

CAL.—Law limiting the working hours of women in stores, factories, hotels, laundries, etc., to eight hours a day and forty-eight hours a week.

Law providing for an employer's liability and creating an industrial accident board.

Act requiring physicians to report "occupational diseases."

Bay Counties Consumers' League of California organized. Its object is to improve the working conditions of women and children.

COL.—Laws providing for employers' liability, for eight hours in mines, mills, smelters, etc., and abolishing fees in the matter of factory inspection.

KY.—The Consumers' League hopes that soon it will be able to better the condition of working women throughout the state. Through its efforts the Governor appointed a Volunteer Commission to investigate the conditions of the working women in the state. This Commission has made a preliminary investigation and is arranging to engage an expert investigator to gather data so that the Commission will be able to make certain definite recommendations to the next legislature.

MAINE.—An act was passed requiring all serious accidents in factories, workshops and other industrial establishments to be promptly reported to the Commissioner of Labor that they may be investigated by State authority, and such precautions taken as will prevent the recurrence of similar happenings. A person in charge of such establishment who fails to report accidents or neglects to take proper precautions against such accidents is liable to a penalty.

An act provides that persons having charge of places where women and girls are employed must furnish seats for them.

A law regulating employment agencies was enacted. No person is allowed to carry on an employment agency without a license from the municipal authorities; and a bond in the penal sum of one thousand dollars must be furnished by the agency, conditioned that the agency shall fully comply with all the requirements of law. Any person aggrieved by the misconduct of an employment agency may maintain an action at law in his own name upon the bond of the agency. The fee allowed the agency is fixed at one dollar, and no fee is allowed where employment is not found for the applicant. Various other conditions are imposed to prevent fraud, unjust treatment of applicants, the furnishing of help to houses of ill-repute, etc.

MINN.—Highly important amendments were made to our factory inspection law, giving the Commissioner of Labor authority to forbid the use of unsafe machinery and to inspect elevators in all buildings where labor is employed; the law was otherwise amended in a way to indicate real social gain. The amount of money which may be collected on account of the death of a person by a wrongful act was increased from \$5,000 to \$7,500. The ten hour law for women was amended to the advantage of the women.

MO.—New law on woman labor; nine hours a day, fifty-four a week, in factories, mercantile establishments, laundries and workshops.

NEB.—Law regulating sanitation in factories, mills, workshops and mercantile establishments, and providing penalties; placing the enforcement of the act under the State Labor Bureau, giving better protection and safety to those who are employed in these factories.

N. H.—A comprehensive law was enacted in relation to employers' liability and workmen's compensation.

N. C.—Law requiring factories to have medical and surgical appliances on hand in case of accidents.

Another law limits hours of work to sixteen consecutive hours for employes of railroads. Workers in factories are limited to sixty hours a week.

OHIO—Workingmen's compensation law passed.

PENNA.—A commission was appointed to investigate industrial accidents. Children under sixteen are not to be employed in coal mines at night.

WASH.—An act limiting the hours of working women to eight hours in twenty-four. This act applies to all women employed in any mechanical or mercantile establishment, except in establishments engaged in harvesting, packing, curing, canning or drying certain perishable articles.

An act providing for the erection and disbursement of funds for the compensation and care of workmen injured in hazardous employment.

N. S.—An attempt was made by the manufacturers of the Province to have that part of the Factory Act repealed which forbids the working of women and boys under eighteen for more than nine hours a day. The attempt was unsuccessful.

LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

DEL.—Through the Associated Charities a Loan Association has been organized with \$10,000 capital. Loans of five or ten dollars will be made for small business enterprises to encourage thrift, industry and self dependence.

D. C.—A bill to regulate the loaning of money in small sums, known as the "loan shark bill," failed of passage because it was not reached on the House calendar. It passed the Senate and was favorably reported by the House committee. It has been reintroduced in the new Congress.

MINN.—Remedial Loan Association established in St. Paul.

MO.—Authorization of reputable mortgage loan companies under state banking laws as a death blow to the loan sharks.

OHIO—In Youngstown the Charity Organization Society established a salary loan scheme, which is found to be very effective in combating the loan sharks. The Modern Homes Company of that city with a capital stock of \$300,000 is building homes, with ample playgrounds, for working men. Seventy-six families were housed the first year.

NURSING.

CONN.—Physicians' and Surgeons' Hospital has opened a training school for nurses.

MINN.—The State has authorized the Boards of County Commissioners to employ visiting nurses.

- N. H.—The District Nursing Association of Pembroke has lately been incorporated, but has not yet begun its work.
- OHIO.—The District Nursing Association of Toledo has established a dental clinic and the Board of Education of that city has established school nursing and employed four nurses.
- ORE.—Social service work in connection with the hospitals has been undertaken by the Visiting Nurse Association of Portland. This organization works through a committee directly with the Multnomah County Hospital, while a committee from the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Good Samaritan Hospital performs the same service for that hospital. The Catholic Women's League has under consideration a similar plan in connection with St. Vincent's Hospital.
- Vt.—The Women's Club of Montpelier, employs a district nurse for the public benefit.

PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS.

- CAL.—State Playground Association organized, and numerous local playgrounds associations and commissions.
- DEL.—Wilmington appropriated \$250,000 for park extension, including five playgrounds under municipal control and three under private management, one salaried supervisor with five assistants, also one playground for colored children.
At Milford, the Woman's Club opened a playground this summer.
- D. C.—An appropriation was made for the purchase of the land and buildings in one of the most densely populated alleys of the city. The inhabited alleys of Washington constitute a large part of the housing problem of the city, and this particular alley had an exceedingly bad criminal record. The purpose of the appropriation is to acquire the land and houses in the heart of the block, and for the development of the land so acquired as an interior park.
An appropriation was made to provide for two new public parks, one of about ten acres and the other of about sixteen acres in extent.
The public playgrounds of the city, which have heretofore been managed and in part maintained by a Playground Association, will hereafter be supported and managed by the city.
- KY.—In Louisville the city took charge of the playgrounds which the Recreation league had conducted for twelve years. The city enlarged the system and increased the scope of the work.
- MINN.—Several laws were enacted to encourage playground work; cities were given power to bond, to purchase land, to exchange land, and to condemn land for public playgrounds.
The Minneapolis Park Board has adopted the plan of large extension of playgrounds in connection with the parks.
- N. H.—The women's clubs in the State are generally much interested in the playground movement, and last summer the Woman's Club of Concord voted two hundred dollars to employ an instructor on the public playground in that city.
- N. C.—The Playground Association of Greensboro has opened playgrounds in connection with a number of the public schools.
- OHIO.—The playground movement has received impetus in Youngstown and Columbus; in the latter city a commissioner of recreation is employed by the city.

- ORE.—The public playgrounds ball keeps on rolling and constantly increasing in size. In Portland particularly, is the advance in public sentiment noted. In 1905, when the first playground was asked for, the idea was looked upon as a crank suggestion, but we have today in this city, the most complete equipment on the coast, and \$300,000 in bonds voted by the people about to be placed on the market—all for public playgrounds.
- R. I.—Law empowering the city of Providence to issue bonds to the amount of \$150,000 to be used in the purchase and construction of public playgrounds.
- TEX.—Park Commission organized in Dallas. Belle Dillgarde Playground opened in San Antonio.
- VT.—The summit of one of the noblest mountains in the state has been given to the state for a public park by Hon. Joseph Battell.
- VA.—Law providing for public playgrounds in certain cities and towns.

PROBATION, PAROLE AND INDETERMINATE SENTENCE.

ADULT.

- D. C.—The bill providing for the probation of adults, reported as pending in Congress last year, was passed by Congress, and approved June 25, 1910. The law provides that the courts "shall have power in any case, except those involving treason, homicide, rape, arson, kidnapping, or a second conviction of a felony, after conviction or after a plea of guilty of a felony or misdemeanor and after imposition of a sentence thereon but before commitment, . . . to place the defendant upon probation."
- The law provides for the appointment of one salaried probation officer for the supreme court of the District of Columbia and two salaried probation officers for the police court, and for as many volunteer assistant probation officers as occasion may require.
- MINN.—Probably the most important act of the last Legislature, relating to social matters was the passage of an Indeterminate Sentence Law, including all crimes but murder and treason. A parole board was created to act in connection with this.
- NEB.—An indeterminate sentence and parole law. The law provides for an appointive board by the Governor of three members, who shall have entire control of parole applications.
- ORE.—Amendment to Indeterminate Sentence law making it mandatory on judges, instead of permissive, to give indeterminate sentence. Same act created a Parole Board of three members—one of whom shall be the superintendent of the prison.
- TEX.—Parole system adopted and provision made for suspended sentences.
- VA.—Law enacted authorizing judges, police justices and justices of the peace in cities of 40,000 inhabitants and over to continue the case of persons brought before them charged with vagrancy, drunkenness and non-support, and to commit such persons to the supervision of a probation officer.
- WIS.—A law was enacted giving the courts the power to sentence persons who have been convicted of a felony to either the state reformatory or the state prison and suspend sentence and place them on probation under the supervision of the State Board of Control. This law has not been in operation a sufficient length of time to pass upon the

question as to whether its operations will be satisfactory, but up to the present time, we are satisfied with its results. More than one hundred persons have been placed on probation under the provisions of that law.

One of the purposes of the law is to relieve the state of the burden of maintaining persons who are probably not criminally inclined but who have under certain conditions violated the law. Persons placed on probation are compelled to apply their earnings toward the support of their families, if they have families, and if not, to pay any indebtedness which they may have incurred, and to make restitution of any money or property which have been taken by them in the commission of the offense.

The legislature of 1909 amended the parole law so as to give the State Board of Control the power to parole persons who have offended more than once and also to parole lifers, who have served thirty years, less the good time allowance, which would mean that each lifer would have to serve sixteen years and three months net. The Board has only exercised the power given to it with reference to lifers in a limited number of cases. Only five lifers have been paroled.

PROBATION AND PAROLE (JUVENILE) AND JUVENILE COURTS.

ALA.—New county law creating a juvenile court for Jefferson County which includes the cities of Birmingham and Bessemer.

Birmingham has a new negro probation association to care for negro children on probation from the juvenile court.

ARK.—The most important thing that has been done this year is the enactment of the law by which any county in the state may have a juvenile court. There has been created a commission for the appointment of probation officers who must keep in touch with the cases on probation.

CAL.—New juvenile court law increasing largely the number of probation officers and also their salaries, and extending the age limit of offenders to 21 years.

DEL.—Law creating a juvenile court in Wilmington. The Judge is to serve without compensation and the probation officer is to be paid \$1,000 a year.

MICH.—Juvenile court law has been amended and authority given the Board of Correction and Charities to force compliance with the provisions of the act with respect to the investigation of homes for children and their isolation from criminal associations while waiting the order of the Court. The County Agents have come more directly under the control of the Board of Correction and Charities and now their appointment must be on the recommendation of said Board.

MINN.—Detention schools are made more important as the juvenile court has been given authority to sentence to such institutions until the child reaches his majority, if the school teaches all the branches taught in the graded school, as well as agriculture.

An increase was made in the number of district judges in the district in which Minneapolis is, and the law made more specific as to the designation of a judge to do the juvenile court work.

MO.—Juvenile courts established in six counties.

OHIO—In Toledo and Columbus there have been organized juvenile court associations.

PENNA.—Assistants to Chief Probation Officers were authorized by legislation.

S. C.—A bill to establish a juvenile court was passed in both houses, but the Governor's veto killed it.

TENN.—Juvenile Court Bill, along with other reform efforts, killed by an unawakened legislature.

VA.—An act providing that delinquent minors under seventeen years of age should be tried, if possible, separate from adults, should not be deemed criminals, should not be treated as such, should not be placed in jails or the penitentiary, but in suitable homes and institutions, and allowed to be released on probation.

WASH.—An act relating to the powers of juvenile courts, and the care, custody, and control of delinquent children. This act provides for (a) a private hearing; (b) increased number of probation officers; (c) detailed records; (d) and the supervision of individuals, as well as private institutions boarding children.

N. S.—Juvenile Court has been established, the detention home is open, and the parole officer has assumed his duties.

PUBLIC HEALTH.*

ALA.—State legislature increased their appropriations, giving the State Board of Health widened jurisdiction and equipment. A state wide propaganda of education on preventable diseases is authorized.

KY.—Louisville has passed several excellent ordinances which will tend toward the general uplift of the state along pure food lines. An ordinance passed for preventing the manufacture and sale of adulterated or mis-branded foods is being carefully enforced by the inspectors of the city Health Department. Much attention has been given the milk. The city supply is not only subject to close inspection on the part of the city inspectors, but also to that of four inspectors sent to the counties supplying Louisville.

Louisville has an ordinance providing for the appointment of a live stock inspector whose duty it is to inspect all food animals and to condemn and destroy all those unfit for food,—no provision is made for a post-mortem inspection. This ordinance carries with it a provision for quarantine for animals which the inspector wishes to watch and a fine and imprisonment for refusing to quarantine, for failure to kill animals condemned by the inspector and for evading any provision of the ordinance.

The Enabling Health Laws of the last legislature are being carefully worked out. The Hospital Commission has plans under way for a public hospital in Louisville. The Home for Incurables is enjoying its first annual appropriation of ten thousand dollars from the state.

The Act to Establish a Bureau of Vital Statistics went into effect January 1st, 1911. The State Board of Health has thoroughly systematized the work of this bureau so that every birth, every death and its cause must be reported according to the most modern methods. The State appropriated \$30,000.00 to the Health Board for the collection of vital statistics and general expenses. This was an increase of \$25,000.00 over former appropriations.

*See also TUBERCULOSIS.

MD.—The Great Health Conference held by the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, supposed to be the first of the kind in the country.

MINN.—Improvement of laws relating to weights and measures, impure milk and cream, mine inspection, etc.

Two important rulings by the supreme court of Minnesota during the year bore upon social matters. The court held that the physical examination of school children is a proper exercise of the duties of members of school boards; it also made a ruling indicating that cities owning water systems are liable for injury done to the inhabitants by the use of impure water.

N. H.—A law to provide for the registration of all classes of tuberculosis in the office of the State Board of Health was enacted.

Provision was made for the expenses of a commission of five persons to investigate the subject-matter of the disease of tuberculosis and to recommend to the next Legislature some comprehensive plan to prevent its spread.

An act to provide for the prevention of ophthalmia neonatorum, was passed, vesting the state board of health with power and authority to publish such information and instruction and to make such rules, regulations and ordinances as it may deem expedient in relation to this disease.

A law was enacted to restrict the use of the common drinking cup in order to prevent the spread of communicable diseases.

Provision was also made for certified and inspected milk and also to promote the sanitary production and distribution of food, defining the duties of the state board of health in relation thereto.

N. C.—Health appropriation more than doubled. Quarantine for smallpox has been abolished, and vaccination declared to be the only real protection.

OHIO—Inspection laws for workshops and public buildings strengthened.

PENNA.—A very successful public health conference was held under the direction of the Central Council of the Pittsburg Associated Charities, with the co-operation of leading public and private social agencies of that city.

A milk show and exhibit was held under the auspices of the Department of Public Health and Charities, Philadelphia. A number of the agencies interested in the Pure Milk Campaign have planned follow up work in accordance with a definite plan which has been drawn up.

R. I.—Legislation relating to the compulsory inspection of school children; cost is to be paid by cities and towns with a state subsidy.

TEX.—Powers and duties of the health board extended, by legalizing the rules and regulations adopted by this board.

VT.—The efficient State Board of Health is gaining the confidence and approval of the public and its legal powers have been increased; laws to secure the prevention of blindness in infants, to secure the registration of nurses, and to secure the examination and licensing of embalmers have been enacted.

N. S.—Public Health act of last year has been amended, providing inspectors for foods and punishment for delinquent dealers. Further amendments require the reporting of ophthalmia neonatorum and the proper treatment therefor.

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.

ARK.—The work of the School Improvement Association is causing better sanitary measures to be adopted in the public schools.

CONN.—Two free public day and evening schools authorized by the general Assembly of 1909, have been opened in Bridgeport and New Britain by the State Board of Education for instruction in the arts and practices of trades. The schools are for pupils over fourteen years of age and attendance and work accomplished so far are very encouraging.

KY.—In Louisville the truancy problem is being dealt with intelligently for the first time. About thirty-five Parent Teachers' Associations have been formed. Federation of these associations is working for the installment of nurses in the public schools. The State Board of Health is assisting also in the general educational movement; it printed and distributed to every doctor and school teacher in the State Eugene Kerner's booklet on Tuberculosis and other Infectious Diseases. The booklet contains a chapter also on school hygiene.

MAINE.—An act was passed to encourage industrial education in the State by requiring the Superintendent of Public Schools to advise and aid in the introduction of industrial courses into free high schools and academies. The State Normal Schools are required to maintain courses in manual arts, domestic science and agriculture. State aid will be given to all elementary schools giving satisfactory instruction in manual training, and to all free high schools and incorporated academies where satisfactory instruction is given in the principles of agriculture and the domestic and mechanic arts. State aid is also to be given to towns maintaining evening schools where suitable instruction in manual training is given.

Md.—The Department of Education of Baltimore has authorized the opening of school buildings and grounds for neighborhood purposes.

MASS.—The civil service law has been extended to cover school physicians. A resolve has been passed directing the State Board of Education to investigate and report in regard to industrial education.

MICH.—In the State Public Schools and in our two State Industrial institutions, manual training and domestic science are being emphasized more and more each year and the results of such instruction for good are very marked. The public schools of the State are urging the adoption of courses in industrial education, and the trend of public opinion is very much in favor of such a movement.

MINN.—The last legislature brought about important changes in the public school law, especially in the extension of agriculture and manual training, and domestic science. Other alterations in the law make sixteen the uniform legal age for leaving school, requiring a written application for any excuse from school before that age and a vote thereon by the school board, eliminating poverty as a reason for leaving school. The law also requires an annual census of the children of school age throughout the state and imposes upon the labor commissioner the duty to assist in the enforcement of this law.

A department on social centers has been established by the school board of Minneapolis. This board is preparing to build in connection with every new school an auditorium and gymnasium and to acquire sufficient grounds in all new purchases for playgrounds.

Mo.—Law permitting the submission of constitutional amendment to remove age restrictions (6-20 years) in public schools.

TEX.—Provision for the establishment of county high schools with emphasis upon the teaching of agriculture, manual training and domestic science; such schools to be recipients of state aid.

A somewhat remarkable activity prevails among the parent and teachers' clubs of the State. They have kept before the public a discussion of practically all questions which pertain to the welfare of school children. Much has been accomplished in the decoration of school rooms and the beautifying of school grounds. The use of school buildings as social centers has been agitated and some experimental work has been carried on.

VT.—Many meetings have been held throughout the state under the direction of the superintendent of education, to stimulate interest in improved schools and more skilful farming; attention has been called to manual training and garden culture in connection with the common schools.

SEX HYGIENE.

CAL.—California Society for the Study and Prevention of Gonorrhea and Syphilis organized.

Los Angeles has wiped out her red light district and San Francisco has segregated and restricted hers.

COL.—Legislation concerning the white slave traffic.

CONN.—Mention has not been made before of the Connecticut Society of Social Hygiene which has been organized for the purpose of studying the questions of sex hygiene and of promulgating sound instruction on the subject. The society has its headquarters in Hartford and includes a good-sized membership.

D. C.—Law passed defining and prohibiting pandering and providing for punishment by imprisonment of not less than one nor more than five years, and a fine of not more than \$1,000.

An act known as the "white slave traffic act" was passed under the title, "An Act to further regulate interstate and foreign commerce by prohibiting the transportation therein for immoral purposes of women and girls, and for other purposes." The act provides severe penalties by fine or imprisonment and applies, of course, to all the states and territories as well as the District of Columbia.

MINN.—White Slave Law amended to eliminate the fine and make the penalty simply imprisonment.

The Mayor of Minneapolis appointed a vice commission of 15 members some months ago, to study the whole question of vice in that city.

NEB.—Acts, declaring an assignation house a nuisance and placing the responsibility upon the owner of the building, and providing penalties; defining the white slave traffic and providing stringent punishment for same; defining and prohibiting pandering.

N. H.—A law was enacted relating to pandering, defining and prohibiting the same, and providing for the punishment thereof.

ORE.—Pronounced sentiment in favor of teaching some system of eugenics in the public schools and colleges.

TEX.—Texas Society of Social Hygiene organized in 1910. Its purpose is to advance the moral and physical betterment of the race.

VT.—Last legislature enacted more stringent laws against white slavery.

SOCIAL WORKERS CLUBS.

D. C.—The Monday Evening Club, composed largely of social workers, has continued very active during the year. It has done a large amount of social work through its standing committees. At its meetings during the past year it has given the major portion of its attention to the welfare of children—particularly the welfare of public school children. It is now preparing a program of social legislation, which it proposes to submit to the Commissioners and urge before the committees of Congress.

OHIO—A conference of charities and philanthropies has been organized in Cincinnati which is composed of two delegates from each charitable and philanthropic institution or agency in the city.

In Columbus the Central Philanthropic Council holds monthly sessions and brings about a better understanding among the various charitable societies of the city. Such a central council is being organized in Dayton.

TEX.—In Houston there has been organized the Social Service League for the purposes of co-operation.

WASH.—The Social Service Club of Seattle is an educational arena for the discussion of social, economic and philanthropic agencies.

STATE BOARDS.

CAL.—State Board of Charities law amended, increasing the appropriation from \$6,000 to \$10,000 a year; providing for the inspection of all children's institutions receiving state aid and for collecting statistics concerning indigent relief.

Law creating State Board of Control of three members. Board has the following powers: 1, a board of audit, to pass upon all claims against the state; 2, a department of accounting, to provide systems of accounting and to inspect the books of all departments of state government and state institutions, at least once a year; 3, to approve all contracts for supplies for state institutions and state departments, to grant permits to buy in the open market and also to execute appropriations made by the legislature.

COLO.—An act was passed requiring public, semi-private or private charitable or correctional institutions to report to the State Board of Charities and Correction, and fixing a penalty for failure so to do. Persons operating private or semi-private charitable or correctional institutions, "including other institutions, whether they do or do not receive public or private donations, which advertise or hold themselves out as being ready to receive disabled, incapable or dependent men, women or children for care or treatment," without first obtaining a license are liable to fine and imprisonment. A license may be revoked for failure to file an annual report.

Acts, permitting the State Board of Charities and Correction to appoint Boards of County Visitors in cases where the County Judge fails to do so.

CONN.—An act has been passed by the present Legislature providing that no institution nor person, unless holding a charter from the State for the purpose, shall care for dependent children under 16 years of age, other than their own, in any number exceeding four at the same time in the same place, without a license obtained from the State Board of Charities.

The State Board of Charities has been granted a sufficient ap-

propriation this year so that it will be able to employ one agent all of the time in finding family homes for children from the County Temporary Homes and in supervising the children when so placed.

MAINE.—The managements of the state institutions for the insane and for the feeble minded were consolidated, by the appointment of one board of trustees to administer them. The board has four members, of which one is a woman; the Governor is a member of the board, ex officio. The trustees are to receive no compensation except their actual expenses.

MICH.—There are thirty-one private institutions that make regular official reports to the State Board of Charities and Correction. The total combined number of children received by them during the year was 2,331. Of this number 1,811 were placed out in homes; 1,502 restored to parents or guardians, the remainder together with total in private institutions at the beginning of the year number 1,930.

MO.—A most regrettable occurrence during the year has been the failure of the legislature to grant the request of the State Board of Charities and Correction for an appropriation of \$7,200 a year to carry on its work. The biennial report of the board was made in the form of a general survey of its field in the state, with the result that the beginnings of a concerted effort toward wholesome legislation in this field are already to be seen.

N. H.—Provision was made for the expense of a commission of three persons to examine into the workings of a system of centralized supervision of penal and charitable institutions.

OHIO.—A state board of administration created for the management of all State benevolent, penal and correctional institutions, except the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home. This act does not include State universities. It becomes effective on and after August 15, 1911.

ORE.—The sentiment in favor of a State Board of Charities is gaining strength, not only among the people interested in the institutions and philanthropic work, but also among the legislators. The preference seems to be for a board with advisory and supervisory powers.

TUBERCULOSIS.*

ALA.—Definite steps have been taken regarding the establishment and maintenance of a state sanatorium for tuberculosis, authorized before, but not financed.

Birmingham and Montgomery have organized anti-tuberculosis associations.

ARK.—Anti-tuberculosis sanitarium was provided for two years ago. It opened at Booneville in September, 1910. The institution is full, and the legislature is appropriating liberally for its maintenance and expansion.

A few local health leagues have been formed in cities; the work of these societies is chiefly aimed against tuberculosis.

CAL.—San Francisco Society, organized for the study and relief of tuberculosis.

COL.—Act providing for the registration of persons afflicted with tuberculosis, and requiring fumigation.

*See also PUBLIC HEALTH.

CONN.—County Homes for tuberculosis patients, for which \$175,000 was appropriated by the General Assembly of 1909, have been opened in the three most populous counties within the past year with a total capacity of about 300 beds. The sanatoria have been well filled and efforts are being made in the present Legislature to secure appropriations to open similar establishments in two of the smaller counties.

DEL.—Five thousand dollars appropriated for the Anti-Tuberculosis Commission for administration building at Hope Farm, and another five thousand for a building for colored patients.

KY.—The Kentucky Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis has rented and specially equipped a railroad passenger coach which reaches about four hundred towns in the state—every town on a railroad. This Association distributes literature and gives stereopticon talks, not only to every town on a railroad, but to every town not located on the railroad.

MAINE.—In April, 1911, about thirty delegates from all over the State, representing societies interested in the campaign against tuberculosis, met in Lewiston for a conference. The result was the organization of a state association with the purpose of maintaining an active warfare all over the state.

MD.—Municipal Tuberculosis Commission established in Baltimore.

MICH.—Michigan has a State Association for the prevention of Tuberculosis and the University of Michigan co-operates with the State Association in its efforts to stamp out the disease. At a recent meeting of the University Regents a plan for the appointment of members of the medical faculty to lecture on the subject of tuberculosis, and to co-operate in every way possible with the State Board of Health against tuberculosis, was approved.

Aside from the State Association, nearly every city of importance in the State has a local association for the prevention of tuberculosis.

MINN.—The State Anti-Tuberculosis Association has been successful in bringing about the organization of many local associations or committees. The whole number now in the state is about 25. Two counties have taken advantage of the County Hospital Law and are erecting Sanatoria.

In Minneapolis, a hundred and twenty-five bed municipal hospital is under way to be devoted to tuberculosis cases.

The St. Paul Anti-Tuberculosis Committee has established an excellent camp for children at White Bear Lake.

MO.—Provision for erection of district or county tuberculosis hospitals.

Fifty-nine cities and towns visited by traveling car of state association for the relief and control of tuberculosis. State commission on tuberculosis, appointed by Governor Hadley, but financed privately, has made comprehensive report on conditions of state.

NEB.—Provision for establishment of indigent tubercular hospital, appropriating \$50,000.

N. H.—An annual appropriation of \$20,000 for each of the next two years was made for the encouragement and maintenance of sanatoria for the treatment of indigent persons afflicted with tuberculosis in the advanced stages, the state board of charities and correction to have the power to engage free beds in such sanatoria, as have been approved by the state board of health, for such persons.

- N. C.—Anti-Tuberculosis Societies have been formed all over the state.
- OHIO.—The Ohio State Sanatorium is now receiving patients afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis and encouraging results are reported.
The first district hospital for tuberculosis was formally dedicated on April 2. This institution is located near Lima. Other district hospitals are now being constructed or planned.
- ORE.—State Institution for the Treatment of Tuberculosis for which a preliminary appropriation was made at the session preceding the one of 1911, was opened at Salem, Oregon. Patients are eligible after a year's residence and upon recommendation by the county judge of the county in which the applicant resides.
- PENNA.—A law directs that County Commissioners may appropriate not to exceed \$10 per week for indigent patients, residents of the County, who may be cared for by any sanatorium managed by a duly incorporated society.
- R. I.—Appropriation of \$2,500 for the R. I. Anti-Tuberculosis Association. Many new city and county associations have been formed throughout the state for the relief and prevention of tuberculosis.
The City of Providence opened its new City Hospital for contagious diseases in March, 1910. A portion of the hospital not needed at this time for contagious diseases is being used for advanced cases of tuberculosis.
- S. D.—The buildings at the Institution for the Treatment of Tubercular patients at Custer have been completed and the institution is now ready to receive patients.
- TEX.—State hospital for tuberculous patients established.
- VA.—Camps for the free treatment of indigent consumptives have been established outside of Richmond and Petersburg.
- WIS.—The legislature of 1909 made provision for an addition to the Tuberculosis Sanatorium by giving that institution a capacity of about one hundred and thirty.
There is an anti-tuberculosis organization in almost every city of any size in the state and even in some of the smaller towns.
The legislature of 1911 has just enacted a law giving counties the power to establish sanatoria for tubercular patients in the advanced stages and making provision for the payment by the state for a part of the support of indigent persons.
There is a state organization for the prevention of tuberculosis with headquarters at Milwaukee.
- N. S.—The Anti-Tuberculosis League of Halifax County has set itself to build a hospital for advanced cases. The funds are being raised and it is hoped that the building may be constructed during this year.

Minutes of the Meetings

OPENING MEETING, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7th, 8 P. M.

The Conference was called to order by Mr. John F. Moors, Chairman of the Local Committee, in the following words:

Mr. Moors: Will the Conference please come to order? Two hundred and eighty-one years ago, the first settlers of this Community started by building a church, the first church in Boston. This Conference will open with prayer by the minister of that church, the Rev. Charles Edward Parks.

After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Parks:

Mr. Moors: We have met in the great cause of human helpfulness. Such gatherings as these have dispelled the old notion that modern charity does less for the poor than the old indiscriminate relief-giving did. In respect to the conviction that in every human being there is a divine spark which may be fanned into a flame, modern charity has accomplished much.

This Conference is now to be welcomed to the Old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by the Governor of the Commonwealth, a Governor who has shown great courage in crises. I have the honor to introduce Governor Eugene N. Foss.

Governor Foss welcomed the Conference in behalf of the State of Massachusetts.

Governor Foss: In extending to you the welcome of Massachusetts I act in the name of a Commonwealth that stands in the very forefront of humanitarian work.

It is, therefore, with particular pleasure that I take part in this National Conference, which aims to improve still further the administration of public charities.

The problems of such administration are far reaching and of deep significance. On the one hand is the public duty of caring for the helpless; on the other hand there is the grave danger that, by making too free with our public and private benefactions, we may actually invite and foster pauperism.

While your associations have done good work in charitable lines, yet I think your greatest service has consisted in the scientific study of the causes of poverty. For in a sense, poverty is a disease of society, and while it is relatively easy to help the sufferer, the great problem is to find out ways to curb the spread of this disease.

Private and public organizations which attack this problem are therefore forced to study the causes which lead to the loss of self-supporting power and try not only to find a cure, but a preventive.

Here in Massachusetts with our vast and costly machinery of public charities, we stand today in my opinion at the parting of the ways. The State has opened so wide the doors of its charitable institutions that they are besieged by thousands, seeking shelter from the difficulties and dangers of personal destitution and illness.

It would seem as if there were a popular tide setting toward our public institutions, which are now so fine and so homelike as to be

positively inviting to those who value too lightly the dignity and the nobility of personal independence.

I need not say to a gathering like this that there is danger in overdoing any benevolent work. There is but one unit of value in a democratic community—and that is the value of sane, healthy, self-supporting and usefully occupied individuals. That is the basis of all social and industrial success. That is the fundamental asset of the Commonwealth.

All our institutions which merely afford a shelter and a refuge for human failures can never overcome poverty. It is our duty to see that they afford full protection to those alone who are fully entitled to such protection. But their growth is not a sign of social health, but of increasing social sickness.

We must take warning and concentrate our public and private efforts more and more upon the work of safeguarding for every citizen his birthright of personal independence and self-reliance.

We must fight against every industrial condition which tends to belittle that birthright; we must seek means to increase the personal value and the self-supporting power of our young people, getting at them long before they approach the danger line of poverty and dependence upon public aid.

Of the social causes of poverty I am particularly interested in two. The first is the comparative failure of our present educational system to give to boys and girls such vocational training as best fits them for the callings which the great majority of them enter. I mean training that will fit the pupils for the so-called skilled occupations and will so equip them that upon leaving school they will have the best possible prospect for future usefulness and independence.

In all of the mechanical industries the great need is for skilled workmen and in this state the future of our industries depends upon developing the highest possible skill among our workmen.

And for girls as well as boys, suitable training is needed that they may be better fitted both for industrial callings, if they must enter them, and for the work of the home for which they cannot be too well trained.

It seems to me that at present we turn adrift at the completion of their school course, too large a number of boys and girls who, without being fitted for anything better, are inclined to look down upon the useful occupations which most of them should have been specially trained to enter.

In this lack of vocational training we find, I believe, one fruitful cause of many aimless careers, which can lead to nothing that is good and must tend to swell the number of ineffectives from whom so many of the dependent classes come.

A second important cause of poverty is our present defective method of distributing the burdens and losses occasioned by industrial accidents and the diseases that seem more or less inevitably to attend certain classes of occupations.

It is hardly necessary to suggest to such an audience as this, that at present such burdens fall almost wholly upon the workers; and to say that these losses, by disabling bread winners, depriving children of suitable education, and even disrupting families, contribute very greatly to the increase of poverty in the present generation and perhaps even more to produce poverty in the next generation to come.

Nothing is more significant or hopeful as a sign of the times than the interest now manifested in all parts of our land in legislation designed to bring about a better distribution of this class of industrial losses. In this state the subject has recently been under consideration by a special

commission and measures are now before the general court from which I trust some legislation may result at the present session.

We must also seek to bring about a more equitable distribution of the burdens arising from taxation so that the poor man, with a family, shall not have to carry the load which his rich brother evades.

In this State, at the present time all of these helpful measures are receiving full public attention. We hope to have a broader system of workmen's compensation for accidents, a more just system of taxation and a broader field of industrial education.

I would not be understood as seeking to belittle the value of all proper charitable efforts, but only to point out the far greater importance of preventing poverty before it becomes chronic. We must be on our guard. We must take warning from the sad histories of European peoples and prevent the spread of poverty before it becomes here the terrifying spectre that it is over the greater part of the world. For lack of sufficient foresight London, for example, has sunk so far in the financial scale that I understand today over 1-5 of the population depends on private and public benefactions.

We must not pride ourselves so much upon the excellence of our public charities as to forget for a moment the great public duty of preventing the growth of destitution and the decay of personal power.

Mr. Moors: Not only does the Commonwealth of Massachusetts welcome this Conference, but the City of Boston has a welcome. I have the honor to introduce as the representative of the City of Boston, Acting Mayor Collins.

Acting Mayor Collins then welcomed the Conference in most cordial terms. He assured the members that Mayor Fitzgerald sincerely regretted his enforced absence on this occasion. The City of Boston is always hospitable to visitors and during the year has had occasion to entertain a number of National Organizations but none which is more worthy of high esteem and respect than the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Mr. Collins expressed a hope that not only would the city profit by the visit of the Conference but that the delegates might take away with them some additional knowledge of Civic Charities and Correction gained by observation of what is being practiced here. If there are any new and improved methods of philanthropy which have been successful elsewhere and which Boston has not yet adopted it is only a question of time and knowledge until the citizens and the officials of Boston will adopt them, whether they belong to the official departments or to some of the private eleemosynary agencies which in Boston are numerous and progressive.

Mr. Moors: At this point in the program the local committee has the honor of transferring the management of this Conference to the President of the Conference, Mr. Homer Folks.

President Folks here assumed the Chair.

The President: My first and very pleasant duty is to introduce to you Mr. Robert W. de Forest, President of the Charity Organization Society of New York, and a former President of this Conference. He will reply to the gracious addresses of welcome which have been delivered—Mr. de Forest.

Mr. de Forest: Mr. President, His Excellency the Governor, and Mr. Mayor, Gentlemen of the Local Committee, and Ladies: This is not the first time that Boston has welcomed the Conference of Charities and Correction. Most of us feel very much at home in Boston, and we have felt at home in Boston before we came here. All of those who did not, Mr. Chairman, feel all the more at home by reason of the reception they have

had since they came, and not least by reason of the words that have been spoken upon this platform. Most of us knew Boston when we were children. We have felt the thrill of the Boston Tea Party and Bunker Hill. We are not in the position of the English lady of title who entertained my mother when she first went to England. It was after dinner when the ladies had retired to the drawing room, and this English lady came up to my mother in a very patronizing way and says:

"Madam, you are from America?"

"Yes, I am."

"That's very interesting." My mother did not reply to that.

"I have a cousin in America."

"Indeed," said my mother. "Where does he live?"

"My cousin lives in Muss." My mother hesitated.

"Muss, I don't know just where Muss is. Have you not mistaken the name?"

"No, not at all, madam. All of his letters are addressed to Boston, Muss."

We are more than a thousand strong, lusty and hearty. We have come here to learn from Boston; and if I may voice the latent feelings from the bottom of our hearts and minds, we may learn Boston something too. I know that President Eliot will say that I am not Harvard English. Being an Easterner myself I want to warn my Boston friends lest they be a little too complacent, by an experience of mine. I was addressing a charity meeting in New York, and stating the great advantages which New York and other eastern communities, like Boston, had over some of the western cities. After describing the conditions in New York and Boston I said "Think of the situation in Oshkosh and Kalamazoo," and I sat down—or I tried to sit down but I didn't reach my seat before an athletic woman in front of me arose. Said she, "Mr. de Forest of New York has spoken of conditions in Oshkosh and Kalamazoo. He has not been to Oshkosh and Kalamazoo, and evidently does not know Oshkosh or Kalamazoo. I do. I live in Oshkosh and visit in Kalamazoo; and I want Mr. de Forest, of New York, to know that Oshkosh and Kalamazoo can give New York points every time." The lady was right. Boston and New York can get some points from Oshkosh and Kalamazoo and the western cities that these cities stand for.

But Boston has some disadvantages for this Conference. Boston is terribly distracting. There is a great deal going on here. I was reminded of this by the pleasure exhibited by one of my lady friends who is coming as a delegate, with reference to the Conference coming to Boston. Said she, "I want to go to Boston to the Conference of Charities and Correction, because there is the Museum of Fine Arts, and the Arnold Arboretum, and Harvard University, and the Boston Common; and perhaps they will have a good game of ball on the stadium for the Conference." Now it may be, Mr. President, that you may wish this Conference had been in Oshkosh or Kalamazoo, where you would have this audience entirely in hand, and could have kept them there. I have some sympathy for you and the others who will be tied to the platform by a sense of duty. But if that happens, it will only be another proof of the cordial welcome that Boston extends to this Conference.

The President then made the annual Presidential address Page 1).

The President: Contrary to our earlier customs we take up this evening the serious business of the Conference in its specialties. The Committee on Lawbreakers will now have charge of the remainder of the evening. I turn over the meeting to Mr. Orlando F. Lewis, Secretary of the New York Prison Association, and Chairman of the Committee on Lawbreakers.

Mr. Lewis here assumed the Chair.

The Chairman: The Report which I shall now read is not the Chairman's paper. According to custom, the Report is written by the Chairman after having received suggestions from the various members of the Committee. Then it is sent to each member of the Committee, who returns the paper with other suggestions. The paper, therefore, that I am to read is really the report of the Committee, because a majority of the Committee have approved or amended it.

Mr. Lewis then read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Lawbreakers. (Page 44.)

The Chairman: Dr. E. C. Wines, who founded the International Prison Congress, has been called the John Howard of America. It is a special honor for us to have upon the platform the son of Dr. Wines, himself a penologist of renown, and the writer of an American classic. He will speak to us on the Abolition of the County Jail.

Mr. Wines read an address entitled "The Abolition of the County Jail." (Page 52.)

The Chairman: From this platform and to this National Conference, and to a Boston audience, the next speaker needs no introduction. We shall be no more honored in any session of the Conference than by having an address at the close of this evening from the President Emeritus of Harvard University, Dr. Elliot.

Dr. Elliot read an address entitled "The Suppression of Moral Defectives." (Page 56.)

After various announcements by the Secretary the meeting adjourned.

SECOND GENERAL SESSION.

THURSDAY, JUNE 8th, 9:30 A. M.

The President called upon the General Secretary to call the roll of States, for brief oral reports, by the State Corresponding Secretaries, or

Responses were made as follows by the persons whose names follow the names of the State, etc.: Alabama, Maurice Willows; Arkansas, Miss Minnie Rutherford; California, W. Almont Gates; Colorado, F. J. Bruno; Connecticut, Charles P. Kellogg; Delaware, Mrs. Emily P. Bissell; District of Columbia, George S. Wilson; Florida, Marcus C. Fagg; Georgia, Joseph C. Logan; Hawaii, James A. Rath; Idaho, Dr. O. P. Christian; Illinois, A. L. Bowen; Indiana, W. H. Elchorn; Iowa, G. S. Robinson; Kansas, H. C. Bowman; Kentucky, Miss Frances Ingram; Maine, E. P. Wentworth; Maryland, H. Wirt Steele; Massachusetts, Joseph Lee; Michigan, J. B. Montgomery; Minnesota, Eugene T. Lies; Missouri, W. T. Cross; Nebraska, A. W. Clark; New Jersey, Hugh F. Fox; New Hampshire, W. J. Ahern; New York, Robert W. Hill; North Carolina, Mrs. Solomon Weil; North Dakota, Frank D. Hall; Ohio, S. J. Hathaway; Oklahoma, Dr. J. H. Stolper; Oregon, J. G. Kilpack; Pennsylvania, Edwin D. Solenberger; Rhode Island, Rev. Mr. Ewer; South Carolina, John Porter Hollis; South Dakota, W. H. King; Tennessee, Mrs. J. D. Hammond; Texas, John L. Green; Utah, Mrs. Ida S. Dusenberry; Vermont, John E. Weeks; Virginia, Rev. S. C. Hatcher; Washington, Miss Virginia McMechen; West Virginia, James Dunn; Wisconsin, Mrs. Katharine Van Wyck; Canada, Dr. Helen McMurchy.

The substance of the Oral Reports has been incorporated in the written Reports from States which begin on Page 430.

The President: I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, who was President of the Conference in 1881, when it met in Boston. He is now the oldest living ex-President.

Mr. Sanborn: Ladies and Gentlemen; I had the pleasure of calling the Conference of Charities and Correction to order in this city 30 years ago and within the presence of some persons I see before me now. Sadly few they are, I have only noticed three.

I congratulate you on the progress that has been made in the last thirty years. The status of the United States in regard to charities seems to be in the condition of the department stores, where the inscription is "If there is anything you don't see at our counters, ask for it." I want to speak of an old paper of my friend Dr. Howe which has just come to light. Dr. Howe was the grandfather of this Conference. I want to quote from a paper that has recently been discovered among his manuscripts in which he gives an account of hospitals for the insane in Paris about the year '61. He speaks of the Hospital of St. Anne in Paris and says that one of its purposes was to discriminate carefully, and distribute properly among the different public institutions, the insane patients for treatment. He speaks of the different types that are brought in, cases of accident, of delirium tremens, of sunstroke, people who cannot give their names, and whom the police do not know what to do with. The receiving department—he goes on to say—has accommodations for about 60, and the arrangements are most admirable. There are single rooms, and rooms for six or more patients; strong rooms, etc.; each room opens into a court yard 20 feet wide and 50 feet long, to which each patient has access. The subjects stay in the receiving department until the physicians are satisfied about their condition and wants. Upon the decision of these physicians distribution is made of the patients. Some are discharged in two days as having suffered from delirium tremens. Some are epileptics whose friends may take care of them. All those who are proper subjects for treatment are passed through the receiving department into the hospital proper, which has provision for about 600 patients. That describes as existing in Paris about 45 years ago what we have only recently installed and provided for in our psychopathic hospital. For this description was made in 1867 by Dr. Howe, who was at that time chairman of the State Board of Charities, in which office I succeeded him. But all his suggestions for the improvement of insane people were received by the medical profession in general either with doubt, or with contempt, although most of them have since been adopted. And that is why I wanted to recall to the memory of the existing generation that we did have in Massachusetts over 40 years ago a man of such genius, who pointed the way for every branch of philanthropy, and last but not least for the care of the insane.

The President: I have to announce the appointment of the following Committees:

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Amos W. Butler, Indiana; Kate Barnard, Oklahoma; Hugh F. Fox, New Jersey.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION OF THE NEXT CONFERENCE.

Edmund J. Butler, New York; Boris D. Bogen, Ohio; Orton E. Darnall, D. C.; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Julia C. Lathrop, Illinois; G. A. Merrill, Minnesota; A. J. McKelway, Georgia; Geo. S. Wilson, D. C.; J. W. Magruder, Maryland.

THIRD GENERAL SESSION.

THURSDAY, JUNE 8th, 8:00 P. M.

The President: The Section on Standards of Living and Labor is one of our youngest sections, in fact this is only its second summer. But it is a pretty robust child. I have great pleasure in presenting as the Chairman of this section in charge of the evening program, the Secretary of the Consumers' League, who has gone about this country creating an industrial conscience—Mrs. Florence Kelley.

Mrs. Florence Kelley here assumed the chair, and read her report as Chairman of the Committee. (Page 148.)

The Chairman: It gives me very great pleasure to introduce to this audience as the next speaker one who has himself made the most hopeful experiment in establishing standards of provision for the old age workers, that has yet been made in our republic. Mr. Louis D. Brandeis.

Mr. Louis D. Brandeis read a paper entitled "Workingmen's Insurance; the Road to Social Efficiency." (Page 154.)

The Chairman: I have the pleasure and the honor to announce as the next speaker of the evening Miss Jane Addams, who needs no introduction.

Miss Jane Addams delivered an address entitled "Standards of Education for Industrial Life." (Page 162.)

The Chairman: Many years ago one of the noblest social leaders of our country pointed out that what we need is not to see visions, but to possess vision—to have insight, to know what is before our eyes and to see with an understanding eye. I think it can be said of our next speaker that no one in his generation has more clearly shown the possession of the seeing eye than the man who has presented to our eyes the Survey of Pittsburg, a survey of our industry as it produces, side by side, wealth such as the world has never seen and poverty such as no republic can live with. I have very great pleasure in introducing Mr. Paul U. Kellogg.

Mr. Kellogg delivered an address entitled "Immigrant Labor Tariff." (Page 165.)

The President here resumed the chair.

The President: I understand that the Committee on Time and Place is ready to report. Mr. Kingsbury, the Chairman, will read the report.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE.

The Committee on Time and Place representing 27 States met this afternoon. Invitations were extended from Cleveland, Seattle, Fort Worth, Detroit and Milwaukee. After full discussion the Committee reports unanimously for holding the next Conference of Charities and Correction in Cleveland, Ohio. The matter of time was referred to the Executive Committee with power to act. I move that the Report of this Committee be adopted.

Seconded, and carried.

After sundry announcements by the General Secretary, the meeting adjourned.

FOURTH GENERAL SESSION

FRIDAY, JUNE 9th, 8:00 P. M.

The meeting was opened by the President, Mr. Homer Folks.

The President: The particular subject tonight is the reflex effect and value of working for individual families with a view to social betterment. I introduce to you the General Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charities, the Chairman of this Committee, Mr. Porter R. Lee, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Lee here assumed the Chair, and read the report as Chairman of the Committee. (Page 260.)

The Chairman: Those of you who have received the publications of this Conference since it was first projected, realize that there have been many changes in the plans of this Committee, and some of the changes have not been on the program. Tonight we are going to consider first the question of medical and social co-operation, dividing the subject into two parts, to be treated first from the point of view of the social worker. The paper from that point of view will be presented by Mr. Michael M. Davis, Jr., of the Boston Dispensary, whom I have great pleasure in introducing.

Mr. Davis delivered an address entitled "Medical and Social Co-operation." (Page 278.)

The Chairman: This subject will now be taken up from the point of view of the physician by Dr. Adolph Meyer, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, whom I have pleasure in introducing.

Dr. Meyer delivered an address entitled "Medical and Social Co-operation." (Page 275.)

The Chairman: The final feature of our program is a paper entitled "Our Social Program." I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. Edward T. Devine.

Dr. Devine delivered an address entitled "Our Social Program." (Page 267.)

After sundry announcements made by the General Secretary the meeting adjourned.

FIFTH GENERAL SESSION

SATURDAY, JUNE 10th, 8:00 P. M.

The meeting was opened by the President, Mr. Homer Folks.

The President: To find it possible to attempt to treat in one evening the three movements of Housing, Health and Recreation certainly means great efficiency, because any one of them could be made the subject of a whole evening. But if there is one man in the country who can accomplish the feat in one evening, it is our leading expert on Housing Reform in America, Mr. Lawrence Veiller, the Chairman of this Committee, and Secretary of the National Housing Association, whom I now take pleasure in introducing to you.

Mr. Lawrence Veiller read a paper entitled "America's Housing Awakening." (Page 312.)

Mr. Veiller here assumed the Chair.

The Chairman: Dr. Wines, at a meeting the other night, spoke of somebody as a live wire. I think that this audience will recognize that this is the only term in which it is fit to describe the next speaker. I should like to refer to him as the civic conscience of the community. I remember that conscience is a still, small voice; but it is pervasive. We are jarred out of our comfortable routine by this shatterer of our theories; we may be similarly treated tonight. It gives me great pleasure to present Dr. W. H. Allen of New York.

Dr. Allen delivered an address entitled "Buying Health." (Page 330.)

The Chairman: I wonder if any of us have ever quite lost the admiration and love for the troubadours and the traveling poets of the Middle Ages. It was an extraordinary discovery for me to find that we had in America a poet traveling from place to place, reviving the lost art of story telling. It is with great public spirit and considerable personal inconvenience that Mr. McManus is with us tonight. He delayed his sailing to Europe three

weeks not to break his engagement with this conference. Personally I hope it will mean the opening of a new field in social work, and that you will all return to your respective communities, determined to have Mr. McManus introduce to your people this lost art. Mr. McManus is going to tell us some of his fascinating Irish stories, and you will learn the art of story telling by his so doing.

Mr. McManus: Wherever you have met an Irishman, in nine cases out of ten, I think you will agree with me that you have met a man of warm fancy, poetic imagination, mellowness of humor and kindness of heart. These admirable qualities belong to the Irishman, because he and his forefathers for thousands of years were brought up on story telling. In Ireland, in olden times, the story teller's profession was among the most honored. He was known as the *schanachy*, and he lived by his profession. In modern times we have not in Ireland the professional story teller. Probably I am the only survivor of the tribe. To the story teller's cottage on a winter's night the youth of the neighborhood used to go and there sit around the great blazing fire which sent its red light over the faces and down the whitewashed wall and up on the smoky rafters. There they would listen until midnight to the beautiful stories that have been handed down from olden times. The stories are of three kinds—old heroic folk tales of Ireland, old romantic folk tales, and old humorous folk tales. I shall take as an example of Irish story telling one of the humorous kind, and the one which I will choose is called "Jack and the King who was a Gentleman."

Mr. McManus then told several of his Irish stories.

The Chairman: I was never astounded more in my life than to hear a person say of Mr. Riis "He is a nice old gentleman." Think of any one calling Mr. Jacob Riis old. He is 60 years young. I would like to tell Mr. Riis to his face before this audience what we really think of him, but I don't dare. But I do want to say that if there has been a housing awakening in America it has been due to the stirring up which he gave to the nation twenty-five years ago and which he has continued ever since. There are some people whom we admire for what they have accomplished. There are others whom we love for what they are. Mr. Jacob Riis is both kinds.

Mr. Jacob Riis delivered an address entitled "What Bad Housing Means to the community." (Page 313.)

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

SIXTH GENERAL SESSION.

SUNDAY, JUNE 11th, 8:00 P. M.

The President: This is the 38th Annual Session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and each year now sees the loss of one or more of those who were active in shaping the policies of the Conference in its early days. During the last year we have lost three men who contributed very largely to the formation of this Conference and who have been its Presidents. They were Robert Treat Paine of Massachusetts, William Pryor Letchworth of New York, and General Roeliff Brinkerhoff of Ohio. I suppose that none of these gentlemen realized how much the younger men of this Conference have gained by knowing them. I shall never forget the impression made upon me in my early years in social work by each of these men. I remember the refreshing, constructive, aggressive radicalisms of Mr. Paine, the ripe and mature wisdom of Gen. Brinkerhoff and the ceaseless and long continued devotion of Mr.

Letchworth. We are to take a few minutes of this session—I almost said service—to recall briefly to memory these three former Presidents of this Conference. Mr. de Forest prepared the memorial on Mr. Paine, but he has been obliged to return to New York, so it will be read by Mr. Johnson, the Secretary.

The memorial on Mr. Letchworth, who was a member for many years of the State Board of Charities of New York, has been prepared and will be read by a former President of this Conference, and Mr. Letchworth's colleague for many years after that, Mr. William Rhinelander Stewart.

The news of Gen. Brinkerhoff's death came to us from Ohio after we started for this Conference on Monday. Mr. H. H. Shirer, Secretary of the State Board of Charities of Ohio, has prepared and will read the memorial on Gen. Brinkerhoff.

The memorials were then read as follows:

IN MEMORIAM

ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

Born October 28, 1835—Died August 11, 1910.

President, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1895.

President, Associated Charities of Boston, 1879-1907.

By lineage and in social position, Robert Treat Paine was an aristocrat of the aristocrats. By choice and social attitude, he was essentially a man of the people, a democrat of the democrats.

"The day has gone, never to return," said he, "when selfish enjoyment of one's happy life can go side by side with wretchedness without lifting a hand to help." And while he lifted his hand gently with the soothing touch of a woman to help wretchedness, he struck with his hand forcefully with the strong grasp of a man to break down its causes. He practised constructive philanthropy long before constructive philanthropy had found its name. He was in the advance guard of constructive philanthropists. He blazed the trail for the broad road over which a mighty army of his followers are marching now.

He was a founder of the Associated Charities of Boston in 1879, the second charity organization society to be established in America. Still earlier, he initiated his plan for housing the working classes, which later took the form of the Workingmen's Building Association. He established in 1879 the Wells Memorial Institute, a successful school and club for workingmen, of which he was the guiding spirit. He organized in 1877, the Workingmen's Loan Association for lending money on chattel mortgage on reasonable terms. Nor were his activities confined even within the broad scope of this Conference of Charities and Correction. He was a pioneer of the peace movement, and at the time of his death was president of the American Peace Association. He took a leading part in the building of Trinity Church, Boston, a monument of American architecture, of which the country will ever be proud. Of him, Phillips Brooks said, "I hope history will not let it be forgotten that we owe it to you that Trinity Church is big and dignified, and not a little thing in a side street which one must hunt to find and think small things of when he has found it."

This National Conference of Charities and Correction honors him as one of its recognized leaders who carried the flag when there were few to follow, and who kindled the inspiration for altruistic endeavor which is now illuminating the nation which his forefathers helped to make.

ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF.

Roeliff Brinkerhoff was born in Cayuga County, New York, June 28, 1823; died June 4, 1911. In the adult days of the eighty-three years of life he has been a teacher, lawyer, soldier, editor, author, a banker, a student of social problems, a public servant, a friend of his unfortunate fellow-man, a useful citizen.

After a partial college course and several years of public school teaching, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1851. In connection with his legal work he became interested in the political questions of his day, although he never held any salaried political office and never sought any such position. He was a delegate to the Pittsburg convention in 1856 which organized the National Republican Party. In later years his political affiliations were with the Democratic Party, because of his decided opinions concerning the tariff.

The Civil War found him called to the captaincy of a company mustered in the vicinity of his home. After six months of hard service in the south, he was given a sick-leave, but was in a few weeks assigned to special duties in Maine and later at Washington. At the close of the war he was advanced to the rank of Colonel and placed in charge of the quartermaster's department of Cincinnati for the purpose of getting order out of chaos. He finally received an honorable discharge on October 1, 1866, and with the rank of brigadier-general. Although eligible and often urged to do so, he never accepted any pension for his long and faithful services to the United States.

After his discharge from the war department, he again followed his legal profession, except for three years spent as editor and owner of the Mansfield Herald. While editor it was that he began to study his fellow-men and began his period of special usefulness in his community. The citizens of Mansfield are indebted to him for securing the large and beautiful grove known as the Sherman-Hineman Park; the organization of the Mansfield Lyceum for the free discussion of social questions; a Humane Society; a County Historical and Pioneer Society; and many other civic and religious agencies.

In 1878 he was appointed a member of the Board of State Charities. On the 22nd of last April he completed 33 years of continuous unpaid service, at which time he requested the Governor to appoint a successor. This period of unselfish devotion to the interests of his less-fortunate fellowmen included the prime of his life, and all who knew him then unanimously testify to his unfailing zeal and courage.

The proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction and of the American Prison Association contain many reports and papers presented by him.

The highest honor that can be bestowed upon any social worker, the presidency of the National Conference, was given him in 1879. Except in recent years, when the infirmities of age prevented, he was a constant attendant at the sessions of these annual meetings and was always ready and willing to contribute his share. Perhaps no person in the United States attended as many sessions of the N. C. C. C. and A. P. A., as he.

Even though an honored member of this body, his chief interests seemed to be centered in the American Prison Association, which he and President Hayes assisted in reorganizing in 1883. General Hayes served as President from 1883-92; General Brinkerhoff from 1893 to 1897. His interest in prison matters contributed largely to secure a State Reformatory for Ohio, the indeterminate sentence and parole, (the first in the United States),

establishment of piece price system in the penitentiary, and federal prisons for the United States.

In addition to his earnest service as a member of the Board of State Charities, he was a charter member of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, an organization which collected and preserved much of Ohio's early historical data, and protected and cared for the earth works erected by pre-historic races.

The above indicates some of General Brinkerhoff's active service for others,—a man lamented in his own community, respected and honored by his state.

In his autobiography he forecasts his own eulogy when he says:

"I have not become very rich or very famous, but I have been happy, and I am what I am. * * * There is a changeless purpose in the on-goings of the universe. We have the high privilege of participating in the consummation of that purpose, and the positions we occupy are assignments for duty. If we do our part, it is well with us; but, if we fail, some one else will be found who will not fail, and the Divine purpose is not hindered in the slightest."

WILLIAM PRYOR LETCHWORTH.

On May 20, 1874, the founders of this Conference—a group of nine representatives of the State Boards of Charities of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Wisconsin, of whom five were citizens of the State of New York—assembled in the City of New York and took action which has resulted in the long and increasingly useful series of our annual meetings. Of that little company but one now survives.

Since we convened in St. Louis a year ago, William Pryor Letchworth, of Buffalo, one of the number, has answered his long-expected call. No member of the Conference was more active and influential in shaping the policies and fostering the growth of its early years than Mr. Letchworth. He was president of the Eleventh Conference, held in St. Louis, in 1884, and was present at twenty of the twenty-six meetings prior to 1890; from that date, the infirmities of age prevented his attendance. The pages of our proceedings contain many evidences of his labors for the Conference, and include valuable papers from his pen. Among them, perhaps, the most important are those entitled "Preventive Work Among Children," "Children of the State," and others on "Provision and Care of Epileptics."

William Pryor Letchworth was born at Brownville, Jefferson County, New York, May 26, 1823. Soon afterward, with his parents, he removed to Auburn, where he began a mercantile career, later continued in Buffalo, which city became his residence in 1848. Business having prospered, in 1869 he retired from the firm with which he had then been associated for a quarter of a century, with the intention of devoting his time and means thenceforth to philanthropic objects. In these he had always been interested. Buffalo honored him by elections to the presidency of the Academy of Fine Arts and of the Historical Society. Mr. Letchworth never married, but for many years a sister lived with and kept house for him. His parents were Quakers, and he belonged to the Society of Friends.

Being of somewhat delicate health and needing out-door life, Mr. Letchworth began in 1859 the purchase of the large tract of land in Wyoming and Livingston Counties which was afterward his home. When first acquired it was a ruined forest, denuded by lumbermen, but he saw its beauties, and by patient and intelligent effort converted it into one of the most perfect parks on this continent.

Fervently desiring that the beauties of his park should be forever preserved and enjoyed by the people, Mr. Letchworth, by deed of gift, in December, 1906, subject to his life interest, conveyed to the State of

New York, to be forever maintained as a public park, the entire tract of land, comprising approximately one thousand acres, including the three falls of the Genesee and occupying some three miles of its valley, together with his residence, its contents and a large collection of Indian relics which he had brought together on the property. In his first message to the Legislature of 1907, which in January of that year accepted the gift, Governor Hughes referred to it as "An act of generosity which fitly crowns a life of conspicuous public usefulness, and which entitles the donor to the lasting regard of his fellow citizens." Letchworth Park will long enshrine the memory of the saintly man whose loving care discovered, increased and preserved its natural beauties.

In April, 1873, Mr. Letchworth was commissioned by Governor Dix to represent the Eighth Judicial District on the State Board of Charities, a position which he filled with unselfish devotion for more than twenty-three years, until his retirement by resignation in 1896. After serving as Vice-President from 1874 to 1878, he was chosen President of the Board by successive annual elections from 1878 to 1887. No member was ever more painstaking in the performance of official duty than he. Inspection work took him into every county of the State and made him well known and respected throughout its borders. During a single year he visited, and afterward reported upon, all the orphan asylums and homes for children in the State—a most laborious task. At this time he was probably better acquainted, by personal investigation, with the public and private charities of the State of New York than any other of its citizens.

Much of his time and thought were devoted to improved care for dependent children, and he was influential in securing, in 1875, the enactment of "The Children's Law," under whose provisions the county poor-houses were prohibited from receiving and retaining children as inmates. The care and treatment of the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic and the delinquent also enlisted his active interest, and to his efforts many improvements are to be credited.

Several valuable contributions to the literature of philanthropy were made by Mr. Letchworth, beside his public addresses and the numerous reports and papers which he from time to time presented to the State Board of Charities. The most notable of these, "The Insane in Foreign Countries," came from the press in 1889, a second edition following the same year. In 1900 was published his "Care and Treatment of Epileptics." Much of the information comprised in these volumes was obtained by the author in Europe, where he made personal investigations in 1880 and 1881.

Modesty, purity, patience, thoroughness and gentleness were among Mr. Letchworth's most noticeable characteristics. He disliked and avoided strife, and chose rather to yield than to take precedence; but his opinions, carefully formed, were tenaciously held. Happily endowed with a lively sense of humor, his laughter was hearty and contagious, and to his intimate friends he was a genial companion. He carried to his grave the heart of a child. The honorable positions he filled with so much dignity came unsought, and while valued as proofs of esteem, were most prized for the increased opportunities of useful service which they afforded. Throughout his life he was sustained by profound religious convictions, and no one who knew him well could doubt that, had he lived in medieval times, he would, if called upon, have gone to the stake unflinchingly for his creed.

Although twelve years have elapsed since Mr. Letchworth has been welcomed at a Conference, he never failed to send us his greetings and to express regret at his unavoidable absence, and as recently as 1909, in a communication then addressed to us, he advocated the enlargement of the Conference to international scope. We are glad now to remember that, by the adoption of appropriate resolutions, annual messages of affection and respect have gone from us to him in his venerable retirement.

The President: It always seems appropriate on a Sunday evening, the day on which for many generations men have been touched and softened by the influence of religion, to consider our duties to childhood. It is a special pleasure to introduce as the Chairman of the section on Children a lady who in the various parts of this country has rendered distinguished services; who has always stood for the understanding of childhood, for education and kindness, and not for repression—Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Superintendent of the School for Girls at Darling, Penna.

Mrs. Falconer here assumed the chair.

The Chairman: There is a wonderfully interesting school in the South on St. Helena Island, and Miss Rossa B. Cooley will tell us about her work on that Island.

Miss Rossa B. Cooley read a paper entitled "The Regeneration of Colored Population in the Rural South." (Page 107.)

The Chairman: In many sections of this country there are small towns where there are a number of fossil churches, but where they struggle to support their ministers, each one struggling to keep the building open one day a week. The Presbyterian Church has a department of work called the "Country Life" department, Dr. Wilson who has charge of that department will tell us about the rural church for the farmer.

Rev. Warren H. Wilson read a paper entitled "The Religion of the Land." (Page 111.)

The Chairman: In many country towns the only place for the young people to have a good time is the railroad station, and there the young girl goes without a single thought of evil to meet her friend. It is because young girls need to have a good time in the proper place provided for them that so many get into trouble. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to this audience Mrs. Belle Lindner Israels, who is going to speak on Recreation in Rural Communities.

Mrs. Belle Lindner Israels read a paper entitled "Recreation in Rural Communities." (Page 103.)

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

SEVENTH GENERAL SESSION.

MONDAY, JUNE 12th, 9:15 A. M.

The President: The General Session of the Conference this morning is in charge of a committee which appears this year for the first time on our program—Securing and Training Social Workers. I take pleasure in introducing the Chairman of this Section, Miss Sophonisba Breckinridge, of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

Miss Breckinridge here assumed the chair:

The Chairman: A word in explanation of my presence in this place. I was not the original chairman of this Committee. The original chairman was Dr. Graham Taylor, of Chicago. He was called away and asked that a substitute be appointed. I have no document in the nature of a report issuing from the Committee. An attempt was made to carry out the plans as first formulated by the Chairman. At an early date in the year Prof. Taylor sent to the members of the Committee a letter asking for recommendations for the program, with special consideration of certain points. From the replies to that letter, constructive suggestions have been embodied into the program.

The Chairman then read a paper in lieu of the Committee Report. (Page 365.)

The Chairman: For a number of years we have heard one voice, and recognised that that voice called us to a service where we would hear

the voices and see the things which she was hearing and looking at. I have asked Miss Addams to lead us in the discussion of how we may direct the attention of those we want to this field of service.

Miss Jane Addams delivered an address entitled "The Call to the Social Field." (Page 370.)

Mr. Charles W. Birtwell made an address entitled "The Appeal to Young Men."

The Chairman: The problem before this session is both securing and training social workers. Miss Richmond, who has for a long time been in the practical field and a most successful worker and is now at the head of that great educational institution, the Charity Organization Extension Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, will talk to us on training in investigation. I do not propose to introduce Miss Richmond. We thank her heartily for making this contribution to our program.

Miss Mary E. Richmond made an address entitled "Of the Art of Beginning in Social Work." (Page 372.)

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

EIGHTH GENERAL SESSION

MONDAY, JUNE 12th, 8:00 P. M.

The meeting was opened by the President, Mr. Homer Folks.

The President: At some time, when the child has passed that invisible border line between youth and maturity, there comes a time when parent and child look into each other's eyes and realize that they must face the fact of readjustment of their relation. A little something like that represents the origin of this new section of the National Conference of Charities on The Church and Social Work. We have just come to realize that we need seriously to consider just what our relations ought to be hereafter. It is a great privilege to present as the chairman of this meeting one who has done so much to answer that question, Dr. Washington Gladden of Ohio.

Dr. Gladden here assumed the chair and read the report for his Committee. (Page 214.)

The Chairman: It gives me great pleasure now to introduce as the first speaker in the discussion of this problem, the Very Rev. William J. White, D. D. of Brooklyn, Supervisor of Catholic Charities of that city—Monsignor White.

Mgr. White led the discussion on the Chairman's Report. (Page 221.)

The Chairman: I spoke of some very notable exceptions among the churches of the land, churches that know what their business is and are keeping themselves thoroughly informed regarding the conditions that surround them. I will introduce a man who is pastor of one of these churches, which, through a finely organized group of workers, is keeping itself in touch with all the charitable work in the community in which it stands. I introduce the Rev. Samuel McChord Crothers, D. D., of Cambridge.

Dr. Crothers continued the discussion on the Chairman's Report. (Page 225.)

The Chairman: We heard today very much to our sorrow that Rabbi Stephen S. Wise has been taken seriously ill and cannot be here. One of his best friends is here, however, and I know it is Rabbi Wise's wish that the Rev. Mr. Hall shall speak in his place. I take great pleasure in introducing Rev. Frank O. Hall of New York.

Rev. Mr. Hall continued the discussion on the Chairman's Report. (Page 229.)

The President here resumed the chair.

The President: Certainly tonight the Church has fulfilled three of the four possible functions mentioned. She has inspired, interpreted and guided social work tonight. Dr. Wines wishes to offer a resolution.

Dr. F. H. Wines here read a resolution, prefacing it with the following remarks:

Dr. Wines: Mr. President, and Members of the Conference, this resolution has been handed to me to be offered here. I am sure it will represent the general sentiment of every man and woman who has been stirred by the spirit of humanity. I give it my cordial endorsement and adopt it as my own and present it as my own. It will do no harm in this presence to tell you that it is from the pen of a man whom Boston delights to honor—Mr. Edwin D. Mead.

I move, sir, the adoption of this resolution, and that a copy be sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the House and Senate of the United States.

The President: Under the rules of the Conference this motion and the accompanying resolution must be referred without debate to the Committee on Resolutions, but that Committee will understand that it is especially requested not to forget it, and report thereon before the close of the Conference.

After sundry announcements by the General Secretary the meeting adjourned.

NINTH GENERAL SESSION.

TUESDAY, JUNE 13th, 8: P. M.

The President: We will listen to the Report of the Committee on Organization for the Conference for next year. Mr. Edmond J. Butler, who was Chairman of that Committee, has been called back to New York; his successor as chairman, Mr. A. J. McKelway, will submit the Report of the Committee.

Mr. McKelway here read the Report of the Committee on Organization and moved its adoption by the Conference, which motion was duly seconded and carried.

The President: The report of the Committee on Organization is adopted, and the chair declares the persons mentioned in that report elected to the positions for which they were nominated. (See final pages.)

I now introduce as chairman of the section for the evening—State Supervision—the Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, the most useful member of the most useful State Board of Charities in the most useful State.

Rev. Mr. Gavisk here assumed the chair and read the Report of the Committee on State Supervision. (Page 9.)

The Chairman: We will now have a paper by a gentleman who has rendered, under the Russell Sage Foundation, very distinguished public services in investigation of the fiscal control of State institutions. I have the pleasure to introduce Mr. Henry C. Wright of New York.

Mr. Wright read a paper entitled "Fiscal Control of State Institutions." (Page 12.)

The Chairman: We are now to have a discussion of the subject of State supervision of private charities. I have pleasure in introducing the Rev. Dr. William S. Friedman, Member of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction.

Rev. Dr. Friedman delivered an address entitled "State Supervision of Private Charities." (Page 20.)

Dr. Friedman's paper was discussed by G. S. Robinson, of Iowa; Rev. Mr. Blederman, of Indiana; W. Almont Gates, of California; Herbert S. Lewis, of California. (See Pages 23-26.)

TENTH GENERAL SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14th, 8:00 P. M.

The President: The National Conference of Charities has no Constitution, but it has a few informal rules of procedure and these it modifies a little from time to time. During the past year there has been a special committee preparing modifications of the rules of procedure. That committee has reported to the Executive Committee, and the Executive Committee has sifted out the suggestions, and recommends certain minor changes in the rules of procedure, for adoption by the Conference. These rules can only be amended by action of the Conference itself. The Secretary will submit the proposed changes.

Mr. Alexander Johnson, the General Secretary, then read the following suggested changes in the rules of procedure:

Mr. Johnson: Article One, paragraph three,—a minor change in regard to sustaining members, making legal what has been practiced, namely, that a sustaining member shall be entitled to an extra copy of the proceedings.

In Article Two the change is simply inserting the words "or more," so that there can be six or more secretaries.

Article three reads, "At each annual session of the Conference on the first day after the organization, the President shall appoint a committee to be known as the Committee on Time and Place of the Next Conference Meeting. The Committee on Time and Place shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the same day for the purpose of receiving invitations from States or Cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of invitations by all cities or states desiring to present such invitations. The Committee shall report to the Conference not later than 12 o'clock noon of the day following their appointment. The action on the report of the Committee shall be by a rising vote, providing the City receiving the highest vote shall be selected, and providing further that the place of meeting selected may be changed by the Executive Committee if satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made." Hitherto this Committee has been chosen by each State delegation.

There is an insertion in paragraph four "The official reporter shall report the proceedings of the Conference under the direction of the General Secretary." This is to do away with the obsolete rule which made the Official Reporter also the editor of the proceedings.

Article five, paragraph three, is changed to read "The local committee shall make all necessary arrangements for the meeting and provide suitable meeting places satisfactory to the President and General Secretary. They shall provide funds for the expenses of the Conference in such amounts as the Executive Committee may determine."

Article six is changed to read "The section meetings are designed for familiar discussion. Not more than two papers shall be read at any section meeting (the present rule is one paper, which is not followed) to occupy together not more than thirty minutes. All discussions shall be presented extemporaneously; if possible, papers shall be printed and distributed beforehand, that the entire meeting may be given to discussion. No afternoon meetings shall be inserted in the official program."

Here is a new rule, which is presented for the first time: "In cases where there is a cognate National organization which meets at or about the

time of the National Conference, the chairman of the appropriate committee shall endeavor to co-operate with the President of the said National organization, and as far as possible endeavor to correlate the programs of the said society and the Conference."

I move, Mr. President, that these changes which have been made by the Committee be adopted by the Conference.

Which motion was seconded and carried.

The President: The amendments to the rules of procedure are unanimously adopted.

This happens to be my twentieth Conference, and I think I never attended a Conference at which the subject of intemperance and its relations to all our poverty and crime was not mentioned. This year we have a Committee definitely and specifically and exclusively directed to consider the subject of drunkenness in its varied aspects. Those of you who have attended the section meetings of this Committee will feel, I am sure, that this Committee has more than justified its existence, and has made an important contribution to the subject. It gives me pleasure to introduce, so far as that may be needed to a Boston audience, the gentleman who has made very important contributions to the legislative treatment of this subject, Mr. Robert A. Woods, Head Resident of South End House, Boston, and Chairman of the Committee on Drunkenness.

Mr. Woods here assumed the Chair, and read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Drunkenness. (Page 113.)

The Chairman: I have great pleasure now in calling upon a gentleman who knows what child labor is, what sweatshop work is, and he knows every one of the hard conditions that affect the boy and the young man who has to grow up on the East Side of New York. He has been a mechanic, he carries a union labor card in his pocket. None of the hard experiences he has passed through have embittered him. He sees things with tremendous earnestness, but with great breadth of human feeling. I have great pleasure in calling upon Rev. Charles Stelezle, who will talk to us upon temperance and labor.

Rev. Charles Stelezle read a paper entitled "Temperance and Labor." (Page 120.)

The Chairman: Some of our greatest leaders in the history of the social movement have rendered high services through being great and intelligent travelers, and being so deeply interested in the human race in all its phases that they wished to see and get into touch with as many kinds of people as possible. John Howard became a great leader in prison reform because he was a great traveler. Frederick La Place, who taught the world so much regarding the sympathetic study of the family, traveled all through Europe, and came in touch with many different families.

Our next speaker renders great services to us through visiting us and encouraging us, and by lifting into high significance the results of our experience, going about through the country with keen, sympathetic insight, realizing and feeling the tendencies of the times, particularly in regard to social service. I wish to call your attention to the fact that almost entirely the question of drunkenness in this section has been discussed from the point of view not of specialists on the subject, but from the point of view of the broad, practical social side of experience, and no one represents that phase better in this country than our next speaker, Mr. John Graham Brooks.

Mr. Brooks delivered an address entitled "The Next Step in Liquor Legislation." (Page 124.)

The President here resumed the chair.

The President: Mr. Johnson has no notices to give of any meetings tomorrow, but he has something which will be quite as interesting.

The General Secretary then made the following

Report on Attendance

The total number of persons registered either as members or as visitors is 1,632—which is a considerably larger number than at any previous Conference. Those registered as members number 1,434 and come from 46 States, Territories, Provinces or Foreign Countries. By States, etc., in alphabetical order the membership registration is as follows: Alabama, 2; California, 2; Connecticut, 32; Colorado, 4; Canada, 12; China, 1; Delaware, 6; District of Columbia, 23; Florida, 5; Georgia, 6; Hawaiian Islands, 1; Idaho, 1; Iowa, 9; Indiana, 35; Illinois, 72; Japan, 1; Kansas, 3; Kentucky, 12; Maine, 18; Massachusetts, 490; Maryland, 33; Michigan, 23; Minnesota, 29; Missouri, 31; Montana, 1; New Hampshire, 24; New Jersey, 38; New York, 247; Nebraska, 5; North Carolina, 3; North Dakota, 2; Ohio, 78; Oklahoma, 9; Oregon, 1; Pennsylvania, 92; Rhode Island, 24; South Carolina, 4; South Dakota, 3; Texas, 7; Tennessee, 4; Utah, 4; Vermont, 5; Virginia, 12; Washington, 3; West Virginia, 4; Wisconsin, 13.

The President: We will next hear the Report of the Committee on Resolutions; Mr. Hugh Fox, of New Jersey, will read it in the absence of Mr. Amos W. Butler, the Chairman, who has been obliged to leave the city.

Mr. Fox: It is not the custom of this Conference to pass resolutions except those of a complimentary character. The sentiment of the Conference is that we are able to come here and express our views as freely and frankly as possible, and no one shall be embarrassed by being committed to a course of action through some vote of the Conference. Neither shall we feel called upon to put a veto upon anything by the vote of the Conference. Therefore it is only when a matter is brought before the Conference that does not commit us to positive action, and in regard to which the sentiment of the Conference is substantially unanimous, that the Committee on Resolutions feels justified in recommending that a vote be taken. The only resolution that has come before us of this character is the following, which was presented by Dr. Wines and which the Committee recommends for your adoption.

Mr. Fox then read the resolution of Dr. Wines, and moved its adoption, and that a copy be sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States.

Which motion, being duly seconded, prevailed, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Fox: As to the other resolution, the Committee expresses its inability to find words to properly express the appreciation of the members of this Conference, of the quality and quantity of courtesy and kindness which they have received from our colleagues in Boston; realizing its inadequacy at the same time, the Committee presents this report.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee recommends the adoption of the following resolution presented by Dr. Wines:

This conference profoundly sensible of the inhumanity of war, of its irrationality as a method of settling disputes between nations, and of the great waste upon monstrous naval armaments of the resources which should be applied to constructive social purposes and the general welfare, hails the impressive advances at this time of the commanding movement for supplanting the war system by international courts and universal arbitration.

We recognize with gratitude and patriotic pride the leadership of our own Government in this movement at this hour; and we earnestly endorse the efforts of President Taft in behalf of unreserved treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and other countries, the initiative of our State Department in the establishment of the International Court of Arbitral Justice, and the resolution before Congress providing for action toward the limitation of the burdensome armaments of the nations.

We call upon the philanthropic and educational forces of the country for such united influence upon public opinion as shall re-enforce these high endeavors to the utmost, and keep our Republic foremost among world powers in the promotion of justice and fraternity in the great family of nations.

RESOLVED, That a copy of this declaration be sent to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate of the United States.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS.

At the close of this great conference, a word of appreciation is due to the citizens of Boston and to all those who have specially contributed to its success. Never before have we had such a number of persons enrolled or such a large attendance. The splendid spirit of the Local Committee is only equalled by its efficiency. The arrangements for the comfort and convenience of the conference have been most thoughtfully considered, and we feel that the great success of the conference is largely due to the self-sacrificing work of the men and women who volunteered their services.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to the State of Massachusetts and to Governor Foss, the officers of institutions and the several heads of departments of the State Government who have extended many courtesies; to the City of Boston and its authorities; to the Local Committee, its chairman, Mr. John F. Moors, and secretary, Mr. Seymour H. Stone; to all the auxiliary committees, and especially to the ladies, upon whom a great part of the work has fallen. Our thanks are also tendered to the newspapers of Massachusetts for their discriminating reports; to the Boston City Club and Mr. David F. Tilley, its president; to Harvard University and President Lowell; and to Professor Francis G. Peabody, of the Department of Social Ethics. We also desire to express our sincere appreciation of the hospitality so charmingly extended by Miss Alice M. Longfellow, Professor and Mrs. Charles S. Sargent, and Mr. and Mrs. Lars Anderson.

Respectfully submitted,

AMOS BUTLER,
HUGH F. FOX.

The report was unanimously adopted.

The President: The Conference will meet in Cleveland next year. We have now on the platform a gentleman from Cleveland who will bring us greetings and welcome from his city, Mr. James F. Jackson.

Mr. James F. Jackson: No sooner had you ratified the recommendation of your Committee that the Conference come to Cleveland next year, than one of the delegates took the first "limited" for that city to begin making preparations for the event. We have secured the Hon. James R. Garfield, formerly Secretary of the Interior, for Local Chairman. It is not to be presumed that Cleveland can equal in quantity, quality or flavor the reception that has been given us here in Boston, but some of New England has gone West, and if you come to Cleveland next year, I am sure you will not be disappointed. Cleveland does not disappoint any-

body. You will feel at home with us, and I can assure you that we will endeavor as best we can to imitate the things that have been done here in Boston. We will give you an opportunity to investigate some of the most interesting social experiments that have been made and are being made in America today. Also we will show you some points in civic development that have been studied by Boston. We want you because of the great good that will result from your presence and because of the opportunities which Cleveland will afford you. We invite all of you to be missionaries to bring others to Cleveland.

The President: We now come to the last feature of the program. It is a great thing to make a wise choice of your predecessor and your successor. I have had exceptionally good fortune in the matter of my predecessor and my successor. It has been a very unique privilege to be President of this Conference while the atmosphere of last year still clings about the Presidential chair. Some of my friends remarked that the opening remarks of the President were a little bit gloomy, and I should like to say something more cheerful before leaving. If I were to tell you what has given me most encouragement of all during the past year, I should say the deepest sort of encouragement has been to observe the way in which the country as a whole and all sorts of people in the big centers of population appreciated the President of this Conference last year. Miss Addams is a prophet, and a prophet is quite as likely to be stoned as to be acclaimed. But there is a great future for that country and that people which appreciates its prophets.

I will invite my colleague and friend and assistant, Mr. Tilley of Boston, to address you.

Mr. Tilley: When we have presidents such as this Conference has been favored with throughout its whole existence, of the ability of Mr. Folks, for instance, vice-presidents are simply figure-heads. I have had nothing to do except to allow my name to appear on the program. We in Boston are indeed indebted to the National Conference for coming to us. We needed you and shall benefit by your stay in our midst. Our only regret is that we could not do more to make your visit here one that will always be remembered with pleasure. It has been thirty years since you visited us before, but I hope you feel well repaid and will come soon again.

The President: Of all the many admirable men who might have been chosen as President of the Conference of next year, I can truthfully say there is none whom it would give me greater pleasure to introduce than he who has been chosen. His services to this Conference and to the things for which we stand have been many and most important. Perhaps no one has done more to clarify and put in order the matter of Juvenile Courts than Judge Mack, who presided over the Juvenile Court in Chicago for a number of years. He has been active in many charities and civic causes in the great city of Chicago. He was a very active member of the White House Conference on Dependent Children. But back of all that he is a great Judge. Of course, it goes without saying he is a just Judge. His justice is not of that passive kind which merely waits and tries to hold the scales evenly. It is active, aggressive. It is a justice which wages a constant warfare against injustice. It goes without saying, too, that he is a very learned Judge. But I think the time is coming when besides having judges who are just and learned, we especially need judges who possess the quality of bravery. The great judges of the early period of our history were men whose underlying creed, it seems to me, was that the government of the United States was intended to work, and that no construction of the Constitution which made it impossible for it to work could have been intended or would be upheld. It seems

to me we are coming into another period of time when the Judges at Washington need to be permeated with the idea that the Constitution was expected to operate and under it we were to be able to do business. I know of no one who more fully represents that attitude of mind of social and civic and moral progress all along the line, than the Hon. Julian W. Mack, President of the next Conference, to whom I now turn over the gavel with which he will guide its sessions.

President-Elect Mack: Mr. President and Friends, my speech comes next year and not at this hour of the night. But I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude for the very high honor that has been conferred upon me, the highest indeed that can come to one who calls himself a worker in the social field. To take a place in the line of most distinguished man,—and I wish I could say women, I must say woman at the present time—is indeed a good fortune. I know that what little I may have been able personally to do is not indeed the cause of this tribute. I know that much more than to me personally, the honor has been paid to me in my representative capacity, a tribute to the profession which in the schools, at the bar and on the bench is learning every day that the law is not a dead thing; that it is not to be applied by methods of pure logic or any artificial system of reasoning based on the dead past. It is a living growth whose aim and purpose is to do justice between man and man, between individual and society; that justice which can be exercised only by men who are awake and responsive to the spirit of the day; who know the needs of their own generation. I take it, too, as a tribute to a religion which is so in accord with the spirit that prevails in this Conference, that in the ancient Hebrew tongue there was no word for charity except the word which also signified justice. Justice and charity were ever one among the Jews. And that is the spirit of our work. We no longer talk about charity as we used to. We no longer deem it synonymous with alms-giving. We know that the distressed, the poverty stricken and the helpless are asking only for their rights; that they are demanding only that a larger measure of justice be accorded to them. It is our object and our aim to study the causes that have brought about the injustice and the terrible results of that injustice; to eradicate the evils and to find what good can replace them, and then to work upon private philanthropy and the State, both, to do their duty and to see that true social justice shall prevail.

The President: Thanking you each and all for your loyal and enthusiastic co-operation I now declare the Thirty-eighth Conference of Charities and Correction adjourned without day.

Minutes of the Section Meetings

It is to be regretted that the Executive Committee has not been able fully to report and print the useful and interesting addresses, and debates, which occur at the Section meetings.

This year many of the papers presented at the Section meetings were of such high value that at the risk of unduly increasing the bulk of the volume of proceedings they have been printed in full. Others of great value, but concerning subjects which have been discussed frequently, appear in abstract form, and in a few cases papers on new and vital topics have been condensed by the omission of statistical tables or general remarks.

The minutes here presented are arranged by Committees rather than by days.

Committee on Children—Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Chairman.

This committee conducted three Section meetings and also participated in three Joint Section meetings.

The meetings held were as follows:

Thursday, June 8th; paper by Jeffrey R. Brackett on "Tendencies in the Care of Destitute and Neglected Children." The subject was discussed by Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago; A. B. Williams, Cleveland; William J. Doherty, New York; L. J. Covington, Seattle; Parker B. Field, Boston; Charles W. Birtwell, Boston and others.

Friday, June 9th, subject "Sex Hygiene," President Charles W. Elliot presiding. Addresses by the chairman, Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Boston; Dr. William Healy, Chicago; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Sherborn; Miss Laura B. Garrett, New York; and the subject was further discussed by Prof. James J. Putnam, of Harvard, and others.

Monday, June 12th; paper with stereopticon illustrations on "Medical Inspection of School Children," by Dr. George W. Goler, Rochester; and a paper on "Psychological Clinics," by Dr. William Healy, Chicago. Discussion by Joseph Lee, Boston; Eugene T. Lies, Minneapolis; Judge Harvey H. Baker, Boston, and others.

Committee on Drunkenness—Robert A. Woods, Chairman.

This committee held three section meetings as follows:

Thursday, June 8th; a paper by Dr. Harlow Brooks, of New York, on "The Effects of Alcohol on the Organs of the Body;" a paper by Dr. William R. Williams, of New York, on "The Effects of Alcohol on the Functions of the Body." No regular discussion, but many questions from the floor were answered by the speakers.

Friday, June 9th; a paper by Professor Augustus R. Hatton, Cleveland, on "Legislative Aspects of the Liquor Question;" and one by Dr. Irwin Neff, Foxborough, on "The Treatment of Inebriates." Discussion by Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta; Dr. J. H. Stolper, Oklahoma; Maurice Willows, Birmingham; Dr. J. H. Tomlinson, Minnesota; Rev. A. G. Lohman, Ohio; Rev. Daniel Woodward, Wisconsin; Dr. Ellen Bogen, Danvers; Hugh F. Fox, New York; George B. Hugo, Boston; Hon. James C. Haynes, Minneapolis, and others.

Saturday, June 10th; a paper by Miss Alice L. Higgins, Boston, on "An Educative Campaign for the Prevention of Drunkenness." Discussion by Dr. John A. Horgan, Boston; Hon. G. S. Robinson, Des Moines; Dr. J. H. Tomlinson, Minnesota, and others.

Committee on Families and Neighborhoods—Porter R. Lee, Chairman.

This committee conducted three section meetings and participated in two joint section meetings. Its own meetings were as follows: Thursday, June 8th: Subject, "Adequate Relief;" papers by Frederic Almy, Buffalo; Miss Mary E. Richmond, New York, and Robert Biggs, Baltimore. Discussion by W. F. Persons, New York; Miss Zilpha D. Smith, Boston; C. M. Hubbard, Cincinnati; Robert W. de Forest, New York; Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, New York; William H. Pear, Boston; Frederic Almy, Buffalo; Frank Tucker, New York, and others.

Monday, June 12th: a paper by Mrs. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, Greenwich House, New York, on "Standards and Tests of Efficiency in Settlement Work." Discussion was opened by Miss Alice L. Higgins, of Boston, who was followed by Miss Jane Addams, Chicago; Miss S. P. Breckinridge, Chicago; George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; John R. Howard, Jr., Boston; Dr.

Alice Hamilton, Chicago; Dr. Laura A. C. Hughes, Boston; Miss Edith Abbott, Chicago; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, and others.

Tuesday, June 13th; a paper by Arthur H. Ham, New York, on "Remedial Loan Agencies as Factors in Family Rehabilitation." Discussion opened by Eugene T. Lies, Minneapolis, who was followed by F. J. Bruno, Colorado; Miss Minnie F. Low, Chicago; Miss Anna B. Pratt, Elmira; J. C. Logan, Atlanta; Arthur Morris, Virginia; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City, and others.

Housing, Health and Recreation—Lawrence Veiller, Chairman.

This Committee conducted six section meetings, as follows: Thursday, June 8th; paper by Joseph Lee, Boston, on "Play as Medicine;" address by Miss Jane Addams, on "Play as Art;" no discussion.

Friday, June 9th; paper by Miss Mary E. Richmond, on "How Social Workers Can Aid Housing Reform." Paper by Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon on "How to Get Housing Reform." The papers were discussed by Rev. Elmer S. Forbes, B. J. Newman, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Miss Gardner, E. T. Hartman, Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie, Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, J. M. Hanson, Miss Perley, Miss Pendleton, Carol Aronovici, Miss Marion Richards, Mrs. F. L. Lord, David I. Green, and others.

Saturday, June 10th; a demonstration on Health, by means of moving pictures, illustrating "The Housefly as a Carrier of Disease;" "The Campaign for Pure Milk;" "The Fight Against Tuberculosis;" "A Safe and Sane Fourth."

Monday, June 12th; an address by Dr. Richard C. Cabot, on "The Health of Social Workers," and a paper by Sherman C. Kingsley on "Home Treatment of Tuberculosis, or Hospital Treatment; Which?" (The names of those who took part in the discussion which followed were not taken down).

Tuesday, June 13th: "A Housing Symposium." The topics treated and the names of speakers were as follows: "What Shall We Do With the Alleys?" Luther E. Lovejoy, John Ihlder, Mrs. Howard Van Wyck, Lawrence Veiller.

"Which is Better, a Housing Ordinance or a State Law?" Carol Aronovici, Mrs. A. F. Bacon, Otto W. Davis, Elmer S. Forbes, E. W. Krackowizer, Robert Brown, John Ihlder, L. E. Lovejoy.

"How Can We Get Rid of the Privy Vault?" Roger N. Baldwin, Professor Cutler, J. W. Magruder, E. W. Krackowizer, John Ihlder.

"What is Room Overcrowding and How Can it Be Stopped?" Miss Edith Abbott, Carol Aronovici, Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln, Elmer S. Forbes, Robert E. Todd, Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie, Mr. Dickson, Miss Borne, Mr. Hart, Edwin Ginn, B. J. Newman, Miss Clark.

"How is the Community to be Aroused to the Need of Housing Reform?" Mrs. A. F. Bacon, Carol Aronovici, Edward T. Hartman, Luther E. Lovejoy, Robert Brown.

"What Are the Best Types for Working Men's Homes for Most Cities?" J. M. Hanson, Robert Brown, Miss Hunter, John Ihlder, Miss Helen L. Parrish, Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln, Mr. Ling, Mr. Coolidge.

"Should the Owning of Homes by Workingmen be Encouraged?" Miss Hannah Fox, Robert Brown, B. J. Newman, Miss Helen L. Parrish, Luther E. Lovejoy, J. Bruce Byall, Rev. R. D. Biedermann.

"How is Housing Legislation to be Secured?" Mrs. Bacon, Miss Fox, Otto W. Davis, David I. Green.

Wednesday, June 14th; a paper by Dr. Frederic Bierhoff, New York, on "Venereal Disease; a Sanitary and Social Problem," and one on "Prenatal

Care," by Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, of Boston. The discussion following was by Laura A. Garrett, of New York; Charles Virden, Illinois; Mrs. John L. Green, Texas; Miss Hill, Boston; Mr. Green, Boston; Dr. Lucas, Boston; Rev. Mr. Lord, Dover; Dr. Richard C. Cabot.

Committee on Law Breakers—O. F. Lewis, Chairman.

This Committee had three section meetings of its own and participated in one joint section meeting.

Its meetings were as follows:

Thursday, June 8th; a Round Table on "Mental Defects and Delinquency." The subject was introduced in papers by Dr. William Healy, of Chicago and Dr. Goddard, of Vineland, and the discussion following was by Ernest K. Coulter, New York; Frank Moore, Rahway; F. H. Wines, Illinois; A. W. Gates, California; Demarchus C. Brown, Indiana; Mrs. W. L. Putnam, Boston; L. A. Halbert, Missouri; Judge Franklin, Oklahoma; Judge Baker, Massachusetts; Dr. Wallace, Massachusetts; Dr. Rogers, Minnesota; Miss Kate Barnard, Oklahoma; Miss Gaston, Illinois; Miss Maud Miner, New York; E. P. Wentworth, Maine, and others.

Monday, June 11th; "The Treatment of Misdemeanants." Papers by James F. Jackson, Cleveland; Hon. James A. Collins, Indianapolis, W. F. Spaulding, Massachusetts, and discussion by R. W. Hebbard, New York; E. T. Brigham, Missouri; Mrs. Ophelia Amigh, Illinois; L. A. Halbert, Missouri; John J. Sonstebly, Chicago; Stockton Raymond, Ohio; Charles D. Reid, Baltimore; Karl L. Schrieber, St. Louis; Mrs. Van Wyck, Milwaukee; Miss Thomas, Newport, and others.

Wednesday, June 14th; "Organization and Correlation of Systems of Probation and Parole." Papers by Arthur W. Towne, Albany; Amos W. Butler, Indiana; Edwin Mulready, Massachusetts; Hon. Charles A. DeCoursey, Boston. Discussion following by Warren G. Spaulding, Massachusetts; Charles D. Reid, Baltimore; Hon. H. H. Baker, Boston; Mrs. Van Wyck, Milwaukee; Miss Maud E. Miner, New York; Homer Folks, New York, and others.

Committee on Securing and Training Social Workers—Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chairman.

This Committee conducted three section meetings as follows:

Friday, June 9th: Topic: Formal Training; the Professional School, I, Its Aims and Methods, Paper by Prof. Roswell C. McCrea, "Co-operation With Colleges," by Professor G. E. Haynes. Discussion by Prof. C. W. Doten, John M. Glenn, Professor Lucile Eaves, Professor Bristol, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Edward T. Devine, Miss Gibbs, Mr. Tucker, Miss Ryan.

Saturday, June 10th; The Professional School, II, "Co-operation With Social Agencies; the Relation of Apprenticeship to the Curriculum," by Mrs. John M. Glenn; "The Possibilities of Social Workers' Clubs," by Miss Zilpha D. Smith. Discussion by E. W. Krackowizer, Miss Frances G. Curtis, Prof. S. Mc. Lindsay, Charles W. Birtwell, Prof. Thomas J. Riley, and others.

Tuesday, June 13th; "Training for the Probation and School Attendance Service," by Roger N. Baldwin. Discussion by Miss Pendleton, Henry Copley Green, Hon. H. H. Baker, Miss Grace Abbott.

Committee on Standards of Living and Labor—Mrs. Florence Kelley, Chairman.

This Committee conducted three section meetings as follows:

Friday, June 9th; Topic "Women in Industry," papers by Mrs. Raymond Robins on "Standards of Payment for Women and Girls," and by

Miss Josephine C. Goldmark on "Standards of Working Hours of Women." Names of those taking part in the discussion not reported.

Saturday, June 10th; "Standards of Legislation for Women and Children in the Southern States," by A. J. McKelway; "Standards in the Northern States," by Owen R. Lovejoy.

Tuesday, June 13th; Topic, "Safety," "Standards of Safety From Fire," by Peter Joseph McKeon; "Occupational Diseases," by Dr. Alice Hamilton; "Standards of Safety Appliances of Machinery," by David S. Beyer.

Committee on State Supervision—Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Chairman.

This committee had two section meetings, as follows:

Tuesday, June 13th; Topic, Supervision of Public Charities, "By a State Board of Control," by Hon. Allan D. Conover, Wisconsin; "By a Board of State Charities," by Robert W. Kelso, Massachusetts. Discussion by Robert W. Hebbard, Hon. G. S. Robinson, Amos W. Butler, Mrs. Owen Williams, L. J. Covington, Hugh F. Fox.

Wednesday, June 14th; Topic, The Supervision of Private Charities, "From the Viewpoint of an Official Board," by George S. Wilson; "From the Viewpoint of a Private Charity," by Rev. Richard Biedermann. Discussion by L. J. Covington, Miss Frances G. Curtis, Carol Aronovici, W. Almont Gates, Frederic R. Johnson, Hugh F. Fox, George B. Robinson.

Committee on the Church and Social Work—Rev. Washington Gladden, Chairman.

This Committee held three section meetings as follows:

Monday, June 12th; Topic, The Preparation of Ministers for Social Work. "The Preparation in the Seminary," by Rev. Charles Stelzle; "The Preparation in Life," by Rev. Frank Mason North. Discussion opened by Jacob Dehaas, followed by David Blaustein, S. W. Dike, Rev. W. R. Lord, E. W. Krackowizer, Mrs. A. M. Clay, Rabbi W. J. S. Abels.

Tuesday, June 13th; Topic, Special Types of Church Work. "What the Church Itself Can do as an Organization," by Rev. Samuel Van Vranken Holmes; "How the Church Can Help Other Organizations" by Rev. John Howard Melish. Discussion by Roy B. Guild, Rev. Charles Stelzle, Mrs. Chesley, Mrs. John M. Glenn, Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams.

Wednesday, June 14th; "The Value of Social Work to the Church," by Rev. Charles I. Cady; "The Value of the Church to Social Workers," by Frederic Almy. Discussion by David F. Tilley, David Blaustein, Edward T. Devine, J. W. Magruder, Rev. Francis J. White, Rev. Daniel Evans, Rev. Charles Stelzle, Miss Anna F. Hunter, Miss Gertrude Vall, Edith E. Powers.

Joint Section Meetings

The Committee on Children, with the National Probation Officers' Association. Topic, "The Neglected and Wayward Child in Rural Communities," addresses by Edwin Mulready and Albert E. Roberts. Discussion by Charles W. Birtwell, Miss Maude E. Miner, J. C. Jenkins, Miss F. G. Curtis, Miss Lucy Page Gaston.

The Committee on Families and Neighborhoods, with the Committee on Children. Topic, The Social Problems of Rural Communities. "Typical Social Problems of Rural New England," by John R. Howard, Jr. "Com-

munity Effort With Rural Social Problems," by Mrs. H. D. Sleeper; Rural Conditions in Pennsylvania," by Mrs. Edith E. Powers.

Committee on Law-Breakers with committee on Children and Committee on Families and Neighborhoods. Topic, The Recreant Husband and Father. "How to Deal With the Recreant Husband and Father," by Joseph C. Logan; "The Present Status of Desertion and Non-Support Laws" by W. H. Baldwin. Discussion opened by J. Prentice Murphy and Miss Minnie F. Low, followed by Charles Virden, Howard P. Nash, Charles D. Reid, Miss Mary Breed, William H. Pear, Frank B. Sanborn, D. J. Jenkins, Mrs. Katharine Van Wyck, C. C. Stahmann, Miss Eugenie Gerlock, Karl S. Schrieber, Mrs. Carrie S. O'Conner, J. M. Glover, William H. Baldwin.

RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION.

(As Amended June 12, 1911.)

PREAMBLE.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction exists to discuss the problems of charities and correction, to disseminate information and promote reforms. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP.

All persons who are interested in charities and correction may become members by registering their names and paying the annual fee.

Honorary members may be elected on recommendation of the Executive Committee.

The annual membership fee shall be \$2.50, and the sustaining membership fee shall be \$10.00 annually. These membership fees shall entitle each member to a copy of the Proceedings and other publications of the Conference. Sustaining members shall be entitled to a second copy of the Proceedings, on request.

State Boards of Charities and other societies and institutions subscribing for the Proceedings in quantities shall be entitled to enroll their officers and members as members of this conference at the rate of one member for each \$2.50 paid.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, first, second and third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory. These officers shall be elected annually by the Conference.

COMMITTEES.

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the ensuing Conference.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, first Vice-President, the Treasurer and all ex-Presidents ex-officio, and nine members to be elected annually by the Conference.

The President soon after the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a committee of nine on Organization of the next Conference; also a committee of three on resolutions; to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate.

At each annual session of the Conference, on the first day after the organization, the President shall appoint a committee to be known as the Committee on Time and Place of the next meeting. The Committee on Time and Place shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the same day for the purpose of receiving invitations from states or cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of invitations by all cities or states desiring to present such invitations. The committee shall

report to the Conference not later than 12 o'clock, noon of the day following their appointment. The action on report of the committee shall be by a rising vote, provided that the city receiving the highest vote shall be selected; and provided, further, that the place of meeting selected may be changed by the Executive Committee, if satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

The President shall be chairman, ex-officio, of the Executive Committee, and shall have the supervision of the work of the several committees in preparing for the meeting of the Conference. He shall have authority to accept resignations and to fill vacancies in the list of officers and chairmen of committees, and to fill vacancies in and add to the numbers of any committee except the Executive Committee. In case of the absence or inability of the President to serve he shall be succeeded by the first Vice-President, and he in like manner by the second or third Vice-President in the order named.

The General Secretary shall be ex-officio Secretary of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Committee on Reports from States. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Conference with officers, committees and others, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the distribution of all announcements and programs, and shall direct the work of the secretaries and be responsible for the correctness of the roll of members. He shall be the custodian of the unsold copies of the reports of the Proceedings, receive all orders for the same, and direct their distribution.

He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the Proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive compensation for his services and an allowance for clerk hire and other expenses, the amount and time of payment of which shall be fixed by the Executive Committee from time to time.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Conference, all disbursements to be made only upon order of the General Secretary, approved by the President or by some member of the Executive Committee, to be named by the President.

The Official Reporter shall report the Proceedings of the Conference, under the direction of the General Secretary.

The retiring President of the Conference and the General Secretary shall constitute a publication Committee, and shall have charge of the editing and publishing of the proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall be responsible for the annual reports from their several states. It shall be their duty to secure the attendance of representatives from public and private institutions and societies.

THE DUTIES OF COMMITTEES.

The Executive Committee shall be the President's Advisory Board, and shall hold the powers of the Conference in the interim between the meetings. The Executive Committee may appoint sub-committees to attend to matters of detail.

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President of the Conference, and five members shall constitute a quorum provided that, when the Conference is not in session, three members shall constitute a quorum.

The Local Committee shall make all necessary local arrangements for the meeting, and provide suitable meeting places, satisfactory to

the President and the General Secretary. They shall provide funds for the expenses of the Conference in such amount as the Executive Committee may determine.

The President, in consultation with the Chairman of each Standing Committee, shall arrange the program for the sessions and section meetings, and shall so arrange it as to give opportunity for free discussion; provided that the program, before final adoption, shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

No paper shall be presented to the Conference except through the proper committee, and no paper shall be read in the absence of the writer except by unanimous consent.

In cases when there is a cognate national organization which meets at or about the time of the National Conference, the chairman of the appropriate committee shall endeavor to co-operate with the President of the said national organization and as far as possible shall endeavor to correlate the programs of the said society and of the Conference.

SECTION MEETINGS.

The Section Meetings are designed for familiar discussion. Not more than two papers shall be read at any section meeting, to occupy together not more than thirty minutes. All discussion shall be presented extemporaneously. If possible, papers shall be printed and distributed beforehand, that the entire meeting may be given to discussion. No afternoon meetings shall be inserted in the official programme.

DEBATES.

In the debates of the Conference, speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, except by unanimous consent, and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

AMENDMENTS.

These rules shall remain in force from year to year, unless amended; and all additions or amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Committee before being acted on by the Conference.

Financial Report

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, SEC- RETARY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT YEAR 1910-1911.

To Balance May 1st, 1910.....\$ 2,336 45

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Members—Active:

1908	\$ 7 50
1909	25 00
1910	2,099 90
1911	2,739 95
1912	7 50
1913	2 50
1914	2 50

Total Active \$4,884 85

Receipts from Members—Sustaining:

1910	\$ 127 50
1911	1,750 00

Total Sustaining \$1,877 50

Total Memberships \$6,762 35

Contributions 1,500 50

Sales of Proceedings\$1,151 45

Sales of Guide 36 20

Sales of Index 25 91

Sales of Reprints 85 36

Sales of Bulletins 2 85

Sales of Badges 129 30

Total Sales 1,431 07

To Exchange on Checks 4 15

Interest—Continental Bank\$ 6 86

Interest—Washington Loan & Trust

Co. 11.42

Total Interest 18 28

Total Revenue 9,716 35

Refunds:

Refund Publicity Account\$ 3 30

Refund account of error, Voucher

No. 106 255 00

Refund Secretarys Contingent

Fund 400 00

Total Refunds 658 30

Total \$12,711 10

DISBURSEMENTS.

Publishing Proceedings of 1910:

Reporting\$ 255 00

Printing 1,309 83

Plates 81 00

Binding 510 00

Distributing 688 68

Total Proceedings 1910..... \$2,844 51

Proceedings Stock, Binding and Storage. 22 50

Total Proceedings \$2,867.01

FINANCIAL REPORT.

499

Bulletin Publishing	\$ 754 75	
Bulletin Distributing	482 48	
Total Bulletin		1,237 23
Reprints Publishing		124 59
Circulars and Sundry Printing		150 23
Total Printing and Publishing		4,379 06
Salaries and Office Help, (13 mo.)	\$4,584 10	
General Expense:		
Badges	\$ 7 37	
Postage (not including Bulletin)	379 51	
Stationery and Office Supplies..	220 86	
Office Rent (13 Mos.)	195 00	
Office Furniture	24 41	
Telegraph and Telephone	59 07	
Insurance	9 50	
Secretary's Official Bond	7 50	
Freight, Express and Sundry		
Expense	71 85	
Exchange on Checks	29 35	
Total General Expense		1,004 42
Publicity Agent Expenses:		
Salary (5 quarters)	\$ 625 00	
Traveling Expenses	176 40	
Printing and Distribution	\$ 145 27	
Expenses of Committee 1910....	30 00	
Total Publicity Expense..		976 67
Traveling Expense—Secretary ..	682 98	
Traveling Expense—President ..	50 65	
Traveling Expense—Preacher ...	50 00	
Total Traveling Expense.....	\$ 783 63	
Total Expense Account.....		\$7,348 82
Secretary's Contingent Fund	\$ 400 00	
Error in Voucher No. 106.....	225 00	
		655 00
Grand Total Disbursements		12,382 38
Balance with Treasurer June 5th, 1911.....		328 22
		<u>\$12,711 10</u>

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF ILLINOIS HARRIS TRUST BUILDING CHICAGO

August 7th, 1911.

The Executive Committee of the
National Conference of Charities and Correction,

Gentlemen:—

We have audited your Secretary's Financial Report for the Conference Year 1910-1911—from May 1st, 1910, to June 1st, 1911.

We found all monies received by the Secretary, as shown by his daily record, and amounting to \$10,374.65, to have been duly turned over to the Treasurer of the Conference.

The Disbursements for the period under review, amounting to \$12,382.88, have been made upon properly authorized vouchers which we checked with the itemized vouchers in the hands of the Secretary and found to be correctly stated.

The balance of cash on hand, \$328.22, we found to be duly deposited to the credit of the Conference Account with the Washington Loan & Trust Co., of Washington, D. C., as per their statement at close of business June 5th, 1911.

A copy of the Secretary's Report is appended hereto.

Yours very truly,

C. W. KNISLEY.
President and Manager.

The Organization of the Conference of 1911

President, Mr. Homer Folks, New York, N. Y.; First Vice-President, David F. Tilley, Boston, Mass.; Second Vice-President, Francis G. Eaton, St. Louis, Mo.; Third Vice-President, Frank L. McVey, Grand Forks, N. D.; General Secretary, Alexander Johnson, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Assistant Secretaries, William H. Pear, Boston, Mass.; Miss Florence Lattimore, New York, N. Y.; Winthrop D. Lane, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Maurice Willows, Birmingham, Ala.; Miss Margaret M. Johnson, Fort Wayne, Ind.; H. H. Shirer, Columbus, O.; Treasurer, The Washington Loan and Trust Co., Washington, D. C.

Executive Committee—The ex-presidents as follows: Roeliff Brinkerhoff, Ohio, 1879*; F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts, 1880; Fred H. Wines, Illinois, 1881; Hastings H. Hart, Illinois, 1893; Alexander Johnson, Indiana, 1897; William R. Stewart, New York, 1898; Charles R. Henderson, Illinois, 1899; Charles E. Faulkner, Minnesota, 1900; John M. Glenn, Maryland, 1901; Timothy Nicholson, Indiana, 1902; Robert W. DeForest, New York, 1903; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Massachusetts, 1904; Rev. Samuel G. Smith, D. D., Minnesota, 1905; Edward T. Devine, New York, 1906; Amos W. Butler, Indiana, 1907; Thomas M. Mulry, New York, 1908; Ernest P. Bicknell, Illinois, 1909; Miss Jane Addams, Illinois, 1910; the President, Mr. Homer Folks, New York; the First Vice-President, David F. Tilley, Boston, and the following additional persons: Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Frances G. Curtis, Boston, Mass.; O. E. Darnall, Washington, D. C.; George H. Denny, Lexington, Va.; Charles P. Kellogg, Waterbury, Conn.; Dr. Walter Lindley, Los Angeles, Calif.; William H. McLain, St. Louis, Mo.; Bernard J. Rothwell, Boston, Mass.; Cyrus L. Sulzberger, New York, N. Y.

State Corresponding Secretaries—Alabama, Maurice Willows, Birmingham; Alaska, W. G. Beattie, Sitka; Arkansas, Prof. J. H. Reynolds, Fayetteville; California, W. A. Gates, 711 Merchants Exchange, San Francisco; Colorado, William Thomas, State Capitol, Denver; Connecticut, Charles P. Kellogg, Waterbury; Delaware, Mrs. E. P. Warner, Kentmere Place, Wilmington; District of Columbia, George S. Wilson, District Building, Washington; Florida, Charles P. Hall, Pensacola; Georgia, Joseph C. Logan, 705 Gould Building, Atlanta; Idaho, J. T. Humphries, St. Anthony; Indiana, Miss Laura Greely, 52 State House, Indianapolis; Kansas, F. W. Knapp, Secretary Board of Control, Topeka; Kentucky, Miss Frances Ingram, 428 South First Street, Louisville; Louisiana, Rev. Beverley D. Warner, New Orleans; Maine, E. P. Wentworth, State School for Boys, Portland; Maryland, Nathaniel G. Grasty, Court House, Baltimore; Massachusetts, Joseph Lee, 101 Tremont Street, Boston; Michigan, J. B. Montgomery, Superintendent Michigan State Public School, Coldwater; Minnesota, A. W. Guttridge, 609 Baltimore Building, St. Paul; Missouri, W. T. Cross, Columbia; Montana, D. B. Price, 4 Harrison Avenue, Helena; Nebraska, A. W. Clark, 334 N. 41st Street, Omaha; New Hampshire, William J. Ahern, State

*The date following the name indicates the year in which the member was president.

Board of Charities, Concord; New Jersey, Mrs. Mary A. Jacobson, Newark; New York, Dr. Robert W. Hill, The Capitol, Albany; North Carolina, Miss Daisy Denson, Secretary Board of Public Charities, Raleigh; North Dakota, O. E. McCracken, General Secretary Associated Charities, Fargo; Ohio, H. H. Shirer, 805 Harrison Building, Columbus; Oklahoma, Miss Kate Barnard, Guthrie; Oregon, W. B. Walpole, 305 Jefferson Street, Portland; Pennsylvania, Carl Kelsey, Logan Hall, W. Philadelphia; Rhode Island, Thomas B. Maymon, Providence; South Carolina, A. T. Jamison, Greenwood; South Dakota, W. E. Tipton, Mitchell; Tennessee, Erwin P. Anderson, 225 Berry Street, Nashville; Texas, John L. Green, 1003 Throckmorton Street, Fort Worth; Utah, Mrs. Ida Smoot Dusenberry, Provo; Vermont, Rev. J. Edward Wright, 19 Baldwin Street, Montpelier; Virginia, J. T. Mastin, Library Building, Richmond; Washington, Miss Virginia McMechen, 312 Collins Building, Seattle; Wisconsin, M. J. Tappins, Madison; New Brunswick, Rev. Thomas Hunter Boyd, The Manse, Waweig; Nova Scotia, Rev. J. W. Macmillan, D. D., Halifax. Others to be appointed by the Executive Committee.

State Supervision—Rev. Frances H. Gavisk, Chairman, 126 Georgia Street, W., Indianapolis, Ind.; Robert W. Hebbard, Vice-Chairman, State Capitol, Albany, N. Y.; S. H. Bakewell, Plankinton, S. D.; Miss Kate Barnard, Guthrie, Okla.; J. H. Brown, Olympia, Wash.; George F. Cotterill, 2557 11th Avenue, W., Seattle, Wash.; Dr. Edwin A. Down, 902 Main Street, Hartford, Conn.; Dr. William F. Drewry, Petersburg, Va.; W. A. Gates, Merchants Exchange, San Francisco, Calif.; George A. Lewis, 31 Erie County Savings Bank, Buffalo, N. Y.; Leontine Lincoln, Fall River, Mass.; J. Hall Pleasants, 16 W. Chase Street, Baltimore, Md.; Lawrence Y. Sherman, Springfield, Ill.; Mrs. Frank S. Streeter, 234 N. Main Street, Concord, N. H.; Charles E. Vasaly, State Capitol, St. Paul, Minn.; Bromley Wharton, 714 Bulletin Building, Philadelphia, Pa.; Robert T. Whitehouse, Portland, Me.; George S. Wilson, District Building, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Louis F. Zinkhan, 19th and C Streets, N. E., Washington, D. C.

Children—Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Chairman, Darling, Delaware County, Pa.; Solomon Lowenstein, Vice-Chairman, Amsterdam Avenue and 137th Street, New York City; Roger N. Baldwin, 1832 Carr Street, St. Louis, Mo.; Robert Biggs, 828 Law Building, Baltimore, Md.; Charles W. Birtwell, 43 Charity Building, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. A. P. Burgwin, 5210 Pembroke Place, Pittsburg, Pa.; H. W. Charles, Topeka, Kan.; Elmer L. Coffeen, Westboro, Mass.; Rev. L. J. Covington, 323 N. Y. Block, Seattle, Wash.; H. W. Cowan, 2305 Washington Street, Denver, Colo.; Marcus C. Fagg, Pittsburg, Pa.; James E. Fee, 43 State House, Boston, Mass.; Rabbi Morris M. Feuerlicht, 2837 Washington Boulevard, Indianapolis, Ind.; John J. Gascoyne, Court House, Newark, N. J.; Rev. Brother Henry, New York Catholic Protectory, West Chester, N. Y.; Judge Harry D. Jewell, Court House, Grand Rapids, Mich.; George L. Jones, 15 E. Pleasant Street, Baltimore, Md.; J. J. Kelso, Parliament Building, Toronto, Ont.; Mrs. Frank A. Mitchell, 37 Otis Street, Norwich, Conn.; J. Prentice Murphy, 1506 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Joseph J. O'Donohue, 5 E. 69th Street, New York, N. Y.; O. E. Pfouts, Louisville Industrial School, Louisville, Ky.; Mrs. J. L. Pickering, 765 City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Emma Quinlan, 1011 Oakley Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.; L. T. Royster, M. D., Taylor Building, Norfolk, Va.; F. J. Sessions, 2800 Eastern Avenue, Davenport, Iowa; Judge John Day Smith, Court House, Minneapolis, Minn.; Mrs. Emma W. Speer, 193 Brownson Avenue, Washington, Pa.; Edwin P. Wentworth, Portland, Me.; James E. West, Metropolitan Building, Washington, D. C.

Families and Neighborhoods—Porter R. Lee, Chairman, 11th and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Mary E. McDowell, Vice-Chairman, 4630 Gross Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; George A. Bellamy, 2723 Orange Avenue, S. E., Cleveland, O.; Miss M. Josephine Bleakie, 93 Perry Street, Brookline, Mass.; Mrs. Melville C. Branch, R. F. D. 4, Box 67, Richmond, Va.; James A. Buchanan, 1408 E. Franklin Street, Richmond, Va.; Henry F. Burt, 320 16th Avenue, So., Minneapolis, Minn.; Amos W. Butler, 52 State House, Indianapolis, Ind.; Miss Ellen W. Coolidge, 81 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass.; Miss Anna F. Davies, 433 Christian Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Flora Dunlap, Des Moines, Iowa; John L. Elliott, 436 West 27th Street, New York, N. Y.; W. N. Finley, 9 E. Lexington Street, Baltimore, Md.; Arthur H. Ham, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Frederick G. Hodgson, 746 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga.; Thomas W. Hynes, 1332 Pacific Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; James P. Kranz, 1701 Maple Street, Houston, Tex.; Louis H. Levin, 411 W. Fayette Street, Baltimore, Md.; Eugene T. Lies, City and County Building, Minneapolis, Minn.; Francis H. McLean, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.; V. R. Manning, 28 E. Bay Street, Jacksonville, Fla.; Mrs. B. B. Munford, Richmond, Va.; Miss Helen B. Pendleton, City Hall, Savannah, Ga.; Benjamin Pettee, 43 Hawkins Street, Boston, Mass.; Thomas G. Raper, The Picayune, New Orleans, La.; John R. Shillady, 411 White Building, Buffalo, N. Y.; Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, 26 Jones Street, New York, N. Y.; Miss Helen Swett, 555 E. Chestnut Street, San Francisco, Calif.; J. O. White, 501 E. 3rd Street, Cincinnati, O.

Law Breakers—Orlando F. Lewis, Chairman, 135 E. 115th Street, New York, N. Y.; Jacob Billikopf, Kansas City, Mo.; Walter H. Clark, Hartford, Conn.; George B. Davis, School P. O., Va.; Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Bedford Hills, N. Y.; James L. Dawson, 4200 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.; Judge Charles A. DeCourcy, Lawrence, Mass.; J. C. Kalleen, Jamesburg, N. J.; James P. Leonard, Mansfield, O.; Robert W. McClaughry, Leavenworth, Kan.; Walter McElreath, 66 East Avenue, Atlanta, Ga.; Julius M. Mayer, 43 Exchange Place, New York, N. Y.; Timothy Nicholson, Richmond, Ind.; Judge Harry Olsen, 148 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; Frederick G. Pettigrove, State House, Boston, Mass.; Frank L. Randall, St. Cloud, Minn.; C. S. Reed, Walla Walla, Wash.; Dr. J. H. Stolper, Krebs, Okla.; J. D. Underhill, 253 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Judge Edward F. Waite, Municipal Court, Minneapolis, Minn.; Prof. John H. Wigmore, Northwestern Law School, Chicago, Ill.; John Sonsteby, 153 LaSalle St., Chicago.

Standards of Living and Labor—Mrs. Florence Kelley, Chairman, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.; Rev. John A. Ryan, Vice-Chairman, St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.; Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; John B. Andrews, Metropolitan Tower, New York, N. Y.; Meyer Bloomfield, Vocation Bureau, Boston, Mass.; Louis D. Brandeis, 161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.; David M. Bressler, 174 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Prof. Robert C. Chapin, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.; Dr. H. B. Favill, 100 State Street, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Jean M. Gordon, 1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.; Rev. Samuel C. Hatcher, 1010 East Marshall Street, Richmond, Va.; Hubert Huson, Guthrie, Okla.; Paul U. Kellogg, 105 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.; Sherman C. Kingsley, 51 LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.; Owen R. Lovejoy, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.; Miss N. J. Minor, 201 E. Cary Street, Richmond, Va.; John Mitchell, 10096 Metropolitan Building, New York City; Dr. Charles P. Neill, Bureau of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Frank Mason North, D. D., 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Frank Tucker, 346 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Very Rev. William J. White, D. D., 98 Richards Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Housing, Health and Recreation—Lawrence Veiller, Chairman, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.; Charles F. Weller, Vice-Chairman, 535 Fulton Building, Pittsburg, Pa.; Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, 1221 Upper First Street, Evansville, Ind.; Charles B. Ball, 1951 Sunnyside Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; Edmond J. Butler, 92 William Street, New York, N. Y.; Philip Cabot, 18 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Richard C. Cabot, 190 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass.; E. B. de Groote, General Director South Park Commission, Chicago, Ill.; Hon. C. C. Duryea, City Hall Annex, Schenectady, N. Y.; Dr. W. A. Evans, 218 E. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.; Mayo Fesler, 903 Security Building, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. Roy K. Flannagan, Charlottesville, Va.; Robert Garrett, 506 Continental Building, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Alice S. Griffith, 2608 Webster Street, San Francisco, Calif.; Dr. Luther H. Gulick, 1 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Dr. Alice Hamilton, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; J. L. Hudson, Detroit, Mich.; Dr. Woods Hutchinson, 38 E. 49th Street, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Charles H. Israel, 21 Edgecliff Terr., Yonkers, N. Y.; H. H. Jacobs, 861 First Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; Charles W. Killam, 20 Walker Street, Cambridge, Mass.; George M. Kober, 1819 Q Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Dr. Ernst J. Lederle, Department of Health, New York, N. Y.; Joseph Lee, 101 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.; Charles Logue, Boston, Mass.; William H. Matthews, Pittsburg, Pa.; John J. Murphy, 44 E. 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.; Miss Charlotte Rumbold, City Hall, St. Louis, Mo.; Max Senior, Mitchell Building, Cincinnati, O.; Howard Strong, Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, O.; Gustavus A. Weber, 510 S. 7th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. William H. Welch, 807 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Bernard T. Williams, 15 Woodland Street, Hartford, Conn.

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KANSAS. Board of Control of State Charitable Institutions. Topeka. Established 1906. H. C. Bowman, Chairman, Newton; S. G. Elliott, Treasurer, Lawrence; C. D. Shuhen, Sedan; Chas. W. Gibbs, Secretary, Lawrence.

LOUISIANA. State Board of Charities and Correction. New Orleans. Established 1904. Gov. Jared Y. Sanders, President ex-officio, Baton Rouge; T. P. Thompson, New Orleans; E. B. Herndon, Shreveport; R. McG. Carruth, New Roads; F. S. Wels, Secretary, New Orleans.

MARYLAND. Board of State Aid and Charities. Baltimore. Established 1900. B. Abner Betts, President, Chewsville; Noble L. Mitchell, Bel Air; William J. McCrea, Baltimore; Gustav Siegmund, Baltimore; Dr. H. St. Clair Spruill, Baltimore; Dr. Philip Briscoe, Mutual; Joseph B. Harrington, Easton; Lloyd Wilkinson, Secretary, Baltimore.

MARYLAND. The Lunacy Commission. Baltimore. Established 1886. Dr. Hugh H. Young, President, Baltimore; Dr. John D. Blake, Baltimore; Dr. Henry M. Hurd, Baltimore; Dr. R. Markley Black, Baltimore; Hon. Isaac Lobe Straus, Attorney-General; Dr. Arthur P. Herring, Secretary, Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS. State Board of Charity. State House, Boston. Established 1879. Law amended 1886 and 1898. Leontine Lincoln, Chairman, Fall River; Charles H. Adams, Vice President, Melrose; Miss Frances Greely Curtis, Boston; Charles R. Johnson, Worcester; David F. Tilley, Boston; Abraham C. Ratschesky, Boston; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston; Mrs. Ada Elliot Sheffield, Cambridge; Robert W. Kelso, Secretary, Boston; Joshua F. Lewis, M. D., Superintendent of State Adult Poor, Boston; James E. Fee, Superintendent of State Minor Wards, Boston.

MASSACHUSETTS. State Board of Insanity. State House, Boston. Established 1898. Herbert B. Howard, M. D., Chairman, Boston; Michael J. O'Meara, M. D., Worcester; Henry P. Field, Northampton; William F. Whittemore, Boston; Edward W. Taylor, M. D., Boston; Charles E. Thompson, M. D., Secretary, Boston.

MASSACHUSETTS. The Board of Prison Commissioners. State House, Boston. Established 1898. Frederick G. Pettigrove, Chairman, Boston; Mrs. Margaret P. Russell, Boston; Henry Parkham, Boston; Arthur H. Wellman, Topsfield; Miss Mary Boyle O'Reilly, Boston; J. Warren Bailey, Secretary, Somerville.

MICHIGAN. Board of Corrections and Charities. Gov. Chas. S. Osborn, ex-officio, Lansing; Charles Lewis, Chairman, Jackson; Dayton Parker, M. D., Detroit; George Clapperton, Grand Rapids; Roy J. Cram, Detroit; Mari T. Murray, Secretary, Lansing.

MINNESOTA. State Board of Control. St. Paul. Established 1901. P. M. Ringdal, Chairman, Crookston; C. E. Vasaly, Little Falls; C. J. Swendsen, St. James; J. D. Mills, Secretary, St. Paul; M. C. Cutter, Purchasing Agent, St. Paul.

MISSOURI. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Columbia. Established 1897. Gov. Herbert S. Hadley, President; Miss Mary E. Perry, St. Louis; Dr. P. E. Williams, Tipton; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Columbia; Dr. Eugene Weiffenbach, Warrenton; Rabbi Louis Bernstein, St. Joseph; John H. Holmes, St. Louis; W. T. Cross, Secretary, Columbia.

NEBRASKA. Board of Public Lands and Buildings. Lincoln. Established 1877. E. B. Cowles, President, Lincoln; Grant G. Martin, Lincoln; Walter George, Lincoln; Addison Waite, Secretary, Lincoln.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Concord. Established 1895. Sherman E. Burroughs, Manchester, Chairman; O. J. M. Gilman, Alton; James F. Brennan, Peterborough; Mrs. Kate Howard Brown, Whitefield; Mrs. Mary I. Wood, Portsmouth; Dr. Irving A. Watson, Sec'y State Board of Health, Member ex-officio, Concord; William J. Ahern, Concord, Secretary; Miss Caroline E. Evans, Concord, Clerk.

NEW JERSEY. State Board of Children's Guardians. Jersey City. Established 1899. Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander, President, Hoboken; Benjamin F. Edsall, Secretary, Newark; Robert L. Fleming, Treasurer, Jersey City; Joseph McCrystal, Paterson; Mrs. F. C. Jacobson, Newark; James A. Burns, East Orange; Charles J. Fisk, Plainfield.

NEW JERSEY. State Commissioner of Charities and Correction. George B. Wight, Trenton.

NEW YORK. State Board of Charities. Albany. Established 1867. Law amended 1896. William R. Stewart, President, New York; Dr. Stephen Smith, New York; Thomas M. Mulry, New York; Herman Ridder, New York; Simon W. Rosendale, Albany; Richard L. Hand, Elizabethtown; John W. Hogan, Syracuse; Frank A. Fetter, Ithaca; Horace McGuire, Rochester; William H. Gratiwick, Buffalo; Joseph C. Baldwin, Jr., Mt. Kisco; Augustus Floyd, Mastic; Robert W. Hebbard, Secretary, Albany; Dr. Robert W. Hill, Supt. of State and Allen Poor, Albany; Richard W. Wallace, Supt. of Inspection, Albany.

NEW YORK. State Commission in Lunacy. Albany. Established 1889. Dr. Albert Warren Ferris, President, New York; Herbert P. Bissell, Buffalo; Wm. Cary Sanger, Sangerfield; T. E. McGarr, Secretary, Albany.

NEW YORK. State Commission of Prisons. The Capitol, Albany. Established 1895. Law amended 1901. Henry Solomon, President, New York; Francis C. Huntington, Vice Pres., New York; Sarah L. Davenport, Bath; Edgar A. Newell, Ogdensburg; Simon P. Quick, Windsor; John McNamee, Brooklyn; Frank E. Wade, Buffalo; George McLaughlin, Secretary, Albany.

NORTH CAROLINA. Board of Public Charities. Raleigh. Established 1869. Reorganized 1889. W. A. Blair, Chairman, Winston-Salem; Carey J. Hunter, Raleigh; A. C. McAlister, Asheboro; Henry C. Dockery, Rockingham; Joseph G. Brown, Raleigh; Miss Daisy Denson, Secretary, Raleigh.

OHIO. Board of State Charities. Columbus. Established 1867. Law amended 1906. Gov. Judson Harmon, President ex officio, Columbus; Rutherford Hayes Platt, Chairman, Columbus; Rufus C. Burton, Zanesville; H. H. McFadden, Steubenville; Dr. H. H. Drysdale, Cleveland; John V. B. Scarborough, Cincinnati; Rev. A. G. Lohmann, Crestline; H. H. Shirer, Secretary, Columbus; J. D. Holmes, State Agent, Columbus.

OKLAHOMA. State Commissioner of Charities and Correction, Miss Kate Barnard, Oklahoma City.

PENNSYLVANIA. Board of Public Charities. Philadelphia. Established 1869. Francis J. Torrance, President, Allegheny; George W. Ryon, Shamokin; Isaac Johnson, Media; Patrick C. Boyle, Oil City; Ralph Blum, Philadelphia; Cyrus B. King, Allegheny; William T. Bell, Mt. Union; Samuel E. Gill, Pittsburgh; Howard B. French, Philadelphia; Bromley Wharton, Philadelphia, Secretary.

RHODE ISLAND. Board of State Charities and Corrections. Providence. Established 1869. James F. McCusker, Chairman, Pontiac; Walter A. Read, Gloucester; Robert F. Rodman, Allenton; George R. Lawton, Tiverton; Harry H. Shepherd, Bristol; Horace F. Horton, Cranston; S. Willard Thayer, Pawtucket; Francello G. Jillson, Providence; Joseph J. Albert, Woonsocket; Charles Potter, Secretary, Providence.

SOUTH DAKOTA. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Mitchell. Established 1890. H. P. Packard, Pres., Redfield; W. M. Powers, Parole Officer, Yankton; S. H. Bakewell, Plankinton; George H. Lanning, Egan; W. H. King, Secretary, Parker.

TENNESSEE. Board of State Charities. Nashville. Established 1895. Gov. M. R. Patterson, Nashville; James A. Orman, M. D., Nashville; W. R. Cole, Nashville; Rabbi Isadore Lewinthal, Nashville; John W. Bachman, D. D., President, Chattanooga; James Maynard, Knoxville; John J. Blishop, Memphis; E. P. Anderson, Secretary, Nashville.

VIRGINIA. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Richmond. Established 1908. George H. Denny, President, Lexington; P. A. Irving, Farmville; J. A. Cabell, Richmond; S. C. Hatcher, Ashland; J. W. Hough, Norfolk; J. T. Mastin, Secretary, Richmond.

WASHINGTON. State Board of Control. Olympia. Established 1901. E. D. Cowen, Chairman, Olympia; A. E. Cagwin, Olympia; H. T. Jones, Olympia; H. G. Ballou, Secretary, Olympia.

WISCONSIN. State Board of Control. Madison. Established 1891. W. H. Graebner, President, Milwaukee; Dr. Almah J. Frisby, Vice Pres., Milwaukee; Ralph E. Smith, Merrill; Rev. Daniel Woodward, Omro; Dr. P. H. Lindley, Chippewa Falls; M. J. Tappins, Secretary, Madison.

WYOMING. State Board of Charities and Reform. Cheyenne. Gov. Joseph M. Cary, President; Frank L. Houx; John L. Baird; Robert Forsyth; Miss Rose A. Byrd, Secretary; Miss Mae Woodruff, Clerk.

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INDEX OF SUBJECTS

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

Names of states, etc., the usual P. O. abbreviations, as N. Y., Ala., U. S.

A. C.	Associated charities	E.	East-ern.	O. D. R.	Outdoor relief.
Abol.	Abolish, ition, ment	Econ.	Economic, -s, -al.	Off.	Officer, -s, -cial, -s.
Adm.	Administration, -tive	Emp.	Employed, -ment.	Org.	Organized, -ation, -s.
Adv.	Advanced, -ing, ad- vantage.	Engd.	England, -ish.	Orp.	Orphan, -s.
Agst.	Against.	Epl.	Epileptic, -s, -sy.	Pen.	Penitentiary.
Amd.	Amend, -ed, -ment, -s	Est.	Establish, -ed, -ment.	Phi.	Philanthropy, -ical.
Appn.	Appropriation, -s.	Exp.	Expense, -es.	Phys.	Physical.
Appt.	Appointment, -s, -ed.	F. M.	Feebleminded, -ness.	Plg.	Placing.
Assd.	Associated.	F. V.	Friendly visitor, -s.	Prev.	Prevent, -ion, -ing.
Assn.	Association.	Govt.	Government, -al.	Pri.	Private.
Asy.	Asylum.	H.	House, -s.	Pris.	Prison, -s, -er, -ers.
Bd.	Board, -s.	Ho.	Home, -s.	Prob.	Probation.
Bdg.	Boarding.	Hosp.	Hospital, -s.	Prohi.	Prohibition, -ive.
Bl.	Blind.			Pt.	Point.
Bldg.	Building, -s.			Pub.	Public, -ity.
Ch.	Child, children, -'s.	Id.	Idiot, -ic.	Re.	Concerning.
Char.	Charity, -ies, -able.	Illit.	Illiterate, -cy.	Ref.	Refuge, reformatory
Chh.	Church, -'s, -es.	Imb.	Imbecile, -s.	Reg.	Regulation, -s, -ing.
Co.	County, Company.	Imgt.	Immigration.	Rel.	Relief.
Col.	Colony, -ies.	Immt.	Immigrant, -s.	Rep.	Report, -ed, -ing.
Com.	Committee, Com- mission, -s.	Imp.	Improved, -ment, -s.	R. R.	Railroad.
Comr.	Commissioner, -s.	Inc.	Increase, -ing.	S.	South-ern.
Cond.	Condition, -s.	Incor.	Incorrigible, -s, -ility.	San.	Sanatorium, -a
Conf.	Conference, -s.	Ind.	Industrial.	Sch.	School, -s.
Cont.	Control.	Ins.	Insane.	Sec.	Secretary, -ies, secu- lar.
Cor.	Correction, -s, -al.	Inst.	Institution, -s, -al.	Sett.	Settlement.
C. O. S.	Charity Organiza- tion Society.	Insp.	Inspect, -or, -ion.	Soc.	Society, social.
Cri.	Crime, -inal, -s.	Inv.	Investigate, -ed, -ions	St.	State, -s.
Ct.	Court, -s.	Juv.	Juvenile.	Stat.	Statistics, -ical, -ician
Def.	Defective, -s, -ness.	Lab.	Labor, -er, -s.	Super.	Supervisor, -s, -ision.
Deg.	Degenerate, -s, -tion.	Legis.	Legislator, -s, -ive, -ure.	Supt.	Superintend, -ing, -ent
Del.	Delinquent, -cy.	Legis.	Legislation.	T. B.	Tuberculosis.
Demo.	Democratic.	Med.	Medical, -ine.	Trg.	Training.
Dep.	Dependent, -cy.	Mvt.	Movement.	Uni.	University, -ies.
Dept.	Department.	N.	North-ern.	W.	West-ern.
Dest.	Destitute, -s.	Nat.	National.	Wk.	Work.
Dev.	Development, -s.	No.	Number, -s.	Wkr.	Worker, -s.
Dr.	Doctor.			Wkg.	Working.

Words in SMALL CAPITALS signify COMMITTEES; phrases in *italics* signify *titles of papers*; author's name follows title.

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John Rice — Rebecca

1679 11-14, Tripartite m'ge deed betw. Jno. Rice of Va., mercht, REBECCA TRAVERS of Rappk co., widow; Col. Leroy Griffin & Maj. Wm Lloyd, Gentn. Will proved 1693 12-5, Capt. Saml Travers & Col. Jno. Stone, exrs. He was a J. P. for Richmond Co.

1679 11-5, Rebecca Travers, widow, executes a Deed of G. Devises to sister Mary Thurman, to sons RAL- EIGH and WILL- TRAVERS (cattle, &c.).

Col. William Travers, "Gent."

1685 5-5, estate of Col. W. T., decd, in hands of Mr Jno. Rice, who m'd his admx. Total appnt at "Exeter Lodge." Balce due from Gawin Corbin. Goods of Mathew Travers in pt of his debt. Funeral ch'ges. Sr Hy Chichey's bill; Thos. Marshall's. 1684-85 4-4, Mr Saml Peachy & Mr Alex. Smith to meet at ho. of Mr Jno. Rice and div. 1st of Col W. T., late decd, into 3 eq'l p's; widow to have 1st choice, 2nd pt of charge to be borne by Mr Jno. Rice, who m'd the relict; 3rd by Mr Saml Travers, to whom the other 2nd belong. Col. W. T. was granted 2,650 A., 1667-68, Speaker of Ho. of Burgesses, 1677.

Capt. Samuel Travers — Frances Allerton,

1685 7-1, S. T. of Co. Rappk to bro. Raleigh T., 780 A. in Co. Stafford at Hd of Doeg's Creek, wh. descendd to him (S. T.) as son & heir of Wm. TRAVERS, late of Co. Essex, gent., patentee, 1678 3-22, witness Jno. Taverner, aet. 44. 1685 9-1, Capt. S. T. petitions Court abt a t. of 1st of his, contg 2,650 A., bd'g on Col. Saml Griffin. Sits as J. P. in 1686. 1687, "Capt." S. T. & Frances his wife. 1687 10-31, Capt. S. T. of Rappk Co. assigns 800 A. pt of a div. of Col. W. T., known as T's Quarter, or Old Field. 1688 7-4, Capt. S. T. of Rappk & Mr Raleigh T. of Lancaster give a bond. 1689, Capt. S. T. is Sheriff. 1691, Capt. S. T. to take list of tithables bet. Farnham & Morattico Creeks.

dau. of Colonel Isaac Allerton of Westmoreland, living 1702, at date of his will, with her 3 daus, ELIZ., REBECCA, and WINIFRED TRAVERS (minors), under 17.

Capt. Raleigh Travers — Sarah (Taverner?) Wi

1701, J. P. of Richmond Co. as "Capt. R. T." Will of R. T. of Farnham par., Co. Richmd. 1701 2-4 1702 2-4. To wife SARAH 400 Acres called "Exeter Lodge" during widowhood. Reversion to Cousin Rebecca Travers. Legs to his cozens (nieces) ELIZ., WINIFRED & REBECCA TRAVERS. To sister Beale, brother John Taverner and Capt. Thos. Beale, Exrs. Legs to Mrs Peachy, Mr Slaughter, Mrs Sarah Baylis, godson Raleigh Brooks. 4ths. given me by Wm. Colston, 3rd to sister Beale, 1/2 to brother John Taverner.

probably dau. of John Taverner b. 1641). Elizabeth, the wife of Capt. Thos. Beale, was probably her sister. He was stepson of Mr William Colston (died 1701).

Elizabeth Travers

abt 1688
Must have died before her father's will.

Winifred Travers

abt 1690 - 1749 8-10.
M. 1741 11-28 Daniel Hornby, J. P. He was son of Daniel Hornby of Co. Richmond, tailor, whose will, 1705 8-24-9-4, gives 2 chn, Danl & Frances, all Overseer friend Mr Jno. Taverner. Mrs Hornby, aged 50 at her m'ge. Danl Hornby (1690-1749 2-14). The will of her sister Rebecca Colston, 1726, provides her a suitable maintenance out of my est, as long as she may remain unmarried.

John Taverner — Rebecca

Will 1711 5-4-12 3-5. Qy., Burgess of 1692 or son of same name? Legatees, wife Rebecca, exx and resid leg, rem't to nephew Isaac Allerton, nephs Thos Jr., John, Wm. & Elizth Beale, chn of Capt. Thomas Beale Jr. by Elizabeth Taverner.

(1692 10-15-1)
1721 2-17, "Whereas of ye Co. Richmond, his 2 dau^s REBECCA & pat. of 1st cont'g 2,250 ham, on Totushey Cr interm'd with a cert. &c," a division is Colston (1726 12-20-2), of l. in Northumb Co to son CHARLES, rem't

Alice Corbin Griffin

dau. Col. Thomas Griffin of Richmond Co.

Travers Co

Only surviving child, born 1711 Lodge, Northumbd; afterwards on Rappahannock.

Capt. William Colston

Of Hornby Manor, Richmond Co. 17....-1781.

Ency Carter

dau. London Carter of Sabine Hall, Esqr.

William Travers Colston

Elizth B. Armistead

dau. Harry A. & Winifred (Peachy).

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